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THE
SCOTS WORTHIES,

VOLUME SECOND,

CONTAINING

THEIR LAST WORDS AND DYING TESTIMONIES:

EMBRACING

THE WHOLE THAT IS TO BE FOUND IN NAPHTALI AND THE CLOUD OF
WITNESSES, TOGETHER WITH OTHERS EXTRACTED FROM MEMOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS, BOTH IN OLD PUB-
LISHED COLLECTIONS AND ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS;

THE WHOLE ACCOMPANIED WITH

HISTORICAL NOTICES AND OBSERVATIONS,

EXPLANATORY AND CORRECTIVE,

BY

A CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

AND ENRICHED

WITH A PREFACE,

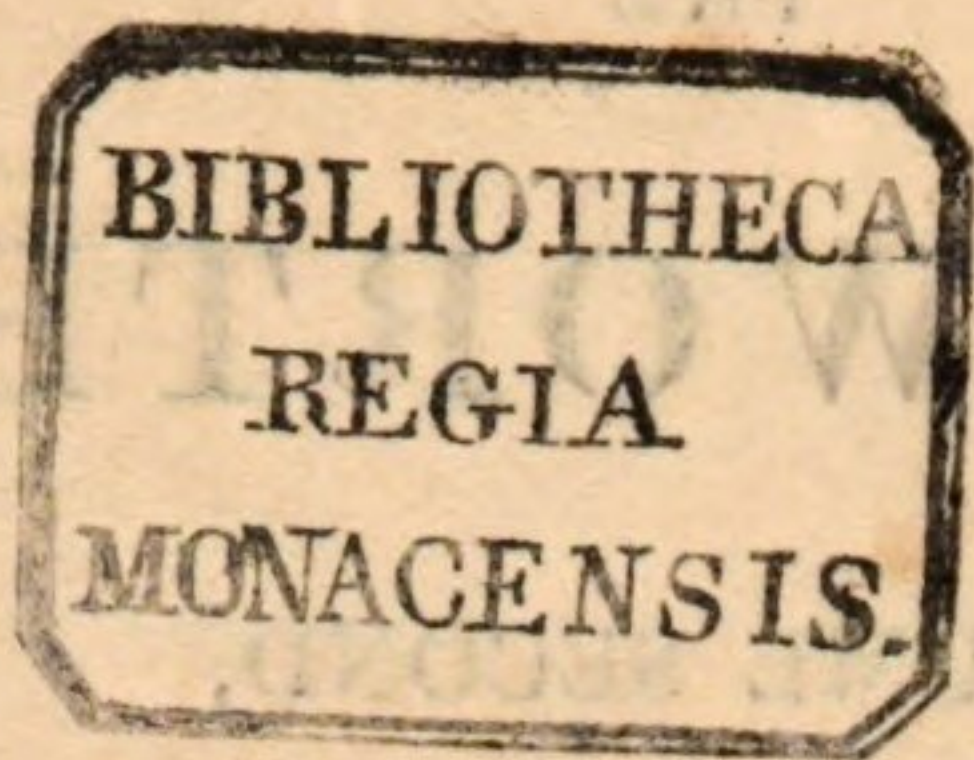
BY WILLIAM M'GAVIN, ESQUIRE,

AUTHOR OF THE "PROTESTANT" AND "PROTESTANT REFORMATION VINDICATED."

GLASGOW:

PUBLISHED BY W. R. M'PHUN, TRONGATE.

MDCCCXXX.



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ENCOURAGED by the almost unprecedented success which has attended the publication of the former volume of the Scots Worthies, the Publisher has been induced to follow it up by the present Work. The former volume contained *the Lives of the Covenanting Worthies of Scotland*, which, from their interesting nature, have proved highly acceptable; and, it is to be hoped, edifying to the Christian world:—this volume contains *their Last Words and Dying Testimonies*, which, it is fully expected, will prove equally useful and edifying as its predecessor. The former volume gave the history of the transactions of their lives, and shows how they lived—this gives their dying scenes, and shows how well these eminent men were prepared to die; and how ready they were to ratify with their blood the profession they had made during their lives.

The Publisher cannot doubt that it will be gratifying to the friends of the cause thus to have collected, for *the first time* into one volume, the Testimonies and Declarations emitted by the Worthies in the immediate prospect of death and eternity, in favour of religion in general, and the reformation principles of the Church of Scotland in particular. Many of these testimonies have been extracted from very scarce tracts published about the time they were originally emitted, and now very rarely to be met with; and even when met with, they are sold at such a price as entirely to exclude them from the use of the general reader. Some others of these Testimonies have never before been printed, but have been derived from original, though duly authenticated manuscripts; thus giving to the present Work in some measure the character of an *original* production. The principal

portion of these two valuable volumes, well known by the titles of *Naphtali* and the *Cloud of Witnesses*, have been incorporated into the pages of this book. These two, of themselves, would have formed an important acquisition to the Christian's library, but the Publisher is convinced that, with the other additions he has mentioned, the value of the work will be greatly enhanced. The whole has been carefully arranged in chronological order, and the authority quoted to each article from whence it is derived. This mode of arrangement will be found of consequence in an historical point of view, and it is one to which little attention has hitherto been given in any former edition of either *Naphtali* or the *Cloud of Witnesses*. In short, it is not saying too much to aver, this volume taken in conjunction with the former one, forms as complete a *History of the Church of Scotland*, during the trying period of the Reformation, as is any where to be met with.

The Publisher has again the satisfaction of giving to the world a production of the distinguished Author of the "Protestant," who has kindly consented to introduce this volume to the public with one of his luminous essays. For this, and a similar favour formerly received, he thinks it proper to state, that he is indebted to Mr. M'Gavin's disinterested friendship; that gentleman (contrary to a misconception that exists on the subject) *having no pecuniary interest whatever* either in the present or former publication.

The Publisher, in conclusion, begs to express his gratitude for the kindness he has received from numerous friends who have assisted him in procuring the necessary materials for this volume. Many of these had become so scarce, that it was found impossible to obtain a single copy from any other source than by application to private individuals; and the MSS. from which others have been derived, could not have been had at all, but for the assistance of these friends, to whom he feels so much indebted.



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JOHN KNOX.





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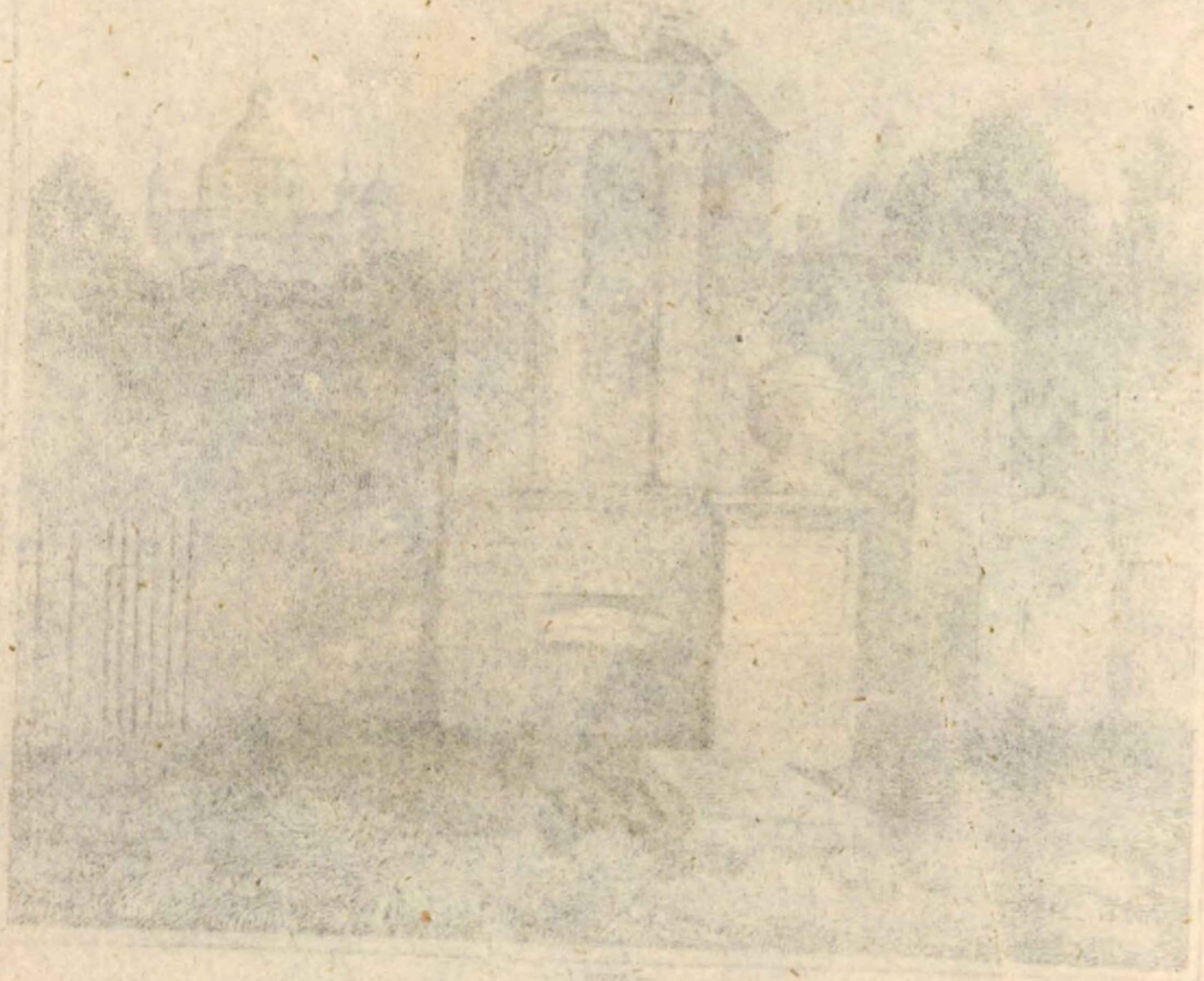
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THE TOWER OF THE TEMPLE
OF THE LORD
IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM



J. Swan Sc.

REV. JOHN WELSH,

OF AYR.





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ALEX. HENDERSON.



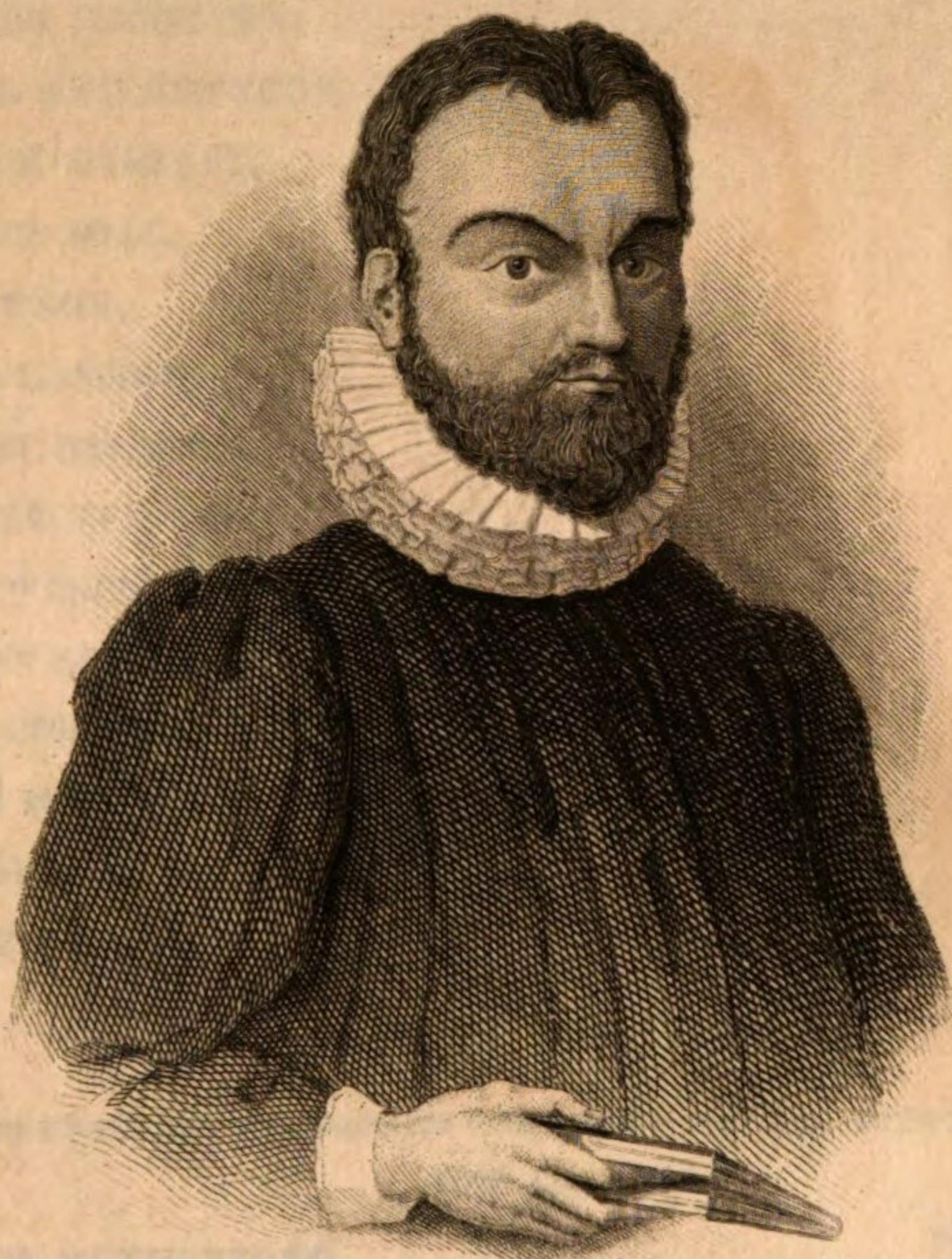


—Eng^d by J. Swan—

ROBERT BOYD,

OF TROCHRIG.





— Eng^d by J. Swan. —

GEORGE WISHART.



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P R E F A C E.

No part of the divine record has been more manifestly verified than the words of God to the serpent, in relation to the promised seed of the woman, "I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed." This enmity appeared in the first family of mankind; for Cain, who was of the wicked one, or seed of the serpent, slew his brother; and wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil and his brother's righteous. Abel was interested in the promised seed of the woman, by faith in whom he became righteous; and by the same faith he offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts. It was the divine acceptance of Abel's sacrifice, signified by some visible token, probably the fire from heaven consuming it, while no sign indicated the acceptance of Cain's offering, that called into operation the enmity of the latter against the former. It was not merely because Abel was a better character, or led a holier life, that Cain hated him; but because of his acceptance with God, and relation to him as a new creature, made manifest by his works; while Cain himself, not believing in the promised Saviour, remained under the power of the serpent, and was influenced by all his enmity against the truth. This is the origin of all the persecution which the church has suffered from its enemies since the beginning of the world.

The object of the serpent's enmity, and consequent hostility, is, and always has been, "THE TRUTH;" not what is true generally, in opposition to what is false; but that which is emphatically called *the truth* in distinction from every thing else. It is the gospel of Christ; the divine record concerning the incarnation, obedience, death, resurrection, and glory of the Son of God, and of eternal life through him to sinners of the human race. Of the devil it is said, he was a murderer

from the beginning, *and abode not in the truth* ; from which it has been inferred, that there must have been a revelation of the gospel in heaven at the creation of man, or some intimation that for a new manifestation of the divine glory, the Son of God would honour that newly created race by becoming one of them ; that a multitude of angels, with one as their leader, afterwards called the devil, did not like the revelation of this purpose, so honourable to an inferior race of creatures, revolted from their allegiance, and became the enemies of God and all that is good in the universe. Whatever be in this, it is certain, that from the beginning, when the truth was told him, that the seed of the woman should bruise his head, all his efforts and those of his seed, have been to blot out the knowledge of that truth from the earth, or so to obscure it by corrupt additions, that men should not perceive the meaning and enjoy the benefit of it.

As it was from the beginning, so Christ's apostles found it in their experience,—they who were after the flesh persecuted them who were after the Spirit ; and the apostles instructed Christians to expect nothing else while they were in the world. Every species of false religion has its origin in the alienation of the mind and heart of man from the knowledge and love of God ; and the different modes of worship which have this common origin, can easily endure one another ; but they will all unite in opposing and endeavouring to put down, that which has its origin in divine revelation ;—that which is heavenly in its nature as well as origin, and which must necessarily testify against the worshippers of idols, that their deeds are evil. Thus Rome, in the days of her glory, the most enlightened city in the world, was perfectly tolerant of every mode of heathen worship. She rather invited than forbade men of different nations to worship at Rome as they had done at home ; and she had her pantheon, or temple for all the gods, where men of every country might set up their own idol, and offer incense upon his altar. This was quite natural ; for amidst the variety and multitude of altars and images, the worshippers were all of one religion, and it was the religion of Rome itself. As all idolatry has its origin in the alienation of men from God, so all the varieties of it have the same design and tendency,—to perpetuate the dominion of the devil over the minds of men, and to indulge them in the

gratification of their sensual appetites, without any fearful apprehension of future punishment.

But Christianity being opposed to all idolatry, and to all the fruits of the flesh; and refusing to make any compromise with any other system whatever, was itself found to be intolerable in Rome, when it had made such progress as to attract public notice. Had the Christians put an image of Christ in the pantheon, and had they consented to be neighbourlike; doing in Rome as the Romans did, they would have been no more molested on account of their religion than the worshippers of Jupiter were. But being like the Jews in the time of Haman, different from all other people, it was reckoned not fit that they should live. They were murdered by thousands, not by command of such monsters as Nero only, but also by authority of the more amiable and comparatively humane emperors and governors, some of whom declared plainly that they put the Christians to death, not as guilty of any crime, but solely because they refused to renounce what was called their superstition. Such obstinacy, in the opinion of the philosophical Pliny, was of itself worthy of death, as he says in his letter to the emperor Trajan.

With all this opposition, the word of God grew mightily and prevailed in every province of the empire. Pliny, in his letter above referred to, complains that in Bithynia, his province, the temples were deserted, and those who reared victims for sacrifices could scarcely find a purchaser. This was about the beginning of the second century, when, it is believed, all the apostles were dead; but the impulse which they had given to the cause of God, continued under the ministry of evangelists and others, their immediate successors, not as apostles, but preachers of the gospel. As Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua and of the elders who overlived him; so there is reason to think the first generation of Christian pastors and teachers, after the apostles, held generally the faith in purity, and preached it with power; though we know there were corruptions in both faith and practice, in some churches, even while the apostles lived. See Paul to the churches in Galatia, and John to the seven churches in Asia. Had the impulse given by them continued a few ages longer, the world would have been filled with the knowledge of the true God, and his Son Jesus Christ. But when the

elders who had been Joshua's companions, and who had been witnesses of God's works on behalf of Israel, had been gathered to their fathers, the people began to fall away towards idol worship, and were soon made to feel the bitter consequence of their folly. The same seems to have been the case with some churches soon after the age of the apostles, and with almost all of them in a few ages more. Paul had expressly told them of this, particularly in his address to the elders of the church in Ephesus, Acts xx. 28—38. And here it is worthy of remark, that he speaks the sentiments, and almost the language of Moses in his valedictory address to Israel, Deut. xxxi. 28—30. It was the same Spirit of prophecy that spoke by both; and he spoke in reference to like events that should happen to the church under both dispensations.

We have not many authentic particulars of the persecution of Christians in the Roman empire in the first and second centuries; but there is enough to assure us that it must have been very dreadful, especially under Nero, and other emperors of a like ferocious character. It was then, notwithstanding, that the gospel triumphed in every place where it came; and the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church. It was when the churches enjoyed comparative tranquillity, when the profession of Christianity began to become respectable in the world, and to be assumed by worldly men, who found admission into the churches, that far greater evils befell them than the most cruel persecutors could inflict. The two engines by which the devil works are deceit and violence. He had now given the one a fair trial. For about two centuries he laboured by cruelty and force to put down Christianity, and blot out the memory of Christ's name from the earth. He found himself foiled and disappointed; and then he had recourse to his other weapon; that is deceit, or as it is emphatically called by the Apostle Paul, "All deceivableness of unrighteousness." His first step was to get himself taken for a Christian; or which was virtually the same, to get his seed received as Christians, and so to obtain a lodgment in the fortress of God's house.

Few things appear more evident from scripture, than that the apostolic churches received none into their communion but those who made a credible profession of their faith in Christ, such a confession of the truth as induced a belief that they

were united to the Saviour, and saved by his grace. Hence they were addressed as saints and faithful in Christ Jesus. That persons of an opposite character crept in unawares, is admitted by the divine record; but the apostles instructed the churches to put away all such when their real character was discovered. While persecution continued, few would seek to be joined to the church who were not really converted to God; for one who does not really believe the gospel, who of course has no interest in it, can have no encouragement or motive to lay down his life for the gospel's sake. The devil, therefore, found it necessary for the attainment of his object, to stay the sword of persecution when he found he could not prevail by means of it; and his violence was stayed for a good while before his deceit was so manifest as to excite any alarm.

Christianity being legally constituted the religion of the empire, it followed as a thing of course, that the empire should be all of one church, and subject to one pastor. Bishops, especially metropolitans and patriarchs, as the chief among them were now called, were men of great power and influence. The emperors found it necessary for the peace of their dominions, to stand on good terms with them. But if every kingdom had had a church and bishop of its own, independent of every other, there would have been danger of that kingdom pursuing its own separate interests, and so breaking the peace and integrity of the empire. This was soon perceived, and he who had the honour to be the emperor's own pastor, or bishop of the imperial city, began to put forth a claim of jurisdiction over all other bishops, and to be head of the universal or Catholic church, as that of Rome has ever since called herself. But it required almost two hundred years of incessant intrigue, and persevering encroachment, to get this claim legally admitted and established; and after all, it was so established in the western part of the empire only, and never extended to the Catholic Church; for the patriarch of Constantinople retained his claim to the primacy of the Greek church, or eastern empire.

On the breaking up of the empire, the western part of it, comprehending almost all Europe, settled down into ten distinct sovereignties, which are usually understood to be prefigured by the ten horns of the Apocalyptic Beast, Rev. xiii. 1—9. This beast, I suppose, signifies the Roman empire in

this state of disruption ; for the ten kingdoms, though distinct and separate, were not insulated or altogether independent of one another ; but had a bond of union, besides religion, in their acknowledgment of one superior, called the Head of the Holy Roman Empire, and in their adoption of the same, or nearly the same civil institutions, which they had all received from Rome, their common parent. These and the Roman church were co-extensive ; and this church is represented by another beast, which John saw in the same vision, rising up out of the earth. The former beast rose out of the sea, that is, the commotions by which the integrity of the empire was destroyed, and its organized frame broken up. But this second beast, Rev. xiii. 11—15. is seen rising up out of the earth. This was a spiritual power or tyranny, rising not out of commotions and revolutions, like the other. It rose up gradually and silently, and almost imperceptibly, till it got the command of the whole ten kingdoms, and exercised all their power. Thus he became in a manner identified with the first beast. This is evidently the head of the Romish church, who by his usurped spiritual authority over the ten kingdoms wielded their power and disposed of them at his pleasure.

This beast is very characteristically described—He had two horns like a lamb, professedly all meekness and gentleness, while he exercised the two kinds of power meant by the two horns ; that is, the spiritual and the temporal, for he became a temporal prince too ; and besides his sway over the empire generally, he acquired a temporal sovereignty of his own, which extended to three of the ten horns, or kingdoms, which were broken off from the rest, and were called the states of the church, and the patrimony of St. Peter. But with all his professed meekness, humility, and gentleness, we are told, “he spake as a dragon.” His voice was that of the devil himself, when he was pleased to issue his curses and excommunications, consigning individuals and sometimes whole nations to perdition. He called himself “Servant of the servants of God,” while, by his actions, he proclaimed himself the prince of the kings of the earth. The first beast was eventually merged in this second one ; for henceforward the apostle speaks of one beast only, chap. xv. 2. where he is called emphatically, “The Beast.” In him was combined all the power and craft and cruelty of the dragon, which is the symbolical name for the

devil, chap. xii. 7. and all directed against Christ, his cause and people, so as to be called by the spirit of prophecy, "the Antichrist:" which does not signify the pope alone in his individual person, but the system of which he is the head.

In the exercise of his sovereign power over the ten kingdoms, the beast caused each of them to make an image of himself,—“Saying to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an image of the beast,” Rev. xiii. 14. By the earth, I suppose we are to understand the Roman territory, in all its divisions, as become subject to papal Rome; and the making of an image of the beast in each of them, was the organizing of a national church, which should be the very picture, or representation of the great Catholic one. The great monster with the seven heads and ten horns, was the whole empire or ten kingdoms united in spiritual subjection to the reigning power at Rome, sitting upon the seven mountains, chap. xvii. 19. forming a catholic or universal church, as she has all along pretended to be. Now every kingdom made an exact image of this; that is, a national church, organized in all its members, so as to represent the great catholic one. In short, each kingdom had a little beast of its own, the very picture of the great one, deriving all its life and vigour from the great one, who “had power to give life unto the image of the beast, cause it to speak,” &c. Ver. 15. for all the faculties of every ecclesiastical functionary were derived from Rome, and exercised under the authority of the Pope. What he was to the whole body of Christendom, that the primate of every national church was to it. Thus the image of the beast in England, had his seat in Canterbury, in Scotland, at St. Andrews, and sometimes Glasgow. I believe Scotland by itself is not reckoned among the ten horns of the beast; but it had an image of him like the rest.

The second beast that came up out of the earth, exercised all the power of the first one, which rose up out of the sea. That is, by means of his usurped spiritual authority over the consciences of kings and princes, he influenced and directed all their movements, exciting them to make war, and commanding them to make peace, all according to his own good pleasure. He commanded, or “caused the earth and them which dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.” His spiritual influence over the conscien-

ces of all men, was employed to make them submit to their temporal sovereignties, while they supported his spiritual sovereignty, which they were induced to do by means of the wonders which he performed, or miracles which he pretended to work in their presence, having prevailed with them all to make an image of himself, each in his own territory, he had power, not only to give life to the image, but to make it speak, and also to cause that as many as would not worship itself should be killed; that is, to put to death every one who would not submit to the established religion. All this was awfully verified in the history of Europe for many hundred years. The image of the beast,—the established church in each of the kingdoms, had power to bring to trial all who were suspected of heresy; that is, all who really believed Christ's gospel; and on being convicted, they were delivered over to the secular power to be burnt to death; and such was the degraded condition of kings and governors, that they were obliged to be the church's executioners.

It would seem now that the devil had fully accomplished his purpose. He had filled the whole civilized world with superstition, idolatry, and all their abominable accompaniments; for while he had covered the western empire with the darkness of popery, he had filled the eastern one with the delusions of Mahomet. All the nations which, in the first and second centuries, had received the light of the gospel; that is, all the then known world, was now made subject to the devil by one or other of these deceptions; and bound down to absolute submission, by a power as irresistible as was that of Babylon in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, or that of Rome under Julius Cæsar. Other parts of the world, as they were successively discovered, were found in a state of still greater misery and degradation, their inhabitants in the state of naked savages, sacrificing one another, and their own children, to avert the wrath, and propitiate the favour, of their demon divinities. Were it possible for a fiend to enjoy satisfaction, we might suppose the devil now glorying in the success of his work, in having blotted out the knowledge of God from the earth, and making the earth itself a blot in his fair creation.

This state of things, as relates to what is called Christendom, is the more astonishing when we reflect, that it took place

after the true light had come into the world, and had been shining with great brightness, in the very places which were now covered with darkness. The light of the knowledge of the true God, and of the promised Saviour, shone in the family of Noah, and was continued in the line of Shem. It was comparatively obscure, though enough to guide the steps of the patriarchs in the way to heaven. The great part of the human race fell away from it again, as they had done before the flood; because they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, wherefore he gave them up to the way they had chosen for themselves—to all the darkness and misery of heathenism. But when Christ came with the full manifestation of the Father's glory, as the just God and the Saviour; when he had given himself for the life of the world; when he had risen from the dead, and gone into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God; when he had sent the Holy Spirit to endue his apostles with power from on high; in short, when the Sun of righteousness had risen upon us,—had become a light to lighten the gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel;—and when multitudes without number, in all nations of the known world, had been taught to glory in that light, it might have been expected, that, surely, these nations would never come under the power of darkness again. But however astounding the thought, it so happened, in point of fact, darkness as palpable as ever, covered the earth, and gross darkness the people.

It is not surprising that the speculative mind should be startled, and even confounded, by the knowledge of such a fact. It is not surprising that it should excite the inquiry, Can this light be from heaven which the devil has been able to darken, and almost to extinguish, after it had begun to shine on the earth? The fact, deplorable as it is, so far from invalidating the evidence of the divine origin of Christianity, is itself a strong corroborative proof of that divine origin; for the inspired record of the Christian faith contains many intimations, and explicit predictions, that such an event should happen. God was pleased to suffer it to be so, we cannot tell why, just as we cannot tell why he suffered sin at first to enter into our then unpoluted world. We know that he took occasion from this, to make new manifestation of his character, by the revelation of the gospel; and I have no doubt he will, when the appointed time

has come, make the devil's apparent triumph in the long prevalence of popery redound to his own glory in a manner which we cannot conceive. And it is a matter of no small importance that this very apostasy proves the divine inspiration of the New Testament, which foretels not only that there should be a falling away, but also describes the character of it with such particularity, that every one may see in the system of popery, what the apostles foretold hundreds of years before it arose. See 2 Thessalonians ii. 2—12. and 1 Timothy iv. 1—3.

But it must not be admitted that the devil actually effected the extinction of the truth from the earth. There can be no doubt that such was his purpose; and he had so nearly accomplished it, that during ages of darkness, there was no spiritual light visible to the world. Where it did shine it was in some sequestered spot, out of the reach of the ruling powers of the world and of the church. There are traces of it upon the mountains of Scotland for a long period after darkness had covered continental Europe; and before it was extinguished here, it had begun to shine in the vallies of Piedmont. This was so near the seat of the papal power, that it attracted notice; and the greatest efforts were made to extinguish it.

The appearance for the truth made by the people called Waldenses and Albigenses, as early as the twelfth century, showed the devil again foiled and disappointed. By deceit he had prevailed tenfold more than he had formerly done by violence. But now a few rays of light breaking in upon the dark hemisphere, in the very centre of his kingdom, he found that mere deception would not longer serve his purpose. He had tried mere violence before, and that had failed; now deceit was beginning to fail him; and his last resource was to unite both in one mighty effort to extirpate the truth, and perpetuate his own dominion over the bodies and souls of men.

Deceit and violence were united against the truth when what was called, and almost universally taken for, Christ's church, became a persecutor, or the chief instigator of persecution against Christ's true disciples. The opposition of both Jews and Gentiles to the gospel was open and honest, for they avowed themselves its enemies; and there were no doubt others who thought, like Saul of Tarsus, that they ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus. But now the grand deception was to

make Christ himself, in the person of his Vicar, as the pope was acknowledged to be, issue his mandates to sovereign princes, to levy war upon their subjects, and to extirpate, by fire and sword, men, women, and children, who were infected with the plague of heresy, or even suspected of it; and any one who read, or possessed a copy of the word of God, fell under the suspicion. Armies were accordingly raised for the holy war, as it was called. They took the figure of the cross for their banner, to make the world believe they were fighting for Christ: and they went forward to the slaughter with priestly benedictions, and a promise of heaven as the reward of their labours. The slaughter of the unoffending peaceable Christians was indeed horrible, accompanied by the cold-blooded deceitful mockery, that it was all for Christ's sake.

Scotland was one of the last of the kingdoms that submitted to the Roman yoke, and she was one of the first to throw it off. As a political measure, the reformation of England preceded that of Scotland a number of years; but in a religious view, it gained ground more extensively among the Scots while the court was against it, than it did in England with the court in its favour. In England it originated with the court, which gave it a character of secularity, and worldly splendour, which remains to this day. In Scotland it originated with the people, including some of the nobles, and found its way upward to the court, which after a hard struggle, was compelled to give way, and to establish the protestant faith and order, in that simple and unostentatious form which was most agreeable to the people. This was not effected without much bloodshed. Deceit and violence in their cruelest forms, were employed by the image of the beast, whose seat was in St. Andrews, to extinguish the light of the reformation. But the devil was eventually foiled in the use of both his instruments; at least for a time; for he made an attack again in a new character.

This was no less than an attempt to get himself taken for a Protestant, and a mighty zealous one he made himself appear. The church of Scotland had been stript of all her meretricious ornaments, and most of her wealth. Her ministers were no longer ministers of state, or lords of parliament; but plain honest men, and laborious preachers, with stipends barely sufficient for their maintenance, in a rank scarcely equal to that of respectable farmers and tradesmen. There were no splendid

rites of worship, to fix the attention of the stupid and ignorant, or to keep awake the drowsy. In short, the ministrations of the church were all addressed to the understanding, and to the hearts of the people; and what was worst of all, the people were taught to understand more both of religion and their own rights than was agreeable to their rulers. The policy of the devil then was to animate these rulers with a high degree of zeal for the honour of the protestant church of Scotland. Her mean condition in the eye of the world was most disgraceful. That her ministers should speak to God in their prayers, and to men in their preaching, whatever occurred to their own heated imaginations, was quite unsufferable. It therefore became necessary to have a set form of words, ordained by royal authority, for their prayers at least; and to prevent improper freedom of speech in their preaching, it was thought fit to have a high order of clergy, the king's particular friends, politically his own creatures, set over the ordinary pastors to make them obedient to authority. It was also most unseemly that the church had no representatives in parliament; and no clergy, who, in point of rank and dignity, were fit companions for a king. It was out of burning zeal for the glory of the church, and the honour of protestantism in Scotland, that king James VI. set himself to rectify these evils. Accordingly he got the order of bishops imposed upon the church. They were advanced to be lords of council and parliament; and a great part of the property that had been wrested from the papists, was set apart for the support of their dignity. The church of Scotland was now able to hold up her head like her proud sister of England; and she was invested with a degree of splendour worthy of the "high and mighty prince," who placed himself at her head.

But this was in direct opposition to the wishes of the great body of the people; and was found by the really godly among them to be a grievous bondage. It was for resisting this imposition that such men as Melville and Welsh suffered imprisonment and exile; and afterwards that thousands of presbyterians suffered on the gibbet, or were slaughtered in cold blood, by armed savages, who were set a hunting after them, as if they had been wild beasts, fit only to be taken and destroyed. This applies particularly to the persecution of the Covenanters in the reign of Charles II. and of his brother

James, from which our fathers obtained a happy deliverance by the arrival of king William and the Revolution in 1688.

The following work records the dying testimonies of a great number of faithful witnesses for the truth, who suffered, chiefly during the twenty-eight years immediately preceding the Revolution. It includes indeed some of the first martyrs of the Reformation ; and contains notices of the happy and triumphant death of some that escaped both the fire and the gibbet ; but who, being martyrs in purpose, have very properly a place among their brethren who sealed their testimony with their blood. During the above period, vital Christianity prevailed in a high degree among the presbyterians in Scotland ; and, with a few exceptions, it was to be found among them alone. It was evidently this that was the object of hatred to the court, and them who had the administration of affairs in Scotland ; and their desire was to have it totally extirpated. In this, however, the devil was foiled again. During the fiery trial, there was a wonderful unction and power that accompanied the preaching of the gospel by the persecuted ministers. Great multitudes gave decisive evidence of being converted to God ; and obtained the victory over the beast and his image, even such of them as fell in the conflict. They overcame by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony ; and loved not their lives unto the death. A portion of the same spirit was communicated to their children ; and a savour of it still remains after a hundred and forty years of peace and universal toleration.

W. M'GAVIN.

December, 1828.

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THE
LAST WORDS
AND
DYING TESTIMONIES
OF THE
SCOTS WORTHIES.

PART FIRST:

COMPREHENDING TESTIMONIES THAT WERE EMITTED, PREVIOUS
TO THE YEAR 1660.

I. PATRICK HAMILTON.

[THIS gentleman was among the first who suffered in Scotland, on account of religion. He was descended of noble parentage, and born in 1503; and having been artfully seduced into a confession of his principles, was condemned as a heretic by the archbishop of St. Andrews, and suffered death in that city on the 28th of February, 1527. The following is a short detail of what he uttered on the trying occasion:]

On the afternoon of the same day on which he was sentenced, he was hurried to the stake; and having arrived at the place where the fire was prepared, he put off his gown, coat, and bonnet, and gave them to a favourite servant, saying, "These will not profit me in the fire, yet they will do thee some good. After this, of me thou canst receive no more, except the ensample of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; for albeit the same be bitter to the flesh and fearful before men, yet is it the entrance to eternal life, which none shall inherit that deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation." Having so said, he commended his soul into the hands of God, with his eyes fixed toward heaven: and the train of powder, though fired, not having kindled the fuel, and his comfortable speeches meantime being often interrupted by one of his persecutors, who called to him, "Convert, heretic; pray to our Lady, and say *Salve Regina*;" he spoke as follows: "Wicked man! thou knowest I am not an heretic, and

that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So much, thou didst confess to me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ."* In a little after, the fire was kindled, and the noble martyr died, exclaiming, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" And ended by praying, with Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"†

II. RUSSEL AND KENNEDY.

[These two persons were companions in suffering. The former was of the order of grayfriars, the latter a young gentleman of liberal education and promising talents, not more than eighteen years of age. Being tried and condemned by the archbishop of Glasgow, they, in that city, underwent the dreadful sentence which was then awarded to the crime of heresy, in the year 1539. The following are some of their sayings upon trial, and at death:]

When sisted before the archbishop, Kennedy at first discovered some weakness; but being encouraged by Russel, and having his fortitude, as if on a sudden, revived by the effusion of the Holy Spirit from on high, he fell down upon his knees and uttered these remarkable words: "O, Eternal God! how wonderful is that love and mercy thou bearest to mankind, and unto me the most caitiff and miserable wretch above all others! For even now when I would have denied Thee and thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou by thine own hand hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and hast made me to feel that heavenly comfort which hath taken from me the ungodly fear by which I was oppressed. Now I defy death."‡ And then to his persecutors: "Do what you please—I praise God, I am ready."

Russel, who seems to have arrived at a more mature age, and who was characterized during the trial by the greatest firmness and composure of mind, at first reasoned with his accusers, and ingeniously

* The person here alluded to was one Campbell, a blackfriar, who was instrumental in drawing from Hamilton that acknowledgment of his principles on which he was condemned, and who shortly after died distracted, and under the most awful apprehensions of coming wrath.—See Scots Worthies.

† See Knox's Hist. B. I. Stevenson's Hist. vol. i. p. 33.

‡ This was an instance of spiritual support which some may be tempted to look upon as singular, if not incredible, but which we are disposed to regard as probable, from the experience of ordinary Christians under the every-day trials of life; and which, though it may appear to be connected with enthusiasm, in the circumstances under which it was exhibited, is, we conceive, completely borne out by the state of feeling which frequently obtains in the pious mind. Under circumstances, which in prospect involve great sacrifices or trials, it is natural for even the Christian sometimes to feel depressed; but it is also matter of fact, and of consciousness, that at other times, with an equally vivid conception of these sacrifices or trials, he is enabled to feel *above* them, and to welcome them with perfect composure and unshrinking steadfastness.

rebutted the charges which were brought against him. At length roused to a higher state of feeling by the railing and calumnies which they poured forth against him, he exclaimed: "This is your hour and power of darkness. Now sit ye as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocence shall appear, and when ye shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go forward and fulfil the measure of your iniquity." On being condemned and hurried to the place of execution, he comforted his fellow-martyr with these affecting words: "Brother! fear not—more mighty is He that is in us than he that is in the world; the pain that we shall suffer is short and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end: and therefore let us strive to enter in, unto our Master and Saviour, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer."*

III. GEORGE WISHART.

[This distinguished martyr was of the family of Pittarrow, in the county of Mearns. He was educated chiefly at the university of Cambridge, but returned to his native country in 1544; and from an ardent desire to promote the truth, became a zealous preacher of the Gospel. In this good work he was allowed to continue till the end of February 1546, when being apprehended, he was tried and condemned for heresy, and suffered in the flames at St. Andrews, the punishment awarded to that crime. The following may be regarded as a full and correct account of his last words:]

When about to receive the sentence on which, notwithstanding his cogent and intrepid answers, his judges had decided, he poured forth the following pathetic prayer: "O, Immortal God! how long wilt thou suffer the rage and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to do the contrary—to choke and destroy thy true doctrine and verity, by which thou hast showed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name! O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction, and trouble in the present life; which, is but a shadow, as thou hast showed to us by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire, merciful Father, that thou wouldst conserve, defend, and help thy congregation† which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world; and give them grace to hear thy

* Knox's Hist. B. I.

† The term *Congregation*, from its use in this passage, seems to have been very early applied to the protestant church of Scotland. In the time of Knox, about twenty years after the death of Wishart, its use in this sense had become quite specific.

word, and to be thy true servants in this present life." On the following day when led to the fire, he thrice uttered these words: "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me: Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." He then turned to the people, and spoke as follows: "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me. But I exhort you that you love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake—which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters which have heard me often before, that they cease not, nor leave off to learn the word of God which I taught them, after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not. Show them that my doctrine was not old wives' fables, after the constitutions made by men. If I had taught men's doctrine I had gotten greater thanks of men. But for the word's sake and true gospel which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by man, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent—that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage: ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not: and so I pray you so do, if any persecution come to you for the word's sake, and not to fear them that slay the body, and have no power afterwards to slay the soul. Some have said of me, I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night, (ere six hours,) for whom I suffer this. I beseech the Father of heaven to forgive them, that have of any ignorance or else of evil mind, forged lies upon me. I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day, ignorantly.—I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil and learn to do good. And, if they will not convert* themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

Being tied to the stake and the fire kindled, he exclaimed, "This fire torments my body, but nowise abates my spirit." And then looking towards the cardinal, who witnessed his execution from the palace, he said: "He who in such state from that high place feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there with pride." Upon this the executioner, drawing the cord, stopt his breath, and he was forthwith consumed to powder.†

* It cannot be supposed from this expression, that Mr. Wishart supposed the important spiritual change which is called *conversion*, to be purely the result of a man's own agency. The word *convert* is here employed equivalently with the expression *turn*, and is meant to express only that act of a man's own will, by which, in accordance with the influence of God's Spirit and word exerted upon it, "he ceases to do evil and learns to do well."

† Knox's Hist. B. I. Stevenson's Hist. vol. i. p. 62.

IV. WALTER MILL.

[The death of this martyr is said to have contributed most effectually to the downfall of popery, in Scotland. He was born about the year 1476, and, having taken orders in the church, became priest of Lunan, in Angus-shire. But having imbibed the reformed opinions, and left off the saying of mass, he was so early as the year 1538, arrested and condemned. He escaped, however, for his life into Germany, where he remained about twenty years. He then returned home, and having attempted to render himself useful, by instructing his neighbours in the protestant faith, he was again taken and condemned as a heretic. His conduct whilst on trial, powerfully evinced the sincerity of his faith, and made a deep impression on all who witnessed it. The following is a short account of what took place at his death:]

All things being prepared, he was led forth with a guard of armed men to execution. Being come to the place, some cried out to him to recant, to whom he answered, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypocrites, who do so cruelly pursue the servants of God; as for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but an hundred shall rise out of my ashes, who shall scatter you, ye hypocrites, and persecutors of God's people; and such of you as now think yourselves the best, shall not die such an honest death as I now do. I trust in God, I shall be the last who shall suffer death, in this fashion, for this cause, in this land."* Thus his constancy in-

* This sentiment, but for the cautious and modest language in which it is expressed, might well have been deemed *prophetical*, for reasons quite as satisfactory as those on which it has been alleged that statements ascribed to others of the Worthies were of this character. We know not whether, in point of fact, it *has ever* been regarded in this light, but it must be evident to every one who reflects on the subject, that, but for the preliminary clause, "I trust in God," by which its meaning and reference is so very properly limited, the expression of the dying martyr would have been a prediction, whose fulfilment was proved, by the record of after history. It is generally understood to have been the case, that Mill was the last person who suffered in the cause of reformation from popery. But the trust which he expressed, that this would be the case, was only what a due consideration of the signs of the times and the ways of Providence would have justified in any one. And yet we doubt not, that an omission of such a qualifying expression as is here employed, has led other similar statements of the Worthies to be viewed in the light of absolute predictions, whilst, in reality as delivered, they only expressed and were meant to express the trust or opinion of their authors. That this was not the case in every instance is readily admitted; nor is it denied, that even in the formation of such a trust, opinion, or presentiment (if you will), with regard to future events, there might not be the experience, or at least the enjoyment, of heavenly influence. Nay, with the learned and accurate biographer of Knox, we "think it not inconsistent with the principles of either natural or revealed religion, that God on particular occasions should forewarn persons of some things as about to happen," and we are even inclined with him "to believe that the reformers were *occasionally* favoured with extraordinary premonitions," nor has any thing to the contrary of this, as some have imagined, been argued or affirmed in the *Notes* to the late edition of the Scots Worthies, to which the pre-

creased, as his end drew near. Being ordered by Oliphant, one of the persecutors, to go up to the stake, he refused, and said, "No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand, for by the law of God, I am forbidden to put hands to myself; but if thou wilt put to thy hand, and take part of my death, thou shalt see me go up gladly." Then Oliphant putting him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*.^{*} Having then requested permission to speak to the people: he was answered by Oliphant, "That he had spoken too much already, and that the bishops were exceedingly displeased with what he had said." But some youths having taken his part, and called to him to say on what he pleased, he first went to his knees and prayed, then arose; and standing upon the coals, addressed the people to this effect: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God; but only for the defence of the truths of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments, for which, as many faithful martyrs have offered their lives most gladly, so this day I praise God that he hath called me, among the rest of his servants, to seal his truth with my life; which as I have received it of him, so I willingly offer it up for his glory. Therefore, as ye would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of bishops, abbots, friars, monks, and the rest of that sect of antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that so ye may be delivered from condemnation."—During this speech, loud murmurs and lamentations were heard among the multitude, some admiring the patience, boldness, and constancy of the martyr, others complaining of the hard measures and cruelty of his persecutors. Having spoken as above, he again prayed a little while, and was then drawn up, and bound to the stake. The fire being kindled, he cried, "Lord, have mercy on me: Pray, pray, good people, while there is time;" and thus cheerfully yielded up his soul into the hands of God.[†]

sent volume is meant as an accompaniment. It has been questioned, indeed, in particular instances, whether the premonitions emitted, amounted to predictions, in the proper sense of the word, and whether they were *extraordinary* and preternatural, or the mere result of natural sagacity and ordinary means of knowledge. But this is quite in accordance with the admission we have made, because, allowing that the great and good men alluded to were occasionally so favoured, it may still be questioned on what particular occasions they were so; and were it even allowed that this was the case on all the occasions alleged, it would still remain to be observed, that to call them *prophets*, to speak of them as having the gift and spirit of *prophecy*, and as having *foretold* and *predicted* future events, is, according to the proper and common sense in which such expressions are employed with a reference to religion, a gross misapplication of terms—an employment of language inconsistent with right views of scripture truth, and calculated to lead the simple and unwary into false and erroneous impressions of their true character.

^{*} "I will go unto the altar of God."—*Psalms*.

[†] Stevenson's Hist. vol. i. p. 81.

V. JOHN KNOX.

[This great Reformer was born at Gifford, near Haddington, in the year 1503. He was educated in the popish faith ; but having at an early period been freed from its shackles, he became, as is well known, the chief instrument, under providence, in establishing the protestant ascendancy over Scotland. After a life of unremitting labour and severe privation and suffering, spent in this good cause, he died at Edinburgh on the 24th of November, 1572 ; bearing the most ample testimony to the glorious truths, which he so firmly believed and so successfully propagated.]

On Monday, the 17th, he thus addressed the members of his session, who with Mr. Lawson his colleague, and Mr. Lindsay, one of the ministers of Leith, assembled in his room for that purpose : " The day approaches and is now before the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my great labours and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ. And now God is my witness, whom I have served in spirit, in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the Gospel of the Son of God ; and have had it for my only object, to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the faithful ; to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, by the promises of grace ; and to fight against the proud and rebellious, by the divine threatenings. I know that many have complained, and do yet loudly complain, of my too great severity ; but God knows that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments. I cannot deny but that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged ; but I still kept this one thing in view, that, if possible, I might gain them to the Lord. What influenced me to utter whatever the Lord put into my mouth so boldly, without respect of persons, was a reverential fear of my God, who called, and out of his grace appointed me to be a steward of divine mysteries, and a belief that he will demand an account of my discharge of the trust committed unto me, when I shall stand before his tribunal. I profess, therefore, before God, and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandise of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions, or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talent intrusted to me, for the edification of the church, over which I watched. Whatever obloquy wicked men may cast on me respecting this point, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the meantime, my dearest brethren, do you persevere in the eternal truth of the Gospel ; wait diligently on the flock over which the Lord hath set you, and which he redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And thou, my dear brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you and the whole church of Edinburgh, against whom, as long as they persevere in the word of truth, which they have heard of me, the gates of hell shall not prevail."

When they were going out, he desired Messrs. Lawson and Lindsay to remain behind, and thus continued: "There is one thing that greatly grieves me.—You have been witnesses of the former courage and constancy of Grange, in the cause of God; but now, alas—into what a gulf has he precipitated himself! I entreat you not to refuse the request which I now make to you: Go to the castle and tell him from me, 'that John Knox remains the same man now, when he is about to die, that ever he knew him when able in body, and wills him to consider what he was, and the estate in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble.' Neither the craggy rock, in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man, (Maitland) whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his rest to punishment, and hung on a gallows before the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God. That man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish if I could save it."

To the earl of Morton, after having asked him as to his previous knowledge of Darnley's murder, he said, "Well, God has beautified you with many benefits which he has not given to every man; as he has given you riches, wisdom, and friends, and now is to prefer you to the government of the realm. And, therefore, in the name of God I charge you to use all these benefits aright, and better in time to come than ye have done in times bypast; first, to God's glory, to the furtherance of the evangel, the maintenance of the church of God and his ministry; next, for the weal of the king, and his realm, and true subjects. If so ye shall do, God shall bless you and honour you; but if ye do it not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame."

On Thursday, the 20th, the lords Glencairn and Ruthven, having called, and the latter having tendered his services to do for him any thing in his power, his reply was, "I care not for all the pleasure and friendship of the world."—A lady of his acquaintance, desiring him to praise God for what good he had done, and speaking in his commendation, he thus interrupted her:—"Tongue, tongue! lady, flesh of itself is overproud and needs no means to esteem itself." He then exhorted her to put off pride and be clothed with humility, protesting as to himself that he relied wholly on the free mercy of God, manifested to mankind through his dear Son Jesus Christ, whom alone he embraced for wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption. And the rest of the company having taken their leave of him, he said to the laird of Braid—"Every one bids me good night, but when will you do it? I have been greatly indebted unto you, for which I shall never be able to recompense you; but I commit you to one that is able to do it, to the Eternal God."

On Friday the 21st, these words were often in his mouth, "Come Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Be merciful Lord to thy church, which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up faithful pastors, who will take charge of thy church. Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred

of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and mercy." In the midst of his meditations he would often address those who stood by, in such sentences as these: "O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Nay, blessed shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God."

On the afternoon of Sabbath the 23d, he suddenly exclaimed, "If any be present let them come and see the work of God." And to Johnston of Elphinston, who was sent for, he said: "I have been these two last nights in meditation on the troubled state of the church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised by the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, and have committed her to her head Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things and have prevailed. I have been in heaven and have possession. I have tasted of the heavenly joys where presently I am."

To some who inquired if he felt much pain, he answered, that he was willing to lie there for years if God so pleased, and if he continued to shine upon his soul through Jesus Christ: and then went on to emit such pious ejaculations as the following: "Live in Christ, live in Christ, and then flesh need not fear death.—Lord grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace again to this commonwealth with godly rulers and magistrates. Once Lord make an end of my trouble. Lord I commend my spirit, soul, and body, and all into thy hands. Thou knowest, O Lord, my troubles: I do not murmur against thee."

On Monday the 24th, which was the last day he spent on earth: being asked by Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, if he had any pain, he replied: "It is no painful pain, but such a pain as shall I trust put an end to the battle. I must leave the care of my wife and children to you, to whom you must be a husband in my room." He afterwards desired his wife to read the 15th chapter of 1st Cor., saying when it was finished, "Is not that a comfortable chapter? O what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me from that chapter!" A little after, he said, "Now for the last time I commend my soul, spirit, and body, (touching three of his fingers) into thy hand, O Lord." About five o'clock in the evening, he said to his wife, "Go, read, where I cast my first anchor," meaning the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel.

Appearing, after this, to fall into a slumber, he sighed deeply, and being asked, on awaking, the cause of this, he replied: "I have formerly, during my frail life sustained many contests and many assaults of Satan, but at present that roaring lion hath assailed me most furiously and put forth all his strength to devour and make an end of me at once. Often before, hath he placed my sins before my eyes, often tempted me to despair, often endeavoured to ensnare me by the allurements of the world; but these weapons being broken by the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, he could not prevail. Now he has attacked me in another way; the cunning Serpent has laboured to persuade me that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness

by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But, blessed be God, who has enabled me to beat down and quench this fiery dart by suggesting to me such passages of scripture as these, *What hast thou, that thou hast not received? By the grace of God, I am what I am: Not I, but the grace of God in me.* Being thus vanquished, he left me. Wherefore, I give thanks to my God, through Jesus Christ, who was pleased to give me the victory; and I am persuaded that the tempter shall not again attack me, but within a short time, I shall without any great bodily pain or anguish of mind, exchange this mortal and miserable life, for a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ."

About ten o'clock, being asked by Dr. Preston if he heard the prayers which had just been read, he replied, "Would to God that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them; I praise God for that heavenly sound." About eleven he gave a deep sigh, and said, *Now it is come.* Immediately his secretary, Richard Bannatyne, drew near, and, perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give a sign that he died in peace.—Upon this he lifted up one of his hands, and sighing twice, expired without a struggle!*

VI. JAMES LAWSON.

[This eminent minister of Jesus Christ was born about the year 1538, in the neighbourhood of Perth. After passing through the usual course of education, at the university of St. Andrews, he went for some years to France, as tutor to the three sons of the countess of Crawford. Upon his return, about 1568, he commenced the teaching of Hebrew in St. Andrews; and shortly after, was elected sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen. Here he continued till 1572, when he was invited to become successor to Mr. Knox, as a minister of Edinburgh. In this situation he approved himself "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed;" but it is chiefly as a defender of the reformation principles, and on account of the sufferings he endured in that cause, that he deserves a high place among the worthies of Scotland. In the year 1584, he was obliged to fly into England from the vengeance of the king, and he died on the 12th of October, that year. Upon the 7th of that month he caused to be written, read over, and subscribed the following testament, which, as it contains his dying sentiments, under views of eternity, both as to his own spiritual state, and with regard to the concerns of the church, we insert here as his *last words.*]

"At London, in Honielane, Cheapside, in Mr. Anthony Martin's house, upon Wednesday, October 7th, 1584; I, *Mr. James Lawson*, minister of God's word, of the flock of Christ at Edinburgh, wish grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, *in loc.*

Jesus Christ, and the continuance of the Holy Spirit, to all those that serve the Lord and love his blessed evangels, giving to understand, to whom it appertains, that, being whole in mind, but finding my God summoning me by his messenger sickness, wherewith he has laid me on bed, to put an end, as appears, to my course in this my transitory life, have thought it good to commit my testament and latter will to writing, as follows:—

“ First, I thank my God, through Jesus Christ my Saviour, who has not only of his unspeakable mercy, whereof I confess myself most unworthy, (if he should deal with me according to my deserts), plucked me out of gross ignorance and blindness of superstition, papistry, and idolatry, especially since the time I heard that notable servant of God, Mr. Knox, of blessed memory,* impugn with great authority of doctrine that antichristian tyranny; but also of his great goodness from time to time, has moved me by his sacred word and instruction of his Holy Spirit, to dedicate myself and the small talent which his wisdom hath intrusted to me, to the edification of his people in the holy ministry, ordained in his kirk, and has blessed also the same, first in his congregation of Aberdeen, and last in the town of Edinburgh; testifying to the whole world, that as I have felt from time to time the working of his Holy Spirit kindling in my breast a bent and ready will to discharge my own conscience in teaching the word of God purely and sincerely, without fearing the faces of men, and also to procure the establishment of that ecclesiastical discipline revealed and set down in the holy scriptures of God, according to the measure of knowledge given to me to do, so I feel of God’s special love, a delectation, a zeal, and thirst sealed up in my heart to persevere in the same, as the infallible truth of God, and to continue in the same if it shall please God to prolong my days. Albeit, Lord, far be it from me to boast or glory in any thing in thy presence, before whom the angels are not able to plead their innocency! But, in the cause of thy Son Jesus Christ, seeing the want of sufficient zeal, diligence, and ability in the said office, and the many infirmities and imperfections staying me in the performance thereof,—as it became me, I have my refuge to the throne of thy grace, acknowledging, after all my irksome travels wherewith I am broken, that I am an unprofitable servant, referring the whole praise of my weak ministry to the glory of thy holy name, by whom I have my being and moving, craving in the meantime pardon of all my offences and sins, being now assured of the remission thereof through the merits of the death and passion of Jesus Christ, with whom I am conjoined in his everlasting covenant, by lively faith, whereby I presently possess his mercy:—Attour I render most hearty thanks unto his gracious goodness, that he has not only used me as a poor instrument to communicate his heavenly counsels unto others, but also has called me to great honour to suffer

* It is obvious from this, that Mr. Lawson had listened with improvement to the early ministrations of John Knox, though it also appears that he had *previously* a tendency in favour of the reformed opinions.

for the defence of his truth and ecclesiastical discipline* contained therein, and has of his careful providence given lively experience of the performance of that promise which his Son, my Saviour, made, that whosoever shall forsake house, father, mother, brethren, sister, wife, or children, for his name's sake, or the Gospel's, should receive a hundred fold now at this present, and life everlasting in the world to come. Not only to the most godly and learned brethren and sisters among the strangers, and especially in the godly family whereinto the Lord brought me, and wherein I have been most savingly entertained, at my heart's desire, but also to so many of my brethren and fellow-labourers in the evangel with me, of my own country, whose kindness, courtesy, and good offices towards me shown, I wish the Lord to register to the one and to the other. And now turning my exhortation to my faithful brethren whom God has called to dispense the holy mysteries of his word and sacraments, whose days it shall please the Lord to prolong after my departure, I beseech them all in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that they take heed that they employ their whole studies during whatsoever time shall be granted them on the face of the earth, to prosecute their good course to benefit the people committed to their care, by preaching the glad tidings of salvation, in season and out of season, neither for lucre nor for the fashion, but earnestly, zealously, and with ready mind, in promoting, planting, and advancing that holy ecclesiastical discipline, in the house of God, which is established in his word, and so much the more valiantly and constantly to stand in defence thereof, that Satan's supports (pseudo-episcopalians) and grievous wolves are entered in and umpiring as if they were lords over God's heritage, whom neither the apostle Paul, nor any part of the word of God, did ever allow maliciously to

* Mr. Lawson had no doubt suffered much anxiety of mind, in common with every lover of the presbyterian church, with regard to the means and measures which had lately been adopted to subvert and destroy it. Early in 1584, a parliament was held, by which the liberties of both church and state were laid at the feet of the king and of those by whom he was guided. To decline the judgment of his majesty or of the privy council *in any matter*, was declared to be treason; all that the church had done towards the abolition of episcopacy was pronounced unlawful; all church courts, such as assemblies, presbyteries, and even sessions, were suppressed, the bishops made commissioners on ecclesiastical causes, and all animadversions on the acts of government, either private or public, strictly prohibited. Against these "black acts," as they were called, not a nobleman, baron, or burgess ventured to open his mouth. Some of the ministers repaired to the parliament house with the design of protesting for the rights of the church, but were not admitted. The magistrates of Edinburgh received orders to drag from the pulpit any individual, who presumed to censure what the parliament had done. But this did not deter Mr. Lawson and his colleagues from exonerating their consciences; and, when the acts were proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, they, "taking their lives in their hands, went boldly and made public protestation" against them, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. This boldness, however, had nearly cost them their lives. Orders were immediately issued to apprehend them, and they only saved themselves by a timely flight into England, where they were soon after joined by almost twenty others of their brethren.— See M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 222.

impugn the same. And as concerning the flock of Edinburgh, howbeit this body of mine has greatly wasted, yet I repent me nothing of my travail there, being assured that the Lord has there a kirk which unfeignedly fear his name, and for whose salvation the Lord has made my ministry profitable. Therefore, from my very heart I leave my blessing to all the faithful there, who dearly love the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; and my God, blessed for ever, bless them not only with true and faithful labourers in the ministry, and to preserve them from ravenous wolves, but also with continual increase, with all godliness and perseverance in that true faith and doctrine which I have taught among them, and at last with everlasting life in heaven, whereby both they and I shall mutually rejoice. And for a few others, whose names, in charity, I suppress, who, as they grieved my heart oftentimes while I was present with them, by resisting the upright and godly cause, and assisting the enemy, so now, since my departure from them, through their subscribing that false and infamous libel* set out against us, their pastors, and sundry other unthankful dealings, which we neither merited nor looked for at their hands, they have done what in them lay, to wound the same; for my part, I forgive them with my heart; and seeing they would colour their baseness under the shadow of obedience to a superior power, I beseech the Lord to forgive the king for obtruding that letter, injuriously exacting their subscription thereunto, and to give them both true repentance therefor, and not lay the burden thereof to their charge, nor leave at their hands my blood. May the same Lord open the king's eyes to behold in what hazard he has brought the true religion, his own person, fame, and state, together with the best and most obedient subjects within his realm, and give him grace in time to withdraw himself from these pestilent and wicked counsellors wherewith he is environed, and leave that unhappy course wherein he has wrapt himself, most fearfully, to the great danger of his body and soul, unless he repent. Amen. Amen.

* In addition to the bodily disease under which Mr. Lawson was doomed to suffer, almost ever since his arrival in England, a disease which seems to have been induced by the air of that country, though no doubt aggravated by the sorrow and disappointment which he felt at the state of matters in Scotland, he was shocked and wounded in his best feelings by another circumstance. It appears he had joined with his colleague in addressing a letter to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, stating the reasons of their flight. To this letter a reply was immediately drawn up by archbishop Adamson, in name of the congregation, couched in the harshest and most contumelious terms, denominating them fugitives, rebels, and wolves, and renouncing all connexion with them. This disgraceful paper was immediately sent by the king to the town council, accompanied with an injunction, that it should be subscribed by them and the principal inhabitants; and by the threats and importunities of the court, a number of persons were induced to set their names to it. It is to this fact that Mr. Lawson alludes in the above passage; and it seems to have made a deeper impression on his mind than perhaps, considering the character of the individuals, it ought to have done; but this, when we take into account the delicacy of his feelings, under a sinking frame, and the unhappy circumstances in which he was otherwise placed, was not wonderful.—See M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i. p. 233.

“ And now I recommend my soul into the hands of my heavenly Father, the Creator thereof, and to Jesus Christ my only Redeemer and Saviour, by whom the parts of heaven are made patent unto me, willing my trusty and dearly beloved brethren, insert witnesses of this my will, to cause bury my body in that place and after that manner which shall seem good unto them, there to sleep until the day of the joyful resurrection to life everlasting, when my soul and body joined together shall have the full fruition of His face with the bodies and souls of all the faithful. And now, concerning the ordering of my family, seeing the possession of earthly things is not able to enrich my posterity ;—I desire as God is the Father of the fatherless and Comforter of the widow’s case, by the riches of his blessing to supply their poverty ; and touching the portion of goods given to me I put the same in the hands of my most special friends, Robert Fairly of Braid, Mr. John Lindsay senator of the college of justice, John Johnston, Elphingston, burgess of Edinburgh, with my loving spouse Janet Guthrie, whom I constitute executors of this my testament, and they with common consent shall choose one or more of their number to whose fidelity the intromission shall be committed upon sufficient security that all things shall come to the use of my children ; which burden I most earnestly request them to take upon them for the love and familiar conjunction that has been betwixt us in Christ, giving power to them to make and subscribe an inventure of my books, household gear, and other moveables left behind me in Scotland, wherever they shall be transported, and also praying my beloved brethren, the witnesses underwritten in this testament, to make and subscribe another inventure of my books, clothes, and other moveables which I have in London, and deliver them to be kept by my brother Mr. Walter Balcanquall ; the whole books, clothes, and other moveables, and household gear, whatsoever, contained in the said inventures, to be set at reasonable prices, and to be sold at the sight and appointment of my said executors and intromitters, and that part thereof which shall of right be judged by them to appertain to me, shall be divided into four equal portions, to my wife and three children, to bring them up in the fear of God at the schools, in such company as their wisdom shall think most meet and expedient. And, as touching the gold and silver presently in my possession here, amounting in whole to the number of 76 pieces,* I have committed them to the credit of Mr. Walter Balcanquall, to be disposed as follows : Imprimis, He shall deliver to the French kirk at London, three angels, to be distributed to their poor. Item, To Mrs. Vanual, who kept me in my sickness, an angel. Item, I will that my loving brother, Mr. James Carmichael, shall take a rose-noble instantly, and deliver it to my dear brother and loving friend, Mr. Walter Balcanquall, who has been so careful of me at all times, and especially in time of my present sickness, to remain with him as a perpetual token of my special love and

* Here there was a very curious and minute inventory given of the various coins possessed by Mr. Lawson at the time, which, however, it was not thought necessary to insert here, more especially considering the particular object, with which his latter will has been introduced into the volume.

thankful heart towards him. Item, I will that the said Mr. Walter deliver in my name to my dear and well beloved spouse, Janet Guthrie, beside other provision made, or that may fall unto her by my testament, the Portugal ducat, in sign of my loving kindness, which she has well deserved, as a faithful brother gave the same to me as a pledge of his singular love towards me. And touching the pieces of gold and English silver, resting of the sum foresaid, I will that the said Mr. Walter deliver the same, *bona fide*, to my said executors, which gold and silver, resting, I will that my said executors bestow in the manner following: *Imprimis*, To my sister, Christian Lawson, the sum of twenty pounds Scots, and all the rest to be equally parted betwixt my three bairns, in three portions: providing always, that the recompense of the physicians, apothecaries, and whatsoever expenses necessary shall be made in time of my sickness, or shall be owed by me in London, when it shall please God to call me out of this valley of misery, which is just debt, and which I am owing presently, or any expense in transporting my graith home, be first paid to my brother Mr. Balcanquall at the sight of the said brethren, of the readiest of the said sum, which shall be disbursed thereof, by the said executors after the sight of the ticket thereof, by the said brethren, which shall be a sufficient discharge unto him for the same. Lastly, I earnestly request of my loving brethren, Mr. Andrew Melville, Mr. John Davidson, and Mr. James Carmichael, to concur with my brother Mr. Walter Balcanquall in revising my written books and papers * as well at London as elsewhere, and use the same as they think may best serve for the glory of God and comfort of the kirk, and my will is, that my said executors deliver them thankfully unto their hands, giving power also to my said executors to put this my testament, if need be, in more exquisite and ample form with all clauses requisite, the substance always being reserved. In witness and verification of this my testament and constant will, in the premises, and in confirmation of my testament, written at my request by Mr. James Carmichael, I, the said Mr. James Lawson, hath subscribed the same with my hand,† and desire my good and trusty friends, Mr.

* It appears that Mr. Lawson, in his books and papers, left many proofs of his talents and industry, but we are not aware that any of his writings were published, though they must no doubt have been highly valuable from the "zeal, learning, and eloquence," ascribed to him, by his cotemporaries.

† Perhaps it may appear to some that, viewed as a testimony to a man's religious tenets, there is here a degree of minute formality which might have been dispensed with. Regarded as a legal deed anent the disposition of his property, perhaps some attention to this may be allowed to have been necessary; but the truth is, that it was in the former rather than the latter of these views that the designs and sentiments of the testator were, in the times in which he lived, liable to be misrepresented. And such, in point of fact, was the virulence of party feeling against him, that archbishop Adamson, on hearing of his death, wrote a testament in his name, containing a recantation of his principles, and also a variety of letters to his brethren, in which he is made to reflect on their conduct and motives in opposing the king and bishops! It was thus that acts which, at the present day, would disgrace and criminate the humblest citizen in the eyes of his countrymen, were then resorted to by men in the highest stations in life, with a view to supporting a cause which had no footing of itself in the feelings of the people.

Andrew Melville, provost of the new college of St. Andrews, Mr. James Carmichael, minister of God's word in Haddington, Mr. John Davidson, minister of God's word at Libberton, and Mr. Walter Balcanquall, my colleague, in the ministry at Edinburgh, to testify the same by their handwriting, the which also they did in my presence, after we had all heard the same distinctly read, day, month, year, and place foresaid.

Sic. Sub.*—JAMES LAWSON,
Called in the Lord."

Mr. ANDREW MELVILLE,
Mr. JAMES CARMICHAEL,
Mr. JOHN DAVIDSON,
Mr. WALTER BALCANQUALL.

} Witnesses to the Premises.

VII. ROBERT ROLLOCK.

[Mr. Rollock was born about the year 1555. After finishing his studies at St. Andrews, he was chosen a professor of philosophy in that university. In this office he continued for four years, discharging its duties with much applause, when, about the year 1585, he was invited to a chair in the university of Edinburgh. In that institution he afterwards became principal, a station which he occupied till his death, in 1598. He was signally distinguished not only by the conscientious diligence with which he performed his public duties, but also by the peculiarly mild and Christian spirit, which adorned his private character, and which, as the following details evince, became especially prominent in his last sickness.]

Perceiving that his end was approaching, he, with his wonted prudence, settled his domestic concerns, and solemnly commended his wife, at that time pregnant of her first and only child, to the care of his friends. Two of these friends, (Patrick Galloway and David Lindsay) who had always stood high in his regard, having come to him, he called them to witness that he professed himself to be a dying man, and as such, he implored them to go in his name to the king, and to exhort him to prosecute the path of religion in the same inoffensive course† he had hitherto followed; proceed in it with an unfaltering step till the last hour of life, and not allow himself to be drawn from it, either by the hope of enlarging his authority, or by the

* MS. Life of Lawson.

† It must be confessed, that in this and other instances, the language employed in reference to the king is somewhat too flattering and obsequious. It may be observed, however, in palliation, that the commendation here bestowed, was evidently meant to refer to the immediately preceding, and consequently least objectionable years of James' reign; and that at all events, such language, however objectionable it may appear, could have proceeded from no wish or the part of Rollock to compromise his principles, but only from that singularly benevolent temper and innate love of peace, by which he was so prominently characterized through life.

evil advices of wicked men. With respect to the pastors of the church, for which he felt an equal degree of reverence, he thus spoke: "The ministry of Christ, though in human calculation a mean and humble office, was yet glorious in the sight of God; and though ministers are earthen vessels, the refuse and offscourings of the earth, they will hereafter shine in glorious splendour."

Afterwards the ministers of Edinburgh having waited upon him, he discoursed to them as follows: "Wearied out with a weight of sickness, and longing for rest and the end of my life, I continue to breathe and hope; yet I have not so learned nor preached Christ, but in him to feel support under all my distresses. The care of the college, brethren, has always stood highest in my thoughts: God is my witness with what faithfulness and diligence he enabled me to look after its administration, and I am sensible to myself, you are not ignorant of the advantages that redound to the church and the commonwealth from the right management of that society. The thread of my life is now breaking; I am fast hastening to my home, my country, my Father's house, long and much desired by me. I beg of you when I am taken away, let not the college mourn too bitterly and long, in widowhood. You, I hope, even you, my brethren, will not be stepmothers to her, but affectionate and kind parents, and nourish and cherish her in your bosom. The work of the ministry has also lain heavily on my spirit, and you are not ignorant of my motives in entering upon it. I dare not say I have ever done any thing worthy of that high office, but I *dare* say it was in my heart so to do. You will remember that I was chosen by the assembly at Dundee to watch for the interest of this church. In this, I had the glory of God and the safety of the church, miserably tossed with tempests and shaking, before mine eyes; and I can now declare, that my conscience does not smite me with any wicked departure from duty, in doubling the number of the ministers of Edinburgh, and particularly in my activity to bring in two (Messrs. Howat and Robertson) who studied under me, when I thought I saw gifts in them suitable to such a trust, and hoped God would bless their labours. I am so far from repenting any share I had in it, that to this hour it is satisfying to me. It was lately told me that a rumour is propagated, as if I were vexed in mind for the hand I had in this. But I can appeal to God, the witness and judge of secrets, before whose tribunal I am shortly to stand, that in all that matter, I had right and straight ends before me, according to the grace and prudence God has vouchsafed to me: and there is nothing that vexes and troubles me now. I am persuaded the wise Maker of the world has tied the church and state together, with a brotherly and adamant chain, and it hath been my great care to advance the good of both; so that the temporal sword should not be perniciously drawn against the church, nor the church incited against the king and state, and that an inevitable war might be prevented. And yet the love of peace hath not so far bewitched me, that I could not distinguish between genuine and adulterous peace, neither hath my affection to my sovereign carried

me that length as that, to please him, I would submit to the least stain on my conscience. I hope the integrity and candour of my practice shall appear when I am dead. In a word, brethren, join together with the most intimate love and concord in the work of the Lord. What can be more unnatural than that the ambassadors of peace should be rending one another with strife and discord? especially at a season when our enemies are so busy, and our forces ought not to be scattered by strife, but by all means united, that so we may thrust not at one another, but only at our enemies' hearts. Let me put you in mind to pay the most obsequious obedience to the king. You live in happy times, and enjoy a singular felicity. You are blessed with a prince who drunk in religion with his milk, who hath guarded your doctrine with a right discipline, and covers both the doctrine and discipline of religion with his protection; who hath taken the church so much into his care, as by open and plain unanswerable documents to make it evident, that he will never desert her while he breathes. Therefore, what you may easily and pleasantly enjoy, it will be folly to seek after by harsh methods. You will then take particular care that the church be not ruined by a fall from such high happiness. Paul might have retained Onesimus with him, but without Philemon he would do nothing, *that his benefit should not be as of constraint, but willingly*. It is my opinion, we should follow the apostle's pattern in matters of far greater weight. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, enrich you with all spiritual blessings, and furnish you with all might and strength for the faithful discharge of your office."

Towards the evening of the same day, he appeared to feel that death was fast approaching, and fell out into a most rapturous discourse, which edified all that heard him. The physicians having attempted by some prescriptions to alleviate his trouble, he turned himself and said, "Thou, O Lord, wilt be my Physician." He then prayed most fervently for the pardon of sins, through the Redeemer's merits, declaring that he counted all things dross and dung, be they ever so great, for the excellency of the cross of Christ. He then beseeched God that he would give him a comfortable and happy end to this life, that being covered under the wings of mercy, he might sleep in Christ, and enjoy the face of God, which he most violently longed to see. "I have seen thee," added he, "in the faint glass of the word, as through a glass darkly; allow me that long and much wished for enjoyment, of the light of thy countenance for eternity." He then discoursed of the resurrection and eternal life, as if he were already in heaven; and taking all present by the hand, like the patriarchs of old, he blessed them, adding exhortations, suited to the temper and office of each individual.

Next day, the magistrates and counsellors of the city having waited on him, he addressed them as follows: "As far as I can conjecture, I am going over the threshold of time, and entering into my native country and my Father's house. This is not uneasy to me: I have frequently longed for the end of this life. I have still been most anxious about the college; and now when I am about to leave it,

were I silent in giving my opinion about my successor to be set over it, I could scarcely be free of the stain of negligence. It would be of little use, in my judgment, to go abroad and bring in a stranger to preside in that society, who would know little of the doctrine and discipline of this college. You have at home a person richly fitted with gifts and qualifications for this station—Mr. Henry Charters—who, while a scholar of mine, made vast advances in learning, and hath now for ten years filled the place of a professor of philosophy, with the greatest reputation. Place him in the principal's place, set him at the helm of the college, and you will see God favouring him, and blessing his labours. By your office, you are patrons and cherishers of the college; permit me to wish you may be sincerely careful of it."

When he had ended what he had said to the magistrates and masters, he spoke as follows, with reference to his spiritual state: "I thank my God that my memory, sight, hearing, and the rest of my senses, are as perfect as ever; but my heart is loosed from this world. Lord Jesus, when wilt thou come and take full possession of my heart? Thou hast the sole claim upon it. It was my main study through my life to dedicate and consecrate it to thee. O, come and take it, that I may for ever be thine!" When he had said this, he fell into a soft rest for a little; but on awakening, he thus resumed: "Come, Lord Jesus," said he, "break the thread of this miserable life! Haste, Lord, and make no tarrying; thou hast redeemed me not to enjoy this frail life, but life eternal. Come, Lord Jesus, grant that life to which thou hast redeemed me."

When some about him regretted their loss in his removal, he said, "I have gone through all the stages of life. I am come to the last step of my race—why do you hinder me? Lord Jesus, with thy help, I will comfortably step this last step. Take me to that glory which I have seen only as through a glass. O, to be for ever with thee!" And when it was told him that the day following was the Sabbath, he exclaimed, "Lord, may my everlasting Sabbath have its happy beginning from thy Sabbath!"

From this time, he got tolerable rest, till the middle of the night, when his trouble having increased, he began to expect his last struggle. Having desired Mr. Balcanquall to be sent for, he addressed him thus: "Sir, because you are the oldest minister in Edinburgh, and my friendship with you is not of late, I have sent for you, that I may show the reverence with which, from my youth, I have venerated Christ's ministers. I have, according to the measure God hath bestowed on me, been pouring out my prayer before the Lord—pray you now for me, and with me: I'll join with you in heart and affection, only let me beg you'll not ask the lengthening out of my life." When all present had kneeled, Mr. Balcanquall prayed; and having, among other things, entreated that the Lord would yet allow the enjoyment of such a valuable person, whom the church and commonwealth so much needed, Mr. Rollock said, "I am fully weary of this life, and only desire the heavenly life which is hid in Christ with God."

When prayer was ended, he broke out in raptures, commending the preached Gospel. "The preached word," said he, "is life—without it none can be saved. Believe me, it is not a light matter to preach the word. It is quite another matter than to explain the text of Plato or Aristotle, or to make an oration with the paint and softness of words. The preaching of the word takes in sanctity, humility, and the demonstration of the Spirit." And turning again unto prayer, he said, "Come, Lord Jesus, break the nerves of my eyes—grant me new eyes! I long to be dissolved, and to be with thee. Hasten to come, Lord Jesus, do not delay—Poor life, remove! that the better, infinitely better life of God may enter in. Lay hands, Lord Jesus, on this body, arrest it, and take to thyself this soul!"

After this, he lay silent till about daybreak, on Sabbath morning, when he broke out in these words: "Come, Lord, and do not tarry: I am weary with my trouble, day and night. Come, Lord Jesus, that I may come to thee. O how sweet would the end of this life be to me! My sweet Lord, come, divorce my soul from this body, that I may enjoy thee, my husband. Separate this soul of mine from all things, that it may fly to thee, its head and centre!" Here one of the bystanders said, "Do not weary, your Lord *will* come:" to whom he replied, "Most welcome to me is that news. I wish that to-morrow may be my funeral day." Then another having observed, "Happy is the soul which is so near to God as yours is;" he said, "In myself there is nothing which I do not regard as dung, that I may win Christ. Christ is my only source of comfort: all my own righteousness is as filthy rags." Being asked whether he desired the presence of any minister, he replied, that he wished not to trouble them whilst preparing for public service. "Allow me," said he, "like a parrot, to keep speaking with my Lord!" Being informed that the public service had commenced, he said, "Give me, O Lord, to see and feel the things which others are at this moment hearing." About mid-day, a certain person thus spoke to him: "Throughout your whole life, with unwearied diligence and constant labour you have promoted the glory of God:" to which he replied, "My sole ground of glorying is the mercy of God, through Jesus Christ: all other things I regard as loss." After this he fell into a soft sleep, which lasted till the evening; upon awaking from which, he was visited by the lord provost of Edinburgh, and thus addressed him: "I have already seriously commended to the care of the magistrates, of which you, my lord, are the chief, the interests of the college: do you also take it under your protection; let it experience in you a parent and a benefactor. Seeing by the high station in which you preside over the city, and the august office with which God has invested you, you are able to give support to the church, do not, I beseech you, withdraw such support: on the contrary, do you exert your power and influence towards its protection; apply yourself to it with the utmost vigour, that so you may attain salvation through Jesus Christ. All worldly things are perishable, and will soon perish; but God will enrich you, your wife, and your family, out of the treasure of his goodness." During the same night he let fall such expressions

as these : " In a diseased body I have a tranquil mind : I am not troubled with the fear of death, of sin, or of Satan, for over me these have no power : but yet I am so borne down with a weight of sickness, that I am preserved to this hour, far beyond hope. The Lord is as it were breaking me in his mortar, with the pestle of affliction, that he may make me anew for his own kingdom."

On the Monday following, he thus spoke : " It is wonderful," said he, " that afflicted as I am with such acute pain, my life should be so long protracted ; but yet I shall wait in patience the good pleasure of the Lord : I shall bear with it, I shall bear with it—let him do with me as seems good to him ; I shall not contend with him. What is man, that he should contend with God ? Nay, even should he thrust him into hell, he ought to be obeyed, and not opposed ! Be gracious to me, O Lord, for the sake of Jesus Christ. I blush not to confess, that never as during this affliction, have I arrived at such a height of divine knowledge ! O how dreadful to fall into the hands of Jehovah ! but, for me there is mercy laid up in Christ. Why then art thou disquieted, my soul ? Why art thou cast down within me ? In a very little thou shalt have the light of his countenance, and a sweet meeting !"

Again, on the morning of the following day : " Now," said he, reciting some of its words, " now do I experience the truth of the 6th Psalm—' Be gracious to me, O Lord, for I am oppressed with pain. Save me, O Lord, for my bones are sore vexed.' " Then, after a short pause, " Christ shall bear my yoke, and I, upheld by his grace, shall follow in his footsteps." When the bystanders, perceiving him convulsed with the violence of the pain, began to weep and mourn, he thus chided them : " Weep not on my account, but weep for your sins : since no one is free from sin, no one is without good cause for tears. With regard to myself, I shall ere long behold the end and conclusion of all these things." Towards evening, one of his relatives having come to him, excited his displeasure by this impious request : that, when received into heaven, he would mediate in behalf of him and his other friends. Immediately on hearing it, as if boiling with indignation, he suddenly raised up his emaciated and almost lifeless body, and said, " I disclaim that office : Christ is the alone Mediator." Not long after this, he was visited by his elder brother, whom he thus addressed : " Do you," said he, " carry a reproof to our kinsman :—admonish him to adopt a different line of conduct, otherwise there can be to him no safety for him ; but on the contrary, inevitable destruction." From this time forward he refused all sustenance, saying, " I shall no more eat or drink, until I am translated to the kingdom of heaven." He intrusted the care of his funeral to two intimate and long tried friends. " Why," said he, " should I not have a concern for my body, since it is yet to be glorified and made like unto Christ's own glorious body ?" and looking to his hands, " These very hands," he exclaimed, " shall then shine with effulgent glory !" After this his speech became gradually more constrained and difficult. His short sentences, yet impressive and powerful—breathing and savouring of heavenly joy—by degrees gave place to a gentle slum-

ber, in which, having continued for a while, he placidly and quietly commended his spirit to his Creator and Redeemer. His death took place on the 8th of February, 1598.*

VIII. ANDREW DUNCAN.

[Of Mr. Duncan's birth and parentage we have no account. In 1581, he occupied the place of a regent in St. Leonard's college, St. Andrews. He was afterwards settled as minister of Crail, in Fife, and became signally distinguished by the sufferings he endured, in favour of the presbyterian polity. He was ultimately banished to France; but after several years' exile, was allowed to return, upon making some acknowledgments. The following copy of his latter will may be regarded as his testimony to the truths of the Gospel. It bears date 14th April, 1626.]

" I, Andrew Duncan, a sinful wight, Christ's unworthy minister in his glorious Gospel, being sickly and weak, worn out with years, and heaviness of heart in this pilgrimage; and being now weary of this loathsome prison, this body of death, because of sin; and having received sundry advertisements and summonses from my Master to flit out of this uncouth country, the region of death, home to my native land; and now sitting upon the prison-door threshold, ready to obey, waiting till the sad messenger be sent to convey me home to that glorious palace, even the heavenly Jerusalem, that I may enter into possession of my heritage, even that glorious kingdom in eternity, which Christ came down from heaven to conquer for me; and then went up to prepare and possess it in my name, as my attorney, until it pleased his Majesty to take me thither, that I may in my own person possess it, I proceed to set down the declaration of my latter will, concerning those things which God hath lent me in this world; in manner following: First, as touching myself, body and soul; my soul I leave to Christ Jesus, who gave it, and when it was lost, redeemed it, that he may send his holy angels to transport it to the bosom of Abraham, there to enjoy all happiness and contentment; and as for this frail body, I commend it to the grave, there to sleep and rest, as in a sweet bed, until the day of refreshment, when it shall be reunited to the soul, and shall be set down at the table with the holy patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; yea, shall be placed on the throne with Christ, and get the crown of glory on my head. As for the children whom God hath given me, (for which I thank Him,) I leave them to his providence, to be governed and cared for by him, beseeching Him to be the tutor, curator, and agent, in all their adoos, yea, and a father; and that he would lead them by his gracious Spirit, through this evil world: that they may be profitable instruments, both in kirk and commonwealth, to set out his glory; beseeching them on

* Lives of Rollock, in Latin, by Robertson and Charters.

the other part, (as they would have God's blessing, and mine in all their affairs,) to set him before their eyes, and to walk in his ways, living peaceably in his fear, in all humility and meekness, with all those they have ado with; holding their course to heaven, and comforting themselves with the glorious and fair to-look-at heritage, which Christ hath conquered for them, and for all that love him. Under God, I leave John Duncan, my eldest son, to be tutor to my youngest daughter, Bessie Duncan, his youngest sister, to take a care of her, and to see that all turns go right, touching her person and gear. For executors, I leave my three sons, John, William, and David, to do my turns after me, and to put in practice my directions; requesting them to be good and comfortable to their sisters, but chiefly to the two that are at home, as they would have God's blessing and mine. Concerning my temporal goods, the baggage and blathrie of the earth, as I have gotten them in the world from God's liberal hand, so I leave them behind me in the world; giving most humble and hearty thanks unto my heavenly Father for so long and comfortable loan of the same.*

Sig. Sub.—ANDREW DUNCAN."

IX. JOHN WELCH.

[Mr. Welch was born about the year 1570. His first settlement as a minister was at Selkirk. From thence he was translated to Kirkcudbright and afterwards to Ayr. In all of these places, but especially the last of them, his labours were signally blessed. It is chiefly, however, for the persecutions he endured on behalf of religion and presbyterian church-government that he is justly regarded as a most eminent Scots Worthy. With other five of his brethren he was banished to France, and remained there till within a short time of his death. He was then allowed to come to England, but not to enter Scotland. He died at London in the year 1622, after a violent exertion in preaching. No detail of his last words has been preserved, but the following extracts from a letter written to a noble lady, shortly before his banishment, in 1606, may serve to indicate the state of his mind, in reference to eternity.]

"My desire to remain here is not great, knowing that so long as I am in this house of clay, I am absent from the Lord: and if it were dissolved, I look for a building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. In this I groan, desiring to be clothed upon with my new house which is in heaven: if so be, that being clothed, I shall not be found naked. For I that am within this tabernacle, do oftentimes groan and sigh within myself, being oftentimes burdened; not that I would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be

* Scots Worthies—Life of Duncan.

swallowed up of life. I long to eat the fruit of that tree which is planted in the midst of the paradise of God; and to drink of the pure river, clear as crystal, that runs through the streets of the new Jerusalem. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and that though after my skin worms devour my body, yet in my flesh I shall see God, whom I shall see for myself, and not another, and mine eyes shall behold him, though my reins be consumed within me. I long to be refreshed in company with the souls of them that are under the altar, who were slain for the word of God and the testimony which they held; and to have the long white robe given me, that I may walk in white with those glorious saints, who have washed their garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Why should I think it a strange thing to be removed from this place to that wherein is my hope, my joy, my crown, my eldest Brother, my Head, my Father, my Comforter, and all the glorified saints; and where the song of Moses and of the Lamb is sung joyfully; where we shall no longer be compelled to sit by the rivers of Babylon, and hang our harps upon the willows, but shall take them and sing the new hallelujah—blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, to him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever! What is under this old vault of the heavens, and in this old worn out earth, (which is under the bondage of corruption, groaning and travailling in pain, and as it were still shooting out the head, looking, waiting, and longing for the redemption of the sons of God) what is there I say, that should make me remain here? I expect that new heaven and that new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, and wherein I shall dwell for evermore. I look to get entry into the new Jerusalem, at one of those twelve gates whereupon are written the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. I know that Christ Jesus hath prepared room for me; why may I not then, with boldness in his blood, step into that glory, into which my Head and Lord hath gone before me? Jesus Christ is the Door and the Porter, who then shall hold me out? Will he let them perish for whom he died? Will he let that poor sheep be plucked out of his hand for whom he hath laid down his life? Who shall condemn the man whom God hath justified? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of the man for whom Christ hath died, or rather risen again? I know I have grievously transgressed, but where sin abounded, grace hath superabounded. I know my sins are red as scarlet and crimson, yet the blood of Christ my Lord, can make me as white as snow and as wool. Whom have I in heaven but him, or whom desire I in earth beside him? O thou, the fairest among the children of men, the light of the Gentiles, the glory of the Jews, the life of the dead, the joy of angels and saints, my soul panteth to be with thee! I will put my spirit into thy hands, and thou wilt not put it out of thy presence. I will come unto thee; for thou castest none away that come unto thee, O thou only delight of mankind! Thou camest to seek and save that which was lost. Thou, seeking me, hast found me: and now being found by thee, I hope, O Lord, thou wilt not let me perish. I desire to be

with thee, and do long for the fruition of thy blessed presence, and joy of thy countenance. Thou, the only good Shepherd, art full of grace and truth: therefore, I trust, thou wilt not thrust me out of the door of thy presence and grace. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Thee. Who shall separate me from thy love? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things I am more than conqueror through thy majesty who hath loved me. For I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other creature, is able to separate me from the love of the majesty which is in Christ Jesus, my Lord. I refuse not to die with thee, that I may live with thee. I refuse not to suffer with thee, that I may rejoice with thee. Shall not all things be pleasant to me, which may be my last step, by which, or upon which, I may come unto thee. When shall I be satiate with thy face? When shall I be drunk with thy pleasures? Come, Lord Jesus, and tarry not. The Spirit saith come. The Bride saith come. Even so Lord Jesus, come quickly, and tarry not.

“Why should the multitude of mine iniquities, or the greatness of them affright me? Why should I faint in this mine adversity to be with thee? The greater sinner I have been, the greater glory will be thy grace to me, unto all eternity. Oh unspeakable joy, endless, infinite, and bottomless compassion! O, ocean of neverfading pleasure! O! love of love! O! the height, and the depth, and breadth, and length of that love of thine that passeth knowledge! O uncreated love! Beginning, without beginning, and ending without an end! Thou art my glory, my joy, my gain, and my crown. Thou hast set me under thy shadow with great delight, and thy fruit is sweet unto my taste. Thou hast brought me into thy banqueting-house, and placed me in thine orchard. Stay me with thy flaggons, and comfort me with thine apples: for I am sick, and my soul is wounded with thy love. Behold, thou art fair, my love: behold, thou art fair, thou hast dove's eyes. Behold, thou art fair my love; yea, pleasant also: our bed is green. The beams of our house are cedars and our rafters are of fir. How fair and how pleasant art thou! O love for delights! my heart is ravished with thee. O when shall I see thy face? How long wilt thou delay to be to me as a roe, or a young hart, leaping upon the mountains, and skipping upon the hills? As a bundle of myrrh be thou unto me, and lie all night between my breasts. Because of the savour of thy good ointments, thy name is as an ointment poured out; therefore, desire I to go out of the desert, and through to the place where thou sittest at thy repose, and where thou makest thy flocks to rest at noon. When shall I be filled with thy love? Certainly, if a man knew how precious it were, he would count all things dross and dung to gain it. I would long for that scaffold, or that axe, or that cord, that might be to me the last step of this my wearisome journey, to go to thee my Lord. Thou, who knowest the meaning of the spirit, give answer to the speaking, sighing, and groaning of the spirit within

me. Thou, who hast inflamed my heart to speak to thee in this silent, yet love-language of ardent and fervent desire, speak again unto my heart, answer my desires, which thou hast made me speak to thee. O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law: but thanks be to God, that giveth me the victory, through my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. What can be troublesome to me, since my Lord looks upon me with so amiable a countenance? And how greatly do I long for these embracements of my Lord! O that he would kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for his love is better than wine! O that my soul were the throne whereon he might sit eternally! O that my heart were the temple wherein he might be magnified and dwell for ever!* Who am I that he should first have called me, and then constitute me a minister of the glad tidings of the gospel of salvation these years already, and now last of all to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom. Now let it be so, that I have fought my fight, and run my race, and now from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righteousness, which the Lord that righteous God will give, and not to me only, but to all that love his appearance, and choose to witness this, that Jesus Christ is the king of saints, and that his church is a most free kingdom, yet as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, and conventions and assemblies; but also to judge of all her affairs, in all her meetings and conventions amongst her members and subjects. These two points, First, That Christ is the head of his church. Secondly, That she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's; these two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment, being now convict as traitors for the maintaining thereof: we have been ever waiting with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our God to be so favourable as to honour us with that dignity: yea I do affirm, that these two points above written, and all other things which belong to Christ's crown, sceptre, and kingdom, are not subject, nor cannot be, to any other authority, but to his own altogether. So that I would be most glad to be offered up as a sacrifice for so glorious a truth: but alas! I fear

* There are not only many expressions, but even sentiments, as must be confessed, in this address of the Saviour inconsistent with the rigid and refined taste of modern times, as regards the feelings and language of devotion. But this being acknowledged, it may also be observed, that there is a glow and a fervour, (occasionally well expressed) in the sentiments of this good man, to which the experience of ordinary professors, affords no parallel, and with which therefore, it cannot be expected that they should readily sympathize. The truth is, that the habitual tone of Mr. Welch's mind is scarcely equalled by the occasional and most elevated states of feeling experienced by every-day Christians: no wonder then, that upon occasions like the present, it should exhibit something like ecstasy and extravagance. Indeed, it must be obvious to every one who compares the religious character of the present age with that of Welch and Rutherford, and other worthies, that whatever we have gained in clearness and simplicity of view, we have lost in depth and intensity of feeling.

that my sins and the abuse of so glorious things as I have found, deprive me of so fair a crown; yet my Lord doth know, if he should call me to it, and strengthen me in it, it would be to me the most glorious day, and the gladdest hour, I ever saw in this life, but I am in his hand to do with me whatsoever shall please his majesty. It may suffice me I have had so long a time in the knowledge of the gospel, and that I have seen the things that I have seen, and heard the things that I have heard, and through the grace of God, I have been so long a witness of these glorious and good news, in my weak ministry, and that my witnessing hath not been altogether without fruit and blessing; so that I hope at that day, I shall have him to be my crown, my glory, my joy, and reward, and therefore boldly I say with Simeon, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, not in a peaceable dying in my bed, but by rendering up to him my spirit, and the sealing and stamping this truth with my blood. I desire not to have it remedied, but let my Lord's will be done.

“ The guilt of our blood shall not only lie upon our prince, but also upon our own brethren, bishops, counsellors, and commissioners, it is they, even they that have stirred up our prince against us; we must therefore lay the blame and burden of our blood upon them especially, however the rest above written be partakers of their sins with them: and as to the rest of our brethren, who either by silence approve, or by crying peace, peace, strengthen the arm of the wicked, that they cannot return, in the mean time make the hearts of the righteous sad, they shall all in like manner be guilty of high treason against the King of kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, his crown and kingdom.

“ Next unto them, all our commissioners, chancellor, president, comptroller, advocate, and next unto them, all that first or last sat in council, and did not bear plain testimony for Jesus Christ and his kingdom, for which we do suffer. And next unto them, all those who should have at present, and who should at such times have come, and made open testimony of Christ faithfully, although it had been contrary to plain law, and with the hazard of their lives. When the poor Jews were in such danger, that nothing was expected but utter destruction, queen Esther, after three days' fasting, concluded thus with herself, ‘ I will,’ said she, ‘ go in to the king,’ though it be not according to law, ‘ and if I perish I perish,’ Esther ix. 16. With this resolution, such as are born counsellors, should have said, Christ's kingdom is now in my hand, and I am bound, also, and sworn, by a special covenant, to maintain the doctrine and discipline thereof, according to my vocation and power, all the days of my life; under all the pains contained in the book of God, and danger of body and soul, in the day of God's fearful judgment; and therefore, though I should perish in the cause, yet will I speak for it, and to my power defend it, according to my vocation. Finally, All those that counsel, command, consent, and allow, are guilty in the sight of God. But the mourners for these evils, and the faithful of the land, and those who are unfeignedly grieved in heart, for all these abominations, those shall be marked as not guilty, Ezek. ix.

“ I know not whether I shall have occasion to write again; and

therefore, by this letter, as my latter will and testament, I give testimony, warning, and knowledge of these things to all men, according to the Lord's direction to the prophet, 'Son of man, I have made thee a watchman,' Ezek. xxxiii. 7. &c. Therefore I give warning to all men hereby, that no man's blood be required at my hand. Thus desiring the help of your prayers, with my humble commendations and service in Christ, to my lord, your husband, and all the saints there, the messenger of peace be with you all for evermore. Amen. Yours to my full power, for the time Christ's prisoner.

JOHN WELCH.*

X. ROBERT BRUCE.

[Robert Bruce was one of the most distinguished men of his time. He was born about the year 1554, and bred to the study of the law; but in consequence of strong conscientious feelings, he was led to prefer that of divinity, and became ere long one of the ministers of Edinburgh. Here he shone as a great light, and forthwith became a principal actor in the affairs of the church, and a strenuous maintainer of its established forms. He thus exposed himself to much persecution, which he endured with unshrinking constancy. He concluded a long and arduous life in a manner which deserves to be recorded, giving a short but striking testimony to the strength and reality of his faith and his hope.]

For some time previous to his death, which happened in August 1631, he was, through age and infirmity, mostly confined to his chamber. Being frequently visited by friends and acquaintances, he was on one occasion asked by one of them, how matters stood betwixt God and his soul? He made this reply, "When I was young, I was diligent, and lived by faith on the Son of God; but now I am old and not able to do so much, and yet he condescends to feed me with lumps of sense and experience." On the morning before he was removed, his sickness consisting chiefly in the weakness of age, he came to breakfast; and having, as usual, eaten an egg, he said to his daughters, "I think I am yet hungry, ye may bring me another egg." But instantly thereafter, falling into deep meditation, and after having mused a little, he said, "Hold, daughter, my Master calls me!" Upon these words, his sight failed him; and calling for his family Bible, but finding he could not see, he said, "Cast up to me the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and set my finger on these words, *I am persuaded that neither death nor life, &c. shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord.*" "Now," said he, "is my finger upon them?" and being told it was, he said, "Now God be with you my children; I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup with my Lord Jesus Christ this night." And so, like Abraham of old, he gave up the ghost in a good old age, and was gathered to his people. †

* Life of Welch. pp. 13—19. † Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures, vol. i.

XI. JOHN GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

[This nobleman was born in 1559. He was fortunate in having spent some time, in his youth, with the famous Mr. Welch of Ayr, during his exile in France. This was most probably the source of his religious impressions; impressions which, though for a time extinguished by the pursuits of worldly ambition in which he mingled, were revived in the season of sickness, and at death were displayed with a power to which the experience of few Christians affords any parallel. The illness of which he died lasted about a fortnight. The whole of his experience during that period, has been recorded. What is here given as his *last words*, refers to the four days which preceded his death, when his faith was confirmed, and the doubts and fears previously felt by him, had passed away.]

Some consolatory truths being stated to him, which he welcomed and repeated, the pastor who attended him (Mr. Rutherford) perceiving him becoming weaker, said, "My lord, the marriage feast is drawing near; make ready the marriage robes; set aside all care of your estate and the world; and give yourself to meditation, prayer, and spiritual conference."

After that, he was observed to be always upon that exercise; and when none was near him, he was overheard praying; and many times, when to our sense he was sound sleeping, he was at prayer. After a sleep, he called for the pastor, and said, "I have been troubled in my sleep with this, that being at peace with God, I am not also at peace with men; and, therefore, send for such a kinsman, (with whom I am not reconciled), as also for such a minister that did before offend me, that I may friend with them;" which was done quickly. When the preacher came, he said, "I have ground of offence against you, as a natural man, and now I do to you what all men breathing could not have moved me to do, but now because the Holy Spirit commands me, I must obey, and therefore I freely forgive you, as I would wish you to forgive me. You are in an eminent place; walk before God, and be faithful in your calling, and take heed to your steps; walk in the right road; hold your eye right; for all the world, decline not from holiness, and take example by me." To his cousin he said, "Serve the Lord, and follow not the footsteps of your father-in-law, (he had married the bishop of Galloway's daughter;) learn to know that you have a soul, for I say to you, the thousandth part of the world knoweth not they have a soul; the world liveth without any sense of God."

He wished the pastor to sleep in a bed made upon the ground beside him, within the chamber, and urged him against his call to lie down and sleep, and said, "You and I have a far journey to go; make you for it." Some four nights before his death, he would drink a cup of wine to the pastor, who answered, "I receive it, my lord, in hope you shall drink of the pure river of the water of life, proceeding from the throne of God, and from the Lamb;" and when the cup was in his hand, with a smiling countenance, he said, "I think

I have good cause to drink with a good will to you." After some heaviness, the pastor said, "My lord, I come with news to you." He answered, "What be they?" The pastor answered, "Be not afraid of death and judgment, because the process that your Judge had against you is cancelled and rent in pieces, and Jesus Christ hath trampled it under his feet: your dittay is burnt." My lord said, very pithily, with a smile, "O! that is a lucky tale: I will then believe and rejoice, for sure I am that Jesus Christ and I once met, and will he not come again?" The pastor said, "My lord, you have gotten the first-fruits of the Spirit,—the earnest,—and Christ will not loose his earnest: therefore the bargain betwixt Christ and you hold-eth." He asked the pastor, "What is Christ like, that I may know him?" The pastor answered, "He is like love, and altogether lovely, Cant. v. 6. Love cannot but be known wheresoever it is." The pastor said, "My lord, if you had the man Christ in your arms now, would you not thrust him to your heart, howbeit your heart and side be pained with a stitch?" He answered, "God knoweth, I would forget my pain, and thrust him into my heart; yea, if I had my heart in the palm of my hand, I would give it him, and think it too unworthy a gift for him." He complained of Jesus Christ's going and coming. "I find," said he, "my soul drowneth with heaviness: when the Lord cometh, he stayeth not long." The pastor said, "Wooers dwell not together, but married folks take up house together, and sunder not. Jesus Christ is now wooing, and therefore he feedeth his own with hunger, which is as growing meat, as the sense of his presence." He said often, "Son of God, when wilt thou come? God is not a man that he should change, or as the son of man that he should repent. Those that come to Christ he casteth not away, but raiseth them up at the last day." Still, after peace and full assurance of reconciliation, he cast back his eyes to his sins, and mourned. The pastor discoursed to him of the New Jerusalem, and the glory of our Father's house above, and said, "What will you think, my lord, when Christ shall dry your watery eyes, and wipe all tears from your face, and lay your head upon his breast, and embrace you in his arms, and kiss you with the kisses of his mouth?" He said, "I want words to say what I think; but I know heaven is above the commendation of all earthly men, howbeit they had the tongues of angels." He was heard to say in his sleep, *My well-beloved is mine, and I am his*. Being asked if he was sleeping, "he said he was asleep, but he remembered he was giving a claim to Christ in his sleep."

Another time, after sleep, he wakened with exceeding great joy, not long before his death, saying, "I have felt an extreme sweetness, a sweet perfume, which so filled my heart, that I was not able to contain the same; and as a precious perfume, it diffused itself through the whole rooms about me, with a most delicate and odoriferous smell." The physician desired him to say over the words again, which he did, and said he felt "joy unspeakable and glorious." After a sound sleep, in the dawning, the pastor said, "My lord, where lay Christ all night? Did not your well beloved lie as a bundle of myrrh betwixt your breasts?" He answered, "Nay, not betwixt my breasts,

but betwixt my breasts locked in my heart." He asked, "When will my heart be loosed, and my tongue untied, that I may express the sweetness of the love of God to my soul?" and before the pastor answered any thing, he answered himself, "even when the wind bloweth." Being asked by the pastor, "If ever he had benefited by the word of God in public, which he had heard preached these many years;" he answered, "I never came to your communion, but I was filled with the sense of God, and Christ was powerfully borne in upon my soul, that do my best, I was not able to hold him out; but in he would be, whether I would or not; but oh! oh! my woful outbreakings, for the saints I was inclined to. The devil and temptations took me at such a time, as I could not win by unhurt, but oh! oh! strong, strong Jesus; O the depth of the love that would not want me!"

Being asked, "what was his judgment concerning the ceremonies now entered in the kirk of God?" "I think," said he, "and am persuaded in my conscience, they are superstitious, idolatrous, and antichristian, and come from hell, and I repute it a mercy, that my eyes shall not see the desolation that shall come upon this poor church. It's plain popery that is coming among you; God help me! God forgive the nobility, for they are either key-cold, or ready to welcome popery; whereas they should resist; and wo be to a dead, timeserving, and profane ministry; they are but a company of dumb dogs." He called his lady, and a gentleman who was a friend to his lady, and had come a good way to meet him, with the pastor, caused the chamber door to be shut upon all others, and from his bed directed his speech to the gentleman, saying, "I ever found you kind and honest to me all the time of my life; therefore, I must now give you a charge, which you shall deliver to all the noblemen you know, and with whom you are acquainted. Tell them all how heavy I have found the weight of the Lord's hand upon me, for not giving testimony to the Lord my God, when I had occasion once in my life at the last parliament. For this foul fault, how fierce have I felt the wrath of the Lord my God! My soul hath raged and roared. I have been grieved to the heart. Tell them that they will be as I am now. Encourage others that stood for the Lord. Tell them that failed, that, as even they would wish to have mercy when they are as I am now, that they would repent and crave mercy from God. Would to God I had such an occasion again, to testify my love to the Lord! For all the earth, should I not do as I have done." To a gentleman, a kinsman of his, he said "I love your soul, and I love your body; you are a blessed man if you understand it, because ye may have the blessed means of the word preached beside you; and seeing you are but a tender man of body, I would not have you to drown yourself so much with the interests and troubles of this world, as I did; who knows but ye may be the next man that follows me? My greatest grief is, that I have not the occasion of good means as you have, and if you yourself make not the right use of the occasions of your means, one day they shall be a witness against you. Alas! take example by me; I was a fool, and lifted up with folly; and now when I was at the very top, I was taken by the Lord, when I least expected. The Lord hath smitten me; therefore take example

by me, and leave the world and the *fasheries* of friends timely; tender your soul, and tender your worn body. If I were to live in the world again, I should not vex and trouble myself so much as I did, but should dwell at the Rusco the most part of my life, that I might have the happiness of the exercise of hearing God's word preached, as you have; good cousin, use the counsel of your pastor."*

To a nobleman, [lord Herries] that was his brother-in-law, he said, "Mock not at my counsel, my lord. In case you follow the course you are in, you shall never see the face of Jesus Christ. You are deceived with the merchandise of the harlot, that makes the world drunk out of the cup of her fornication. Your soul is built upon a sandy foundation. When you come to my state, you will find no comfort in your religion. You know not what a wrestling I have had, ere I came to this state of comfort; the kingdom of heaven is not got with a skip or a leap, but with much seeking and thrusting." The lord Herries, not liking this discourse, did press to break it off by these words, saying, "My lord, I thank you kindly. I am content to see your lordship so resolved. If I had known of your sickness, I had seen you sooner." Kenmuir answered, "I pray God give you grace to make good use of your coming. And seeing you are now come, condemn not good counsel, for I have interest in your lordship, and love your soul, and I must exonerate myself, as I will be answerable to God." To his sister, [lady Herries,] he said, "Who knows but the words of a dying brother may prevail with a loving sister. Alas! you incline to a rotten religion. Cast away these decayed dregs; they will not avail you when you are brought to this case as I am. The half of the world are ignorant, and go to hell, and know not that they have a soul. It is a wonder to see any know that they have a soul. Read the Scriptures. They are plain Scottish language to all who desire wisdom from God, and to be led to heaven." To a gentleman, his neighbour, he said, "Your soul is in a dangerous case, but you see it not, and as long as you are in the case you are in, you will never see it. I pray you, as you love the salvation of your soul, leave these courses. You must seek out another way to heaven than you are in, else expect to land in hell. There are small means of instruction to be had, because the most part of the ministry are profane and ignorant; search God's word for the good old way, and search and find all your own ways." To a gentleman, his cousin, he said, "You are a young man, and know not well what you are doing. Seek God's direction for wisdom in your affairs, and you shall prosper; and learn to know you have need of God to be your friend." To another cousin he said, "David, you are an aged man, and you know not well what an account you have to make; and if you were in the case I am in, you would endeavour more earnestly to make up your accounts than you do. I know you better than you believe, for you worship God according to men's devices. You believe lies of

* The kinsman here spoken of, was, probably, John Gordon of Cardoness, in the parish of Anwoth; a man of great piety, and a zealous supporter of the presbyterian faith.

God. Your soul is in a dreadful state; and till you know the truth, you shall never see your own way aright.' To a young man, his neighbour, he said, "Because you are but a young man, beware of temptations and snares; and above all, be careful to keep yourself in the use of means. Resort to good company; and though you be named a puritan, and mocked, yet care not for that, but rejoice and be glad, that they who are scorned and scoffed by this godless and vain world, and nicknamed puritans, would admit you to their society, for I must tell you, when I am at this point as you see me, that I get no comfort to my soul from any second means under heaven, except from those that are branded as puritans. They are the men that can give a word of comfort to a weary soul in due season—and that I have found by experience, since I did lie down here."

One of his natural sisters he thus addressed: "My dove, thou art young, and alas! ignorant of God. I know thy breeding, and upbringing well enough. Seek the Spirit of regeneration. Oh! if thou knew it, and felt the power of the Spirit as I do now. Think not that all is gone, because your brother is dead. Trust in God, and your Father liveth,—and beware of the follies of youth. Give yourself to reading and praying, and to careful hearing of God's word; and take heed whom you hear,—and how you hear,—and God be with you."

To a minister [Irving of Parton,*] he said, "Mr. James it is not holiness enough to be a minister, for you ministers have your own faults, and those more heinous than others. I pray you be more painful in your calling, and take good heed to the flock of God, and know that every soul that perisheth by your negligence, shall be counted to your soul as murdered before God. Think not but such a man as I may at this time give a wise man counsel. Take heed in these dangerous days how you lead the people of God, and take heed to your ministry." To his chaplain, who was then Mr. George Gillespie, he said, "You have carried yourself discreetly to me, so that I cannot blame you. I hope you will prove an honest man. If I have been at any time harsh to you, forgive me. I would I had taken heed to many of your words. I might have got good by the means God gave me; but I made no use of them."†

"Now," continues Kenmure, "I see that it was God that sent the pastor unto me, because he resolved to stay longer at Irvine. The Lord has now let me see my ways: my soul hath been troubled for them; but my God hath given me comfort, and hath begun to loose my tongue: God be thanked for that which I have got: I look for more: great is the work of mercy that is shown to me; now the love of God is made known to my soul, and I am grieved for my ingratitude against my loving Lord, and that I should have sinned against *him* who came down from the heaven to the earth for my cause, to die for my sins. The sense of this love borne in upon my heart hath

* Mr. Irving, soon after this time, inclined to episcopal principles, and took part with bishop Sydserf in his persecution of the presbyterians.

† Mr. Gillespie was afterwards minister of Wemyss, and subsequently one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

a reflex, making me love my Saviour, and adhere to him again. The sparks and embers of this love shall fly up and down in this bed, so long as I lie in it."

To another kinsman he said, "Learn to use your time well. Oh, alas! the ministry in this country are dead. God help you; you are not led right; ye had need to be busy among yourselves. Men are as careless in the practice of godliness as if godliness were but words, signs, and shows; but all these will not do the turn. Oh! but I find it hard now, to take heaven by violence, and to thrust in at it." To two gentlemen, neighbours, he said, "It is not rising soon in the morning, and running to the park or stone-dyke, that will bring peace to the conscience, when it comes to this part of the play. You know not how I have been beguiled with this world. I would counsel you to seek that one thing that is necessary, even the salvation of your souls. Be continually casting up your accounts: let not your reckonings be behind as mine were; but count with your own souls every day and every night." To a cousin, [Robert Gordon,] bailie of Ayr, he said, "Robert, I know you have light and understanding; and though you have no need to be instructed by me, yet have you need to be incited. Care not overmuch for the world, but make use of the good occasions and means you have in your country; for here is a pack of dumb dogs that cannot bark; they vaguely talk to you of terror and of comfort, but without any sense or life." To a young cousin, and another young gentleman that was his friend, he said, "You are young men, and you have far to go, and it may be some of you have not far to go, and if it fall out that your journey be short, however it is dangerous. Now are you happy, because you have time to lay your accounts with Jesus Christ. See therefore that your reckoning be made daily, lest you be taken, as I am, to make your accounts, and to have all your senses to seek about you. Suffer not therefore this example that you see of me to slip unobserved, but make your best use of it. I entreat you to give your youth to Jesus Christ, for it is the most precious offer and acceptable gift you can give him. Give not your youth to the devil and your iusts; and then reserve nothing to Jesus Christ but your old rotten bones. It is to be feared that then he will not accept you: learn therefore to watch and take example by me."

He called Mr. Lamb,* who was the bishop of Galloway, commanding all who were within the chamber to remove, and had a long conference with him; exhorting him earnestly not to molest or remove the Lord's servants, and not to enforce or intral their consciences to receive the Five Articles of Perth, or do any thing against their consciences, but to behave himself meekly towards them, as he would wish to have mercy from God." The bishop answered, "My lord, our ceremonies are of their own nature but things indifferent, and we

* Andrew Lamb was translated from the See of Brechin to that of Galloway in 1619, on the death of bishop Cowper.—Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 167. He died in less than three months after Kenmuir, and was succeeded by Sydserf, a man of a totally opposite character.

impose them for decency and order in God's kirk. They need not stand so scrupulously on them as matter of conscience in God's worship." Kenmuir replied, "I am not to dispute with you, but one thing I know, and can tell you from dear experience, that these things indeed *are* matters of conscience, and *not* indifferent; and so I have found them: for since I did lie down on this bed, the sin that lay heaviest on my soul, and hath burdened my conscience most, was my withdrawing of myself from the parliament, and not giving my voice for the truth against these things which they call indifferent; for in so doing, I have denied the Lord my God." When the bishop began to commend and encourage him for his well-led life, and did put him in hopes of health, and praised him for his civil carriage and legal behaviour, saying he was no oppressor, and without any known vice, he answered, "That's no matter: a man may be a good civil neighbour, and yet go to hell." The bishop answered, "I confess, my lord, we have all our faults;" and thereafter insisted in long discourse, which Kenmuir thought impertinent. This made him interrupt the bishop, saying, "What should I more? I have got a hold of Christ, and Christ of me. God be with your lordship."

On the morrow, the bishop came to him, and said, "My lord, how do you do?" My lord answered, "I thank God, as well as a saved man, hastening to heaven, can do:" After that he gave the clerk of Kirkcudbright a most divine and grave counsel concerning his Christian courage, and how he should walk in his particular calling. He caused him to hold up his hand, and swear by the Lord, that he should never consent, but oppose the election of a corrupt minister or magistrate. He said to his coachman, "You will now be apt to go to any man that will give you most hire; but do not so: go where ye may get best company; though you get less wages, yet will ye get the more grace, because your calling is subject to drunkenness and company." He made him hold up his hand and promise before God to do so. To two young serving-men, who came to him weeping to get his last blessing, he said, "Content not yourselves to be like old divines, with a superficial view of religion to make a show of, blessing yourselves in the morning for a fashion only: yea, though you should pray both morning and evening, yet that will not avail you, except likewise ye make your account every day. Oh! ye will find few to direct or counsel you: but I will tell you what to do: first pray to the Lord fervently, to enlighten the eyes of your mind; then seek grace to rule your affections. You will find the good of this when you are as I am." He took their oaths to strive to do so. And as he counselled them, he gave also many divine and powerful exhortations to several individuals, insomuch that they could hardly all be written at length. He caused every man to hold up his hand, and swear in his presence, that by God's grace, they would forsake their former sins, and follow his counsel.

After he had exhorted many friends and servants, as they were going out of the chamber, he said to them, "I have somewhat yet to say; be not deceived with the world; for me, I have played the fool, and brought the house of Kenmuir to the perfection of a complete

fabric, as it was never before, and busied myself exceedingly; and when I came to the top of my hopes, and thought to enjoy them, the Lord came and plucked me from my hopes; thereafter I did see my own folly; and this also I observed in my father. Take example by me, and be not ensnared with the world. There be some who seek the world too carefully, and some too greedily, and many unlawfully; and men have it so much in their mind, that they are upon the world in the morning, ere they come out of their bed, and before even they seek God. Sirs, set your hearts to take pains, in sad earnest, for the kingdom of heaven. I will tell you the heavenly kingdom is not got with a skip or a leap. I find it now, there must be thrusting, and thronging, and climbing to enter in. It is a strait and narrow way." His own omissions in the morning time, through needless toils and distractions, touched his conscience: this he confessed with regret.

He was giving a divine counsel to a friend; and resting in the midst of it, he looked up to heaven, and prayed for a loosened heart and tongue to express the goodness of God to men; and afterwards went on in his counsel, not unlike Jacob, Gen. xlix. 18. who in the midst of a prophetic testament, rested a little, and said, "I have waited for thy salvation." He gave his lady, diverse times, and that openly, an honourable and ample testimony of holiness and goodness, and all respectful kindness to her husband, and earnestly craved her forgiveness where he had offended her, and desired her to make the Lord her comforter, and said he was gone before, and it was but fifteen or sixteen years up or down. He spoke ordinarily to all the servants of the house, butlers, cooks, &c., omitting none; saying, "Learn to serve and fear the Lord, and use carefully the means of your salvation, that you put not off your accounts till the latter end of the day, as I did foolishly. I know what is generally your religion. Ye go to church, and when ye hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye sigh and make a noise, and it's forgot by you before ye come home, and then you are holy enough. But I can tell you, the kingdom of heaven is not got so easily as your pastor and guides would have you suppose; they are but a pack of dumb dogs. Use the means yourself, and gain some sense of God, and pray as you can, morning and evening. If you be ignorant of the way to salvation, God forgive you! for I have discharged myself in that point towards you, and appointed a man, [Mr. George Gillespie, mentioned above,] to teach you; your blood be upon yourselves. The little knowledge that you have, if you would use it carefully and with a good conscience, the Lord would lead you on farther, and teach you his ways; but your form is to ask for that master who will give you most hire, and little care you to live in good company, where you may find the means of salvation, and so ye spend the time all over in the ignorance of God." He took an oath of his servants that they should follow his advice he made a speech severally, to every one of them: he was so far humbled that he said to every one of them, (the meanest not excepted,) "If I have been rough to thee or offended thee, I pray thee, for God's sake forgive me." And among others, one, to whom he had been rough, said, "Your lordship did me never wrong;—I will never get

such a master again:" yet my lord urged the boy to say, "My lord, I forgive you:" howbeit the boy was hardly brought to utter these words. He said to all the beholders about him, "behold how low the Lord hath laid me!" To a gentleman burdened in his estate, he said, "Sir, I counsel you to cast your burden upon the Lord your God."

A worthy and religious gentleman of his name came to visit him four days before his death. He beholding him afar off, said, "Robert,* come to me; leave me not till I die." Thereafter, being much comforted by the gentleman's words, he would have him to wait; and being more and more comforted with his speeches, said, "Robert, you are a friend to me, both in soul and body." The gentleman asked him, "What comfort hath your soul in your love towards the saints?" He answered, "I rejoice at it." He then asked him, "what comfort he had in bringing the minister who attended him to Galloway?" He answered, "God knows that I rejoice that ever he put it in my heart so to do; and, now, because I aimed at God's glory in it, the Lord hath made me find comfort to my soul in the end. The ministers of Galloway murdered my father's soul, and if this man had not come they had murdered mine also."†

In the hearing of my lady Herries, his sister, a papist, he testified how willing he was to leave the world, insomuch, that he could not command his soul to look back again to this life. He did so long, he said, for his soul-full of the well of life, that papists may see that those who die in their religion, see and know well whither they go, and that we are by death fully loosed from the love of this world, for the hope of our own Father's house.

It was told him that letters were come from some of his friends to him: he caused deliver them to his lady, saying, "I have nothing to do with them;—I had rather hear of news from heaven concerning my eternal salvation." It was observed when any came to him on the subject of worldly business, that before they were out at the doors, he returned unto praying, conference, meditation, and some spiritual exercise, and was exceedingly short in despatching all earthly business; yet so as he took the pains to sign all needful writs when he was required: likewise he recommended the care of the poor to his friends.

When he was wearing weaker, he fell into a swoon, and being awakened, he said with smiling and signs of joy to all about him, "I

* The individual spoken of in the text, was probably Robert Gordon of Knockbrex, "a simple hearted and painful Christian."—Livingstone's *Memorable Observations*, MS. His name is well known to those acquainted with the history of Rutherford, or with his Letters. His sons, John Gordon of Knockbrex, and Robert Gordon, were executed at Edinburgh, on the 7th Dec. 1666, for having been concerned in the rising that was terminated by the battle of Pentland.—See their Testimony.

† Kenmuir, in the prospect of death, seems to have experienced great comfort from the recollection of having been the means of bringing a gospel preacher and a faithful clergyman, like Rutherford, to Anwoth. He previously alluded to the same circumstance, and evidently appealed to it as the most praiseworthy acts of his life.

would not exchange my life with you all; nay, not with you who are ministers: I feel the smell of the place where I am going to."

Upon Friday morning, the 12th of September, the day of his departure from this life, he said to the pastor, "This night must I sup with Jesus Christ in paradise." The minister read to him 2 Cor. v. and Rev. xxii. and made some short notes on such places as concerned his state. After prayer, he said, "I conceive good hopes that God looketh on me, when he gives his servants such liberty to pray for me. Is it possible that Jesus Christ can lose his hold of me? Neither can my soul get itself plucked from Jesus Christ." He earnestly desired a sense of God's presence; and the pastor said, "What, my lord, if that be suspended till you come to your home, and be before the throne, clothed in white, and get your harp in your hand, to sing salvation to the Lamb, and to him that sitteth on the throne; for that is heaven; and who dare promise it to you on earth? There is a piece of nature in desiring a sense of God's love, it being an apple that the Lord's children delight to play with. But, my lord, if you would have it only as a pledge of your salvation, we shall seek it from the Lord for you, and you may lawfully pray for it." Earnest prayers were made for him, and he testified that he was filled with the sense of the Lord's love. Being asked what he thought of the world, he answered, "It is more bitter than gall or wormwood." Being demanded if now he feared death, he answered, "I have tasted death now. It is not a whit bitter: welcome the messenger of Jesus Christ!" He never left off to mourn for his sins, especially his deserting of the parliament. The pastor said to him, "There is a process between the Lord and your father's house, but your name is taken out of it. How dear, dear, was heaven bought for you by your Saviour, Jesus Christ?" He replied, "I know there is wrath against my father's house, but I shall get my soul for a prey;" which words he had frequently in his mouth. Ofttimes also he said, "Is not this a sweet word that God saith, *As I live, I delight not in the death of a sinner*. I will not let go the hold that I have got of Christ: *Though he should slay me, yet will I trust in him*; and lie at his feet and die there, and lie at his door, like a beggar, waiting on him, and if I may not knock, I may scrape." Another word was ordinary to him,— "Oh, Son of God! one love-blink, one smile!" When he had been deep in a meditation of his change of life, he made this question, "What will Jesus Christ be like when he cometh?" It was answered, "all lovely."

The day of his change, being Friday the 12th of September, he was heard to pray divinely: on which day he said to the doctor, "I thought to have been dissolved ere now." The pastor answered, "My lord, weary not of the Lord's yoke: Jesus Christ is posting fast to be at you; he is within a few miles." He answered mildly, "This is my infirmity. I will wait on; he is worthy the on-waiting. Though he be long in coming, yet I dare say he is coming, leaping over the mountains, and skipping over the hills. If he were once come, we should not sunder."

The pastor said, "Some have gotten their fill of Christ in this life,

though he is often under a mask to his own. Even his best saints, Job, David, Jeremiah, &c. were under desertions." His lordship answered, "What are those examples to me? I am not in holiness near to Job, David, or Jeremiah." The minister answered, "It is true, my lord, you cannot take so wide steps as they did, but you are in the same way with them. A young child followeth his father at the back; and though he cannot take such wide steps as he, yet this hindereth him not to be in the same way with him. My lord, your hunger overcometh your faith: only believe his word. You are longing for Christ: only believe he is faithful, and will come quickly." To this my lord answered, "I think it time; Lord Jesus, come." Then the pastor said, "My lord, our nature is in trouble to be wholly upon our own deliverance; whereas God seeketh first to be glorified in our faith, and patience, and hope; and then it is time enough that we be delivered." He answered, "There is good reason that my Lord be first served. Lord, give me to wait on; only, Lord, burn me not to dross."

Another said, "Cast back your eyes, my lord, on what you have received, and be thankful." At the hearing whereof, he presently brake forth in praising of God; and finding himself weak, and his speech failing, more than an hour before his death, he desired the pastor to pray,—which he did. After prayer, the minister cried in his ear, "My lord, can you now sunder with Christ?" He said nothing. Nor was it expected he would speak any more. Yet a little after, the minister asked, "Have ye any sense of the Lord's love?" He answered, "I have sense." The pastor said, "Do you not enjoy?" He answered, "I do enjoy." Thereafter the pastor said, "Will ye not sunder with Christ?" He replied, "By no means." This was his last word, not being able to speak any more.

The pastor asked if he should pray. He turned his eye towards the pastor. In the time of that last prayer, he was observed joyfully smiling, and looking up with glorious looks, as was observed by the beholders, and with a certain beauty, his visage was beautified, as beautiful as ever he was in his life. He expired with loud and strong fetches and sobs, being strong of heart and body, of the age of five and thirty years. The expiring of his breath, the ceasing of the motion of his pulse, (which the physician was still holding,) ceased all precisely with the *Amen* of his prayer, and so he died sweetly and holily, and his end was peace. He departed about the setting of the sun, September the 12th, 1634.

XII. JAMES MITCHELL.

[This was an amiable young man, a preacher of the gospel, who died at the early age of twenty-three. He was the son of James Mitchell of Dykes, in the parish of Ardrossan, and was born about the year 1621. During his studies at the University of

Glasgow, he acquired the affection and esteem of all who knew him, and passed through his trials for license, with the highest approbation of the professors and presbytery. He had preached only a few times, when seized with a consumption, of which he died. Of his Christian experience, and pious expressions towards the close of life, we have the following detail.]

During his sickness, the Lord was pleased so to guard his heart against the malice of Satan, that his confidence and peace were but little disturbed. He possessed all manner of patience and submission, and never was heard to murmur, but often thought his Master's time well worth the waiting on, and was frequently much refreshed with seeing and hearing good pious neighbours, who came to visit him. Among other gracious sayings, he declaimed much against imprudent speaking, especially in students and young ministers; as being but the froth and vanity of a foolish mind. He lamented the pride of many such in usurping a priority of place, which became them not; and exclaimed frequently against himself for his own practice, yet said, he was in the strength of God brought to mortify the same. He frequently exhorted his parents to carry themselves to one another as the word of God required, and above all things to fear God, and delight in his word: he often said, that he dearly loved the book of God, and sought them to be earnest in prayer, showing that it was an unknown thing, and a thing of another world, and that the influence of prayer behoved to come out of heaven; that the Spirit of supplication must be wrestled for, else all prayer would be but lifeless and natural.

On one occasion, the laird of Cunningham coming to visit him, as he did frequently, he enumerated all the remarkable passages of God's goodness and providence towards him, especially since he contracted sickness, as in showing infinite mercy to his soul, tender compassion towards his body, patience and submission to his will without grudging, calmness of spirit, without passion, solid and constant peace within and without! "This," said he, "is far beyond the Lord's manner of dealing with many of his dear saints, and now, Sir, think ye not that I stand greatly indebted to the goodness and kindness of God, who deals thus graciously and warmly with me every way;" and then burst out in praise to God in a sweet and lively manner.

At another time, the laird being present, May 26th, looking out of his bed to the sun shining brightly on the opposite side of the house, he said, "O what a splendour and glory will all the elect and redeemed saints have one day; and O! how much more will the glory of the Creator be, who shall communicate that glory to all his own, but the shallow thoughts of men are not able to conceive the excellency thereof!"

Again, Mr. Macqueen being present, his father inquired at him, wherein our communion with God stood? He said, "in reconciliation and peace with him, which is the first effect of our justification:" then, he observed, there was access and love to God, patience and submission to his will, &c.; then, the Lord manifested himself to

us, as Christ himself says, *Ye shall know that I am in the Father, and you in me, and I in you.* And again, *He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and manifest myself unto him.*

One morning to Hugh Macgavin and his father, he said, "I am not afraid of death, for I rest on infinite mercy, procured by the blood of the Lamb." Then he spake as to himself, "Fear not, little flock, it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom:" and then said, "What are these who are of this little flock? Even sinners. 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' But what kind of sinners? Only those who are sensible of sin and wrath, and see themselves to be lost, therefore, says Christ, 'I came to seek and to save them who are lost.' There are two words here, seeking and saving; and whom? Even those who are lost bankrupts, who have nothing to pay. These are they whom Christ seeks, and who are of his flock."

To John Kyle, another morning, he said twice over, "My soul longeth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." At another time, perceiving his father weeping, he said, "I cannot blame you to mourn, for I know you have thought that I might, with God's blessing, have proved a comfortable child to you; but comfort yourself in this, that ere it be long, I will be at a blessed rest, and in a far better state than I can be in this life, free from sin and every kind of misery, and within a short time ye will follow after me. And in the meantime, encourage yourself in the Lord, and let not your mourning be like those who have no hope. The Lord by degrees will assuage your grief, for so he has appointed, else we would be swallowed up, and come to nought, for I could never have been removed out of this life in a more seasonable time than now, having both the favour of God and man, being hopeful that my name shall not be unsavoury when I am gone; and none know what affronts, grief, and calamities, I might have fallen into, had I lived much longer. And for crosses and trouble, how might my life have been made bitter to me! for when I think what opposition I might have ere I was an actual minister, by divisions of the people, the patron, and the presbytery, it could not but overwhelm me; and then being entered, I know not what a fighting life, with a stubborn people, might be my lot, and then what discontent I might have in a wife, which is the lot of many an honest man, is uncertain; then cares, fears, straits of the world, reproaches of men, personal desires, and the devil and an evil world to fight with, these and many more cannot but keep a man in a struggling state in this life.* And now, lest this should seem a mere speculation, I could instance these things

* This is at once a very correct, and very consolatory view of the many and various evils from which it is not improbable Mr. Mitchell was exempted by his premature death. And to have been able thus to contemplate them, thus to bring them together before the eye of his mind, whilst it no doubt reconciled him to relinquish the world and all its prospects, may also be held as indicating a degree of intellectual sagacity and Christian experience, in the highest degree creditable to this youthful saint.

in the persons of many worthy men ; I pass all these and only point at one, whose gifts and graces are well known to you, viz. Mr. David Dickson, who, I am sure God has made the instrument of the conversion of many souls, and of much good in the country ; and yet this gracious person has been tossed to and fro. And you know that the Lord made him a gracious instrument in the late reformation, and yet he has in a great measure been slighted by the state and the kirk also. What reason have I then to bless God, who, in mercy is timously removing me from all trouble, and will make me as welcome to heaven as if I had preached forty years, for he knows it was my intention, by his grace, to have honoured him in my ministry ; and seeing he has accepted the will for the deed, what reason have I to complain ? for now I am willing and ready to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is best of all ; wherefore, dear father, comfort yourself with this."

One time, in conference concerning the sin in the godly, his father said to him, "I am sure you are not now troubled with corruption, being so near death." He answered, "You are altogether deceived, for as long as my foot remaineth on this earth, though the earth were translated above the clouds, my mind would not be free of sinful motions." Whereupon, he regretted that he could not get his mind and his affections so lifted up, as he could have wished, to dwell or meditate on God, his word, and the endless life ; that he could not feel such spirituality as became him, by entertaining thoughts of God's greatness and goodness, and was often much perplexed with vain thoughts ; but still he was confident, that the Lord, in his rich mercy, would pity and pass by this, his weakness and infirmity."

About ten or twelve days before his dissolution, he fell into a faint, and was speechless for nearly an hour, so that none present had any hopes that he would again recover ; but in the meantime he was wrapt in divine contemplation. At last he began to recover, and his heart being enlarged, he opened his mouth with such lively exhortations as affected all present ; and directing his speech to his father, he said, "Be glad, Sir, to see your son, yea, I say, your second son, made a crowned king." To his mother also he said, "Be of good courage, and mourn not for want of me, for ye will find me in the all-sufficiency of God : " and then exclaimed, "O death, I give thee a defiance, through Jesus Christ ; " saying to the on-lookers, "Sirs, this will be a blythe and joyful good night."

In the meantime, Mr. Bell came in, and to him he said, "Sir, you are welcome as a witness to see me fight out my last fight." After this, he fell quiet, and got some rest. Within two days, Mr. Bell being come to visit him, he said, "O Sir, but I was glad the last night when you were here, when I thought to be dissolved, that I might have met with my Master, and have enjoyed his presence for ever ; but I was much grieved, when I perceived a little reviving ; and that I was likely to live longer."

To Mr. Gabriel Cunningham, when conferring about death and the manner of dissolution, he said, "O ! how sweet a thing it were, for a man to sleep to death in the arms of Christ." He had many

other lively and comfortable speeches which were not remembered; not a day passing during the time of his sickness, but the on-waiters were refreshed by him.

The night before his departure, he was sensible of great pain. Upon this he said, "I see it is true, that we must enter into heaven through trouble, but the Lord will help us through it." Then he said, "I have great pain, but mixed with great mercy, and strong confidence." He called to mind the saying of John Knox, on his deathbed, "I do not esteem that pain, which will be to me an end of all trouble, and the beginning of eternal felicity."

His last words were these: "Lord, open the gates that I may enter in;" and a little after, his father asked, What he was doing? Whereupon he lifted up his hands, and caused all his fingers shiver and twirl, and in presence of many honest neighbours, yielded up his spirit, and went to his rest, a little after sunrising, upon the 11th of June, 1643.*

XIII. GEORGE GILLESPIE.

[Mr. Gillespie, was the son of Mr. John Gillespie, minister of Kirkaldy. Being from principle a supporter of presbyterian government he was for sometime licensed to preach, before he could gain admission to a living. He was at length, however, ordained minister of Wemyss, in 1638; being the first who was inducted during that period, without an acknowledgment of the bishops. Henceforth, he became a most zealous defender of the presbyterian interest. In 1641, he was translated to Edinburgh, and two years after was sent as a commissioner for the church of Scotland, to the Westminster assembly. On his return from this court, in which he distinguished himself highly, he continued to take a prominent lead in the public affairs of the church, and in 1648 was chosen moderator of the general assembly. He was also appointed to superintend the treaty for uniformity of religion with England, but shortly after, being seized with his last sickness, he died on the 17th of December following. His last words, whilst they record his sentiments with respect to religion in general, have a special reference to the question which then agitated the public mind, with regard to the duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement in favour of the king. We insert them in the order in which he delivered them, as imbodyed in his latter will, his farewell Letter to the general assembly, and his Testimony.]

I. HIS LATTER WILL.

"Being, through much weakness and sickness, in expectation of my last change, I have thought good, by this my latter-will, under my

* Scots Worthies—Life of Mitchell.

hand, to declare first of all, that the expectation of death, which appeareth not to be far off, doth not shake me from the faith and truth of Christ, which I have professed and preached; neither do I doubt, but this so much opposed covenant and reformation of the three kingdoms, is of God, and will have a happy conclusion. It hath pleased God, who chooseth the foolish things of this world, to confound the wise, and the things that are not, to confound the things that are, to employ me (the unfittest and unworthiest among many thousands) in the advancing and promoting of that glorious work; and now I repent no forwardness or zeal that ever I had therein, and dare promise, to as many as will be faithful and zealous in the cause of God, it shall be no grief of heart to them afterward, but matter of joy and peace, as this day I find it, through God's mercy, passing by my many and great infirmities, and approving my poor endeavours in his cause. But if there be a falling back to the sin of compliance with malignant ungodly men, then I look for the breaking out of the wrath of the Lord, till there be no remedy. O that there were such a spirit at least, in such of our nobility as stand for the truth, that they may take more of God's counsel, and lean less to their own reason and understanding. As for dangers on the other hand from sectaries,—I have been, and am of the opinion, that they are to be prevented and avoided by all lawful means; but that the dangers from malignants are nearest and greatest in this kingdom." * * * *

Sic Sub.—GEORGE GILLESPIE."

"Kirkaldy, Sept. 4th, 1648."

2. HIS LETTER TO THE COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

"My very reverend and dear brethren,—Although the Lord's hand detaineth me from attending your meetings, yet, as long as I can write or speak, I dare not be silent, nor conceal my thoughts of any sinful and dangerous course in the public proceedings. Having therefore heard of some motions and beginnings of compliance* with those who have been so deeply engaged in a war, destructive to religion, and the liberties of the kingdoms, I cannot but discharge

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my conscience, in giving a testimony against all such compliance. I know, and am persuaded, that all the faithful witnesses that gave testimony to the thesis, that the late engagement was contrary and destructive to the covenant, will also give testimony to the appendix, that compliance with any who have been active in that engagement, is most sinful and unlawful. I am not able to express all the evils of that compliance, they are so many; sure I am, it were a hardening of the malignant party, a wounding of the hearts of the godly, an infinite wronging of those, who, from their affection to the covenant and cause of God, have taken their life in their hand; a great scandal to our brethren of England, who as they have been strengthened and encouraged by the hearing of the zeal and integrity of the well affected in this kingdom, and how they opposed the late engagement, so they would be as much scandalized to hear of a compliance with malignants now. Yea, all that hear of it might justly stand amazed at us, and look on us as a people infatuated, that can take into our bosom the fiery serpents that have stung us so sore.

“ But above all, that which would heighten this sin even to the heavens, is this, that it were not only a horrible backsliding, but a backsliding into that very sin which was specially pointed at, and punished by the prevalency of the malignant party; God justly making them thorns and scourges, who were taken in as friends, without any real evidence, or fruits of repentance. Alas! shall we split twice upon the same rock: yea, run upon it, when God hath set a beacon on it; shall we be so demented as to fall back into the same sin, which was engraven with great letters in our late judgment; yea, I may say, shall we thus outface and outdare the Almighty, by protecting his and our enemies, when he is persecuting them; by making peace and friendship with them, when the anger of the Lord is burning against them; by setting them on their feet, when God hath cast them down. Oh! shall neither judgments nor deliverances make us wise. I must here apply to our present condition, the words of Ezra: ‘ And after all this is come upon us, for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou, our God, hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hath given us such deliverance as this: Should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations? Wouldest thou not be angry with us, till thou hast consumed us, so that there should be no remnant, nor escaping?’ O happy Scotland, if thou canst now improve aright, and not abuse this golden opportunity; but if thou wilt help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, wrath upon wrath, and wo upon wo shall be upon thee from the Lord.

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the Lord Jesus: this shall be your peace and comfort in your latter end. Now the God of all grace establish you, and direct you, and preserve you all blameless to the end, and bring others out of the snare, that hanker after that compliance. So prayeth, your most affectionate brother, to serve you in what I can to my last:

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"Upon these and the like grounds, for my own exoneration, that so necessary a truth want not the testimony of a dying witness of Christ, also the unworthiest among many thousands; and that light may be held forth, and warning given, I cannot be silent, at this time, but speak by my pen, when I cannot by my tongue; yea, now, also by the pen of another, when I cannot by my own, seriously, in the name of Jesus Christ, exhorting, and obtesting all that fear God and make conscience of their ways, to be very tender and circumspect, to watch and pray that they be not ensnared in that great dangerous sin of conjunction, or compliance with malignant, or profane enemies of the truth, under whatsoever prudential considerations it may be varnished over, which, if men will do, and trust God in his own way, they shall not only repent it, but to the

greater joy and peace of God's people, they shall see his work go on and prosper gloriously. In witness of the premises, I have subscribed the same with my hand at Kirkaldy, Dec. 15, 1648, before these witnesses, Mr. F. Carmichael, minister at Markinch, and Mr. Alex. Moncrief, minister at Sconie.

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* Testimony-bearing Exemplified, pp. 39—44.

hand, to declare first of all, that the expectation of death, which appeareth not to be far off, doth not shake me from the faith and truth of Christ, which I have professed and preached; neither do I doubt, but this so much opposed covenant and reformation of the three kingdoms, is of God, and will have a happy conclusion. It hath pleased God, who chooseth the foolish things of this world, to confound the wise, and the things that are not, to confound the things that are, to employ me (the unfittest and unworthiest among many thousands) in the advancing and promoting of that glorious work; and now I repent no forwardness or zeal that ever I had therein, and dare promise, to as many as will be faithful and zealous in the cause of God, it shall be no grief of heart to them afterward, but matter of joy and peace, as this day I find it, through God's mercy, passing by my many and great infirmities, and approving my poor endeavours in his cause. But if there be a falling back to the sin of compliance with malignant ungodly men, then I look for the breaking out of the wrath of the Lord, till there be no remedy. O that there were such a spirit at least, in such of our nobility as stand for the truth, that they may take more of God's counsel, and lean less to their own reason and understanding. As for dangers on the other hand from sectaries,—I have been, and am of the opinion, that they are to be prevented and avoided by all lawful means; but that the dangers from malignants are nearest and greatest in this kingdom." * * * *

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and changed his ordinances?' What shall Scotland be called? Loru-hamah and Lo-ammi, who was termed Beulah and Hephzibah, 'A people delighted in, and married to the Lord.' I think that curse in Zeph. i. 17. is much accomplished in our days, 'They shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the Lord.' Does not our carriage under all these speaking and afflicting dispensations, fighting against God in the furnace, and our dross not departing from us, speak this with our hearts, 'That for three transgressions, and for four, he will not turn away the punishment of these covenanted lands?' And this shall be our blot in all generations—'this is that Scotland that in its afflictions, sins more and more.' It is no wonder then, that we be put to our, 'How long, how long wilt thou hide thy face? How long wilt thou forget, O Lord? O Lord, how shall thy jealousy burn like a fire, and we hear the confused noise of war, and of rumours of war?'

"Since God has put it, 'How long wilt thou go about, O thou back-sliding daughter?' Jer. xxxi. 22. Are ye not gadding about to change, turning his glory into shame, and loving lying vanities? And there are four *How longs* that God is put to lament over Scotland, and which are most in Luke ix. 41. 'How long shall I be with you, and suffer you?' Is not Christ necessitate to depart, and to make us a land sown with salt and grass in our most frequented congregations? Ay, believe it, ere it be long, these two words shall be our lot, there is that in Jer. ii. 31. 'O generation, see the word of the Lord;' when these that would not hear him in his word, shall see him in his dispensations; when all our threatenings shall be preached to our ears; and that word in Hosea vii. 12. 'I will chastise them as their congregation hath heard.' O shall poor Scotland serve themselves heirs to the sins of the Gadarenes, to desire Christ to flit out of their coasts, and to subscribe the bill of divorce (in a manner) before Christ subscribe it? It is like, these three sad evidences of affliction that are in Isaiah xlvii. 11. 'shall come upon us in their perfection.' I shall add no more on a sad subject.*

"My lord, not being able to write to you with my own hand, I have thought fit to present these few thoughts unto you by the hand of a friend.

"I know not, (I will not limit him) but I may stand within that judgment-hall, where that glorious and spotless high priest doth sit,

* It must be evident to every one at all acquainted with the history of the times, that in the foregoing reflections Mr. Gray alludes to the state of matters in Scotland, produced by the repeal of the act of classes, and more lately, by the toleration of all sects under Cromwell's usurpation. We pretend not to say how far his views on these matters were correct, but only to explain the allusions which he makes to the religious aspect of Scotland at the period in question. And undoubtedly, to one who regarded presbytery as the most perfect, and indeed, the divinely authorized form of church government, the diversity of principle, and consequently of profession, which then prevailed, even amongst the religious; and the laxity of feeling and conduct amongst the careless and the profane, naturally resulting from such a confusion in the public mind, might well appear to be the token and the precursor of still farther chastisements from the hand of God.

with that train that does fill the temple: and, O to be among the last of these that are bidden come in, and partake of that everlasting peace! O what a poor report will the messengers of the covenant and gospel make, whose image they crucify in their hearts, to whom I may apply these words by allusion, 'The morning of conversion is to them as the terrors of death, and as the terrors of the breaking in of the day to the destroying of them?' What a poor account will some of us make, both as to the answer of our conscience, and as to the answer of his pains taken upon us, and as to the answer of his promises, and as to the answer of his threatenings, and as to the answer of his commands—and as to the answer of our light? Now, not to trouble your lordship, whom I also highly reverence, and my soul was knit unto in the Lord, but that you would bespeak my case to the great Master of requests, and my broken case before him, who has pleaded the desperate case of many, according to the sweet word in Lamentations iii. 56.—this is all at this time from one in a very weak condition, in a great fever, who for much of seven nights has but slept little at all, but has been kept in a right sad and grievous torment from his hand, with many other sad particulars and circumstances.

"I shall say now no more, but I am yours in some single respects, I hope, I may say, dying in Christ,

ANDREW GRAY.*"

• Gray's Works, pp. 513—514.

THE
LAST WORDS
AND
DYING TESTIMONIES
OF THE
SCOTS WORTHIES.

PART SECOND:

**COMPREHENDING TESTIMONIES THAT WERE EMITTED, BETWEEN
THE YEARS 1660 AND 1680.**

I. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

[THIS eminent Christian and divine, so well known to the religious world by his "Letters," was educated at Edinburgh, and very early was elected professor of philosophy in that university. He was afterwards called to be minister of Anwoth in Galloway, and became no less distinguished by the conscientious performance of his private duties, than by the troubles he experienced on account of his nonconformity. These he detailed to the memorable assembly of 1638, and in consideration of his high merits, was forthwith appointed to the divinity chair in the new college of St. Andrews. He was also selected in 1643, as one of the commissioners to the assembly at Westminster. It was about this period he published the famous treatise, entitled *Lex Rex*, for which, in the year 1661, it was proposed to indict him, when he was happily removed from the threatened evils into a better world. Together with his last words, we subjoin his testimony to the work of reformation, since 1638, which was signed by him only twelve days before his death.]

1. HIS LAST WORDS.

During the time of his last sickness, he uttered many savoury speeches, and often broke out in a kind of sacred rapture, exalting and commending the Lord Jesus. Especially when his end drew near, he often called him his "blessed Master," his "kingly King." Some days before his death, he said, "I shall shine; I shall see him as he

is; I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him, and I shall have my large share. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; these very eyes of mine, and none other for me. This may seem a wide word: but it is no fancy or delusion: it is true. Let my Lord's name be exalted, and if he will, let my name be grinded to pieces, that he may be all in all. If he should slay me ten thousand times, I will trust in him. He often repeated Jer. xv. 16. "Thy words were found of me, and I did eat them."

When exhorting one to diligence, he said, "It is no easy thing to be a Christian. For me, I have got the victory, and Christ is holding out both his arms to embrace me." At another time, to some friends present, he said, "At the beginning of my sufferings, I had mine own fears, like other sinful men, lest I should faint, and not be carried creditably through, and I laid this before the Lord, and as sure as ever he spoke to me in his word, as sure as his Spirit witnesseth to my heart, he hath accepted my sufferings. He said to me, Fear not, the outgate shall not be simply matter of prayer, but matter of praise. I said to the Lord, If he should slay me five thousand times five thousand, I would trust in him: and I speak with much trembling, fearing I should not make my part good; but as really as ever he spake to me by his Spirit, he witnessed to my heart, that his grace should be sufficient." The Thursday night before his death, being much grieved with the state of the public, he had this expression, "Horror hath taken hold on me." And afterwards, falling on his own condition, he said, "I renounce all that ever he made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as coming from me; I betake myself to Christ for sanctification as well as justification:—Repeating these words, "He is made of God to me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption:"—adding, I close with it, let him be so, he is my all in all.

March 17th, three gentlewomen came to see him, and after exhorting them to read the word, to be much in prayer, and much in communion with God, he said, "My honourable Master and lovely Lord, my great Royal King, hath not a match in heaven nor in earth. I have my own guilt, like other sinful men; but he hath pardoned, loved, washed, and given me joy unspeakable and full of glory. I repent not that ever I owned his cause. These, whom ye call protesters, are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those that have burnt the 'Causes of God's Wrath.' They have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice; but I believe the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob. Oh! to obtain mercy to wrestle with God for their eternal salvation. As for this presbytery, it hath stood in opposition to me these years past. I have my record in heaven, I had no particular end in view, but was seeking the honour of God, the thriving of the gospel in this place, and the good of the new college, that society which I have left upon the Lord. What personal wrongs they have done me, and what grief they have occasioned to me, I heartily forgive them, and desire mercy to wrestle with God for mercy to them, and for the salvation of them all."

The same day, Messrs. James M'Gill, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburn, all members of the same presbytery coming to visit him, he made them welcome, and said, "My Lord and Master is the chief of ten thousand; none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; preach for Christ, pray for Christ, feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ: do all for Christ: beware of men pleasing, there is too much of it amongst us. The new college hath broke my heart, I can say nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the house, and it hath been, and still is my desire, that he may dwell in this society, and that the youth may be fed with sound knowledge." After this, he said, "Dear brethren, it may seem presumptuous in me, a particular man, to send a commission to a presbytery;" and Mr. M'Gill replying, it was no presumption, he continued, "Dear brethren, take a commission from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cause, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge; let them feed the flock out of love, preach for God, visit and catechise for God, and do all for God: beware of men pleasing, the chief Shepherd will appear shortly. I have been a sinful man, and have had mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned and accepted my labours. I adhere to the cause and covenant; and resolve never to depart from the protestations* against the controverted assemblies. I am the man I was. I am still for keeping the government of the kirk of Scotland entire, and would not, for a thousand worlds, have had the least hand in the burning of the 'Causes of God's Wrath.' Oh! for grace to wrestle with God for their salvation."

Mr. Vilant having prayed at his desire, as they took their leave, he renewed his charge to them, to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a fainting, in which they who looked on, expected his dissolution, he said, "I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna." Mr. Blair (whose praise is in the churches) being present, when he took a little wine in a spoon to refresh himself, being then very weak, said to him, "Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think nothing of our cordials on earth." He answered, "They are all but dung; but they are Christ's creatures, and, out of obedience to his command, I take them. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer, I know he shall stand at the last day upon the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air, and I shall be ever with him; and what would you have more? there is an end." And stretching out his hands, he said again, "There is an end." And a little after, he said, "I have been a sinful man, but I stand at the best pass that ever a man did: Christ is mine, and I am his."—And spoke much of the white stone and new name. Mr. Blair (who loved with all his heart to hear Christ commended) said to him again,

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What think ye now of Christ?" To which he answered, "I shall and adore him. Glory, glory to my Creator and my Redeemer ever! Glory shines in Emmanuel's land." In the afternoon of day he said, "Oh! that all my brethren in the public may know a Master I have served, and what peace I have this day. I sleep in Christ, and when I awake, I shall be satisfied with his mess. This night shall close the door, and put my anchor within vail, and I shall go away in a sleep by five of the clock in the morning;" which exactly fell out. Though he was very weak, he often this expression, "Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! a well tuned harp!" He exhorted Dr. Colvil (a man who complied with prelacy afterward) to adhere to the government of the church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant, and to have a care to feed the youth with sound knowledge. And the doctor being a professor of the new college, he told him, that he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He spoke likewise to Mr. Honeyman (afterwards bishop Honeyman), who came to see him, saying, "Tell the presbytery to answer for God, and his cause and covenant," saying, "The case is desperate, let them be in their duty." Then directing his speech to Mr. Colvil and Mr. Honeyman, he said, "Stick to it. You may think it an easy thing in me, a dying man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that men can do; but he, before whom I stand, knows, that I dare advise no colleague or brother to do what I would not cordially do myself, upon all hazard; and as for the 'Causes of God's Wrath,' that men have now condemned, tell Mr. James Wood from me, that I had rather lay down my head on a scaffold, and have it chopped off many times (were it possible), before I had passed from them." And then to Mr. Honeyman he said, "Tell Mr. Wood, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he has done me, and desire him from me, to declare himself the man that he is still, for the government of the church of Scotland."

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2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"Though the Lord needeth not a testimony from such a wretched man as I, and if all the world should be silent, the very stones would cry, it is more than debt, that I should confess Christ before men and

angels. It would satisfy me not a little, that the throne of the Lord Jesus were exalted above the clouds, the heaven of heavens, and on both sides of the sun; and that all possible praise and glory were ascribed to him: that, by his grace, I might put my seal, such as it is, unto that song, even the new song of these, who with a loud voice sing, Rev. v. 9. 'Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign upon the earth.' And blessed were I, could I lay to, my ear of faith, and say, Amen, to the Psalm 'of the many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and elders, whose number is ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, saying, with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing;' and if I heard 'every creature, which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth; and such as are in the sea; and all that are in them (as John heard them), saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.' I mean not any such visible reign as the Millenarians fancy. I believe (Lord help my unbelief) the doctrine of the holy prophets and the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained in the books of the Old and New Testament, to be the undoubted truth of God, and a perfect rule of faith, and the only way of salvation. And I do acknowledge the sum of the Christian religion, exhibited in the confessions and catechisms of the reformed protestant churches; and in the national covenant, divers times sworn by the king's majesty, the state and church of Scotland, and sealed by the testimony and subscriptions of the nobles, barons, gentlemen, citizens, ministers, and professors of all ranks: as also in the solemn league and covenant, in the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland. And I do judge, and in conscience believe, that no power on earth can absolve and liberate the people of God from the bonds and sacred ties of the oath of God. I am persuaded, that Asa acted warrantably, in making a law, that the people should stand to the covenant, and in receiving into the covenant such as were not of his kingdom, 2 Chron. xv. 6, 10. And so did also Hezekiah, in sending a proclamation through all the tribes, from Dan to Beersheba, that they should come and keep the passover unto the Lord at Jerusalem, 2 Chron. xxx. 6, 7, though their own princes did not come along with them: yea, and it is nature's law, warranted by the word, that nations should encourage, and stir up one another, to seek the true God. It is also prophesied, that divers nations should excite one another this way, Isa. iii. 8. 'Many people shall go, and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways.' Zech. viii. 2. 'And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts: I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem; and to pray before the Lord.'

There is also a clear prophecy to be accomplished under the New Testament, 'That Israel and Judah shall go together and seek the Lord: they shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord, in a perpetual covenant, that shall not be forgotten,' Jer. l. 4, 5. It is also foretold, that different nations shall confederate with the Lord, and with one another, Isa. xix. 23, 24, 25. 'In that day there shall be an highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come to Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day, shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance.'

"The church of Scotland had once as much of the presence of Christ, as to the power and purity of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as many we read of, since the Lord took his ancient people to be his covenanted church. The Lord stirred up our nobles to attempt a reformation in the last age, through many difficulties, and against much opposition, from those in supreme authority: he made bare his holy arm; and carried on the work gloriously, like himself; his right hand getting him the victory, until the idolatry of Rome, and her cursed mass were dashed. A hopeful reformation was in some measure settled, and a sound confession of faith was agreed upon by the lords of the congregation. The people of God, according to the laudable custom of other ancient churches, the protestants in France and Holland, and the renowned princes of Germany, did carry on the work, in an innocent self-defensive war, which the Lord did abundantly bless. When our land and church were thus contending for that begun reformation, these in authority did still oppose the work. And there were not wanting men from among ourselves, men of prelatical spirits, who, with some other timeserving courtiers, did not a little undermine the building. And we doating too much upon sound parliaments, and lawfully constitute general assemblies, fell from our first love, to self-seeking, secret banding, and little fearing the oath of God.

"Afterwards, our work in public was too much in sequestration of estates, fining and imprisoning, more than in a compassionate mournfulness of spirit toward those whom we saw to oppose the work. In our assemblies, we were more bent to set up a state opposite to a state; more upon forms, citations, leading of witnesses, suspensions from benefices, than spiritually to persuade, and work upon the conscience, with the meekness and gentleness of Christ.* The glory and

* We think there can be only one opinion as to the truth of this observation. With all our admiration of the Worthies who succeeded the reformation from popery, we cannot but observe that there was frequently displayed by them more zeal for the forms than the essence of religion, and more perhaps of a bold, undaunted, and fiery spirit of opposition to the aggressing power, than the circumstances of the case called for, or was consistent with their own characters as subjects of a kingdom, not of this world, and disciples of the lowly Jesus. At the same time, we are not ignorant of the value and importance of the forms for

royalty of our princely Redeemer and king was trampled on, as any might have seen in our assemblies. What way the army, and the sword, and the countenance of nobles and officers seemed to sway, that way were the censures carried. It had been better, had there been more days of humiliation in assemblies, synods, presbyteries, congregations, families, and far less adjourned commissions, new peremptory summonses, and new drawn up processes. And if the meekness and gentleness of our Master had got so much place in our hearts, that we might have waited on gainsayers and parties contrary minded; we might have driven gently, as our Master Christ, who loves not to overdrive, but carries the lambs in his bosom.

“If the word of truth in the Old and New Testament be a sufficient rule, holding forth what is a Christian army, whether offensive or defensive; whether clean, or sinfully mixed,—then must we leave the question betwixt our public brethren* and us to be determined by that rule: but if there be no such rule in the word, then the confederacies and associations of the people of God with the idolatrous, apostate Israelites, with the Egyptians and Assyrians, as that of Jehoshaphat with Ahab, and these of Israel and Judah with Egypt and Assyria, should not be condemned; but they are often reprovèd and condemned in scripture. To deny the scripture to be a sufficient rule in this case, were to accuse it of being imperfect and defective;—a high and unjust reflection on the holy word of God! Beyond all question, the written word doth teach, what is a right constituted court, and what not, Psal. x.; what is a right constituted house, and what not, Josh. xxiv. 15.; what is a true church, and what is a synagogue of Satan, Rev. ii.; what is a clean camp, and what is unclean. We are not for an army of saints, and free of all mixture of ill affected men: but it seems an high prevarication for churchmen to counsel and teach,

which they contended, to the very existence, and certainly to the preservation and the spread of true godliness; nor must we fail to observe, that the circumstances in which they were placed, and the encroachments with which they were still farther threatened, might have excited their vigilance, as to minor points, to a higher pitch than their individual importance might seem to warrant.

* That is to say, the public resolutioners—those who were favourable to the repeal of the act of classes, and the admission of all men, of whatever religious denomination, to serve in the army and otherwise. The Scottish parliament had passed some acts, particularly the act of classes, for excluding from places of trust, civil and military, persons who had manifested a malignant opposition to the religion and liberties of the nation, as then established. After the defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar and Hamilton, by Cromwell, the court, in the end of 1650 and beginning of 1651, put two queries to the commission of the General Assembly, with reference to the admission of malignants to places of trust. The commission’s answers, otherwise called *the public resolutions*, were favourable to the views of the court, and the act of classes was repealed. The resolutions and subsequent procedure of the commission and General Assembly, were *protested* against by a considerable number of ministers and elders. This gave rise to a division between the *resolutioners* and *protesters* (as they were called), which, though accommodated, was not completely healed, when the restoration took place. The protesters (of whom Rutherford was one), being the stricter presbyterians, were most obnoxious to the restored government.

that the weight and trust of the affairs of Christ, and his kingdom, should be laid upon the whole party of such as have been enemies to our cause; contrary to the word of God, and the declarations, remonstrances, solemn warnings, and serious exhortations of his church, whose public protestations the Lord did admirably bless, to the encouragement of the godly, and the terror of all the opposers of the work.

“ Since we are very shortly to appear before our dreadful Master and Sovereign, we cannot pass from our protestation, trusting we are therein accepted of him;—though we should lie under the imputation of dividing spirits, and unpeaceable men. We acknowledge all due obedience, in the Lord, to the king’s majesty; but we disown that ecclesiastic supremacy, in and over the church, which some ascribe to him; that power of commanding external worship not appointed in the word; and laying bonds upon the consciences of men, where Christ has made them free. We disown antichristian prelacy, bowing at the name of Jesus, saints’ days, canonizing of the dead, and other such corrupt inventions of men, and look on them as the highway to popery. Alas! now there is no need of a spirit of prophecy to declare what shall be the woful condition of a land that hath broken covenant, first practically, and then legally, with the Lord our God: and what shall be the day of the silent and dumb watchmen of Scotland? Where will we leave our glory? and what if Christ depart out of our land? We verily judge, they are most loyal to the king’s majesty, who desire the dross may be separated from the silver, and the throne established in righteousness and judgment. We are not (our witness is in heaven) against his majesty’s title by birth to the kingdom, and the right of the royal family: but that the controversy of wrath against the royal family may be removed; that the huge guilt of the throne may be mourned for before the Lord; and that his majesty may stand constantly, all the days of his life, to the covenant of God, by oath, seal, and subscription, known to the world; that so peace and the blessings of heaven may follow his government; that the Lord may be his rock and shield; that the just may flourish in his time; that men fearing God, hating covetousness, and of known integrity and godliness, may be judges and rulers under his majesty—and they are not really loyal and faithful to the supreme magistrate, who wish not such qualifications in him. We are not, in this particular, contending that a prince, who is not a convert or a sound believer, falls from his royal dominion; the scriptures of God warrant us to pray for and obey, in the Lord, princes and supreme magistrates, that are otherwise wicked; and to render all due obedience to them, Rom. xiii. 2, 5. 2 Tim. ii. 12. 1 Pet. ii. 18. Our souls should be afflicted before the Lord, for the burning of the ‘Causes of God’s Wrath.’ A sad practice, too like the burning of the roll by Jehudi, Jer. xxxvi. 22. In these controversies, we should take special heed to this, that Christ is a free, independent Sovereign, King, and Law-giver. The Father hath appointed him his own King in mount Zion; and he cannot endure, that the powers of the world should encroach upon his royal prerogatives, and prescribe laws to him: this presumption is not far from that of citizens that hated him, Luke xix. 14.

The same day, Messrs. James M'Gill, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburn, all members of the same presbytery coming to visit him, he made them welcome, and said, "My Lord and Master is the chief of ten thousand; none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; preach for Christ, pray for Christ, feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ: do all for Christ: beware of men pleasing, there is too much of it amongst us. The new college hath broke my heart, I can say nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the house, and it hath been, and still is my desire, that he may dwell in this society, and that the youth may be fed with sound knowledge." After this, he said, "Dear brethren, it may seem presumptuous in me, a particular man, to send a commission to a presbytery;" and Mr. M'Gill replying, it was no presumption, he continued, "Dear brethren, take a commission from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cause, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge; let them feed the flock out of love, preach for God, visit and catechise for God, and do all for God: beware of men pleasing, the chief Shepherd will appear shortly. I have been a sinful man, and have had mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned and accepted my labours. I adhere to the cause and covenant; and resolve never to depart from the protestations* against the controverted assemblies. I am the man I was. I am still for keeping the government of the kirk of Scotland entire, and would not, for a thousand worlds, have had the least hand in the burning of the 'Causes of God's Wrath.' Oh! for grace to wrestle with God for their salvation."

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"The church of Scotland had once as much of the presence of Christ, as to the power and purity of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as many we read of, since the Lord took his ancient people to be his covenanted church. The Lord stirred up our nobles to attempt a reformation in the last age, through many difficulties, and against much opposition, from those in supreme authority: he made bare his holy arm; and carried on the work gloriously, like himself; his right hand getting him the victory, until the idolatry of Rome, and her cursed mass were dashed. A hopeful reformation was in some measure settled, and a sound confession of faith was agreed upon by the lords of the congregation. The people of God, according to the laudable custom of other ancient churches, the protestants in France and Holland, and the renowned princes of Germany, did carry on the work, in an innocent self-defensive war, which the Lord did abundantly bless. When our land and church were thus contending for that begun reformation, these in authority did still oppose the work. And there were not wanting men from among ourselves, men of prelatical spirits, who, with some other timeserving courtiers, did not a little undermine the building. And we doating too much upon sound parliaments, and lawfully constitute general assemblies, fell from our first love, to self-seeking, secret banding, and little fearing the oath of God.

"Afterwards, our work in public was too much in sequestration of estates, fining and imprisoning, more than in a compassionate mournfulness of spirit toward those whom we saw to oppose the work. In our assemblies, we were more bent to set up a state opposite to a state; more upon forms, citations, leading of witnesses, suspensions from benefices, than spiritually to persuade, and work upon the conscience, with the meekness and gentleness of Christ.* The glory and

* We think there can be only one opinion as to the truth of this observation. With all our admiration of the Worthies who succeeded the reformation from popery, we cannot but observe that there was frequently displayed by them more zeal for the forms than the essence of religion, and more perhaps of a bold, undaunted, and fiery spirit of opposition to the aggressing power, than the circumstances of the case called for, or was consistent with their own characters as subjects of a kingdom, not of this world, and disciples of the lowly Jesus. At the same time, we are not ignorant of the value and importance of the forms for

The same day, Messrs. James M'Gill, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburn, all members of the same presbytery coming to visit him, he made them welcome, and said, "My Lord and Master is the chief of ten thousand; none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; preach for Christ, pray for Christ, feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ: do all for Christ: beware of men pleasing, there is too much of it amongst us. The new college hath broke my heart, I can say nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the house, and it hath been, and still is my desire, that he may dwell in this society, and that the youth may be fed with sound knowledge." After this, he said, "Dear brethren, it may seem presumptuous in me, a particular man, to send a commission to a presbytery;" and Mr. M'Gill replying, it was no presumption, he continued, "Dear brethren, take a commission from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cause, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge; let them feed the flock out of love, preach for God, visit and catechise for God, and do all for God: beware of men pleasing, the chief Shepherd will appear shortly. I have been a sinful man, and have had mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned and accepted my labours. I adhere to the cause and covenant; and resolve never to depart from the protestations* against the controverted assemblies. I am the man I was. I am still for keeping the government of the kirk of Scotland entire, and would not, for a thousand worlds, have had the least hand in the burning of the 'Causes of God's Wrath.' Oh! for grace to wrestle with God for their salvation."

Mr. Vilant having prayed at his desire, as they took their leave, he renewed his charge to them, to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a fainting, in which they who looked on, expected his dissolution, he said, "I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna." Mr. Blair (whose praise is in the churches) being present, when he took a little wine in a spoon to refresh himself, being then very weak, said to him, "Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think nothing of our cordials on earth." He answered, "They are all but dung; but they are Christ's creatures, and, out of obedience to his command, I take them. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer, I know he shall stand at the last day upon the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air, and I shall be ever with him; and what would you have more? there is an end." And stretching out his hands, he said again, "There is an end." And a little after, he said, "I have been a sinful man, but I stand at the best pass that ever a man did: Christ is mine, and I am his."—And spoke much of the white stone and new name. Mr. Blair (who loved with all his heart to hear Christ commended) said to him again,

* This appears to be these papers bearing the name of representations, propositions, protestations, &c. given in by him, and Messrs. Cant and Livingston, to the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24th, 1654.

What think ye now of Christ?" To which he answered, "I shall live and adore him. Glory, glory to my Creator and my Redeemer for ever! 'Glory shines in Emmanuel's land.'" In the afternoon of that day he said, "Oh! that all my brethren in the public may know what a Master I have served, and what peace I have this day. I shall sleep in Christ, and when I awake, I shall be satisfied with his likeness. This night shall close the door, and put my anchor within the vail, and I shall go away in a sleep by five of the clock in the morning;" which exactly fell out. Though he was very weak, he had often this expression, "Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! for a well tuned harp!" He exhorted Dr. Colvil (a man who complied with prelacy afterward) to adhere to the government of the church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant, and to have a care to feed the youth with sound knowledge. And the doctor being a professor of the new college, he told him, that he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He spoke likewise to Mr. Honeyman (afterwards bishop Honeyman), who came to see him, saying, "Tell the presbytery to answer for God, and his cause and covenant," saying, "The case is desperate, let them be in their duty." Then directing his speech to Mr. Colvil and Mr. Honeyman, he said, "Stick to it. You may think it an easy thing in me, a dying man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that men can do; but he, before whom I stand, knows, that I dare advise no colleague or brother to do what I would not cordially do myself, upon all hazard; and as for the 'Causes of God's Wrath,' that men have now condemned, tell Mr. James Wood from me, that I had rather lay down my head on a scaffold, and have it chopped off many times (were it possible), before I had passed from them." And then to Mr. Honeyman he said, "Tell Mr. Wood, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he has done me, and desire him from me, to declare himself the man that he is still, for the government of the church of Scotland."

Afterwards, when some spake to him of his former painfulness and faithfulness in the ministry, he said, "I disclaim all that: the port that I would be at, is redemption and forgiveness through his blood, 'Thou shalt shew me the path of life, in thy sight is fulness of joy:' there is nothing now betwixt me and the resurrection, but 'To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise.'" Mr. Blair saying, "Shall I praise the Lord for all the mercies he has done and is to do for you?" He answered, "Oh! for a well-tuned harp." To his child, he said, "I have again left you upon the Lord: it may be, you will tell this to others, that 'the lines are fallen to me in pleasant places, I have got a goodly heritage,' I bless the Lord that he gave me counsel."

Thus, by five o'clock in the morning (as he himself foretold), it was said unto him, 'Come up hither,' and he gave up the ghost,—the renowned eagle took its flight unto the mountain of spices!

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"Though the Lord needeth not a testimony from such a wretched man as I, and if all the world should be silent, the very stones would cry, it is more than debt, that I should confess Christ before men and

royalty of our princely Redeemer and king was trampled on, as any might have seen in our assemblies. What way the army, and the sword, and the countenance of nobles and officers seemed to sway, that way were the censures carried. It had been better, had there been more days of humiliation in assemblies, synods, presbyteries, congregations, families, and far less adjourned commissions, new peremptory summonses, and new drawn up processes. And if the meekness and gentleness of our Master had got so much place in our hearts, that we might have waited on gainsayers and parties contrary minded; we might have driven gently, as our Master Christ, who loves not to overdrive, but carries the lambs in his bosom.

“If the word of truth in the Old and New Testament be a sufficient rule, holding forth what is a Christian army, whether offensive or defensive; whether clean, or sinfully mixed,—then must we leave the question betwixt our public brethren* and us to be determined by that rule: but if there be no such rule in the word, then the confederacies and associations of the people of God with the idolatrous, apostate Israelites, with the Egyptians and Assyrians, as that of Jehoshaphat with Ahab, and these of Israel and Judah with Egypt and Assyria, should not be condemned; but they are often reprovèd and condemned in scripture. To deny the scripture to be a sufficient rule in this case, were to accuse it of being imperfect and defective;—a high and unjust reflection on the holy word of God! Beyond all question, the written word doth teach, what is a right constituted court, and what not, Psal. x.; what is a right constituted house, and what not, Josh. xxiv. 15.; what is a true church, and what is a synagogue of Satan, Rev. ii.; what is a clean camp, and what is unclean. We are not for an army of saints, and free of all mixture of ill affected men: but it seems an high prevarication for churchmen to counsel and teach,

which they contended, to the very existence, and certainly to the preservation and the spread of true godliness; nor must we fail to observe, that the circumstances in which they were placed, and the encroachments with which they were still farther threatened, might have excited their vigilance, as to minor points, to a higher pitch than their individual importance might seem to warrant.

* That is to say, the public resolutioners—those who were favourable to the repeal of the act of classes, and the admission of all men, of whatever religious denomination, to serve in the army and otherwise. The Scottish parliament had passed some acts, particularly the act of classes, for excluding from places of trust, civil and military, persons who had manifested a malignant opposition to the religion and liberties of the nation, as then established. After the defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar and Hamilton, by Cromwell, the court, in the end of 1650 and beginning of 1651, put two queries to the commission of the General Assembly, with reference to the admission of malignants to places of trust. The commission's answers, otherwise called *the public resolutions*, were favourable to the views of the court, and the act of classes was repealed. The resolutions and subsequent procedure of the commission and General Assembly, were *protested* against by a considerable number of ministers and elders. This gave rise to a division between the *resolutioners* and *protesters* (as they were called), which, though accommodated, was not completely healed, when the restoration took place. The protesters (of whom Rutherford was one), being the stricter presbyterians, were most obnoxious to the restored government.

that the weight and trust of the affairs of Christ, and his kingdom, should be laid upon the whole party of such as have been enemies to our cause; contrary to the word of God, and the declarations, remonstrances, solemn warnings, and serious exhortations of his church, whose public protestations the Lord did admirably bless, to the encouragement of the godly, and the terror of all the opposers of the work.

“ Since we are very shortly to appear before our dreadful Master and Sovereign, we cannot pass from our protestation, trusting we are therein accepted of him;—though we should lie under the imputation of dividing spirits, and unpeaceable men. We acknowledge all due obedience, in the Lord, to the king’s majesty; but we disown that ecclesiastic supremacy, in and over the church, which some ascribe to him; that power of commanding external worship not appointed in the word; and laying bonds upon the consciences of men, where Christ has made them free. We disown antichristian prelacy, bowing at the name of Jesus, saints’ days, canonizing of the dead, and other such corrupt inventions of men, and look on them as the highway to popery. Alas! now there is no need of a spirit of prophecy to declare what shall be the woful condition of a land that hath broken covenant, first practically, and then legally, with the Lord our God: and what shall be the day of the silent and dumb watchmen of Scotland? Where will we leave our glory? and what if Christ depart out of our land? We verily judge, they are most loyal to the king’s majesty, who desire the dross may be separated from the silver, and the throne established in righteousness and judgment. We are not (our witness is in heaven) against his majesty’s title by birth to the kingdom, and the right of the royal family: but that the controversy of wrath against the royal family may be removed; that the huge guilt of the throne may be mourned for before the Lord; and that his majesty may stand constantly, all the days of his life, to the covenant of God, by oath, seal, and subscription, known to the world; that so peace and the blessings of heaven may follow his government; that the Lord may be his rock and shield; that the just may flourish in his time; that men fearing God, hating covetousness, and of known integrity and godliness, may be judges and rulers under his majesty—and they are not really loyal and faithful to the supreme magistrate, who wish not such qualifications in him. We are not, in this particular, contending that a prince, who is not a convert or a sound believer, falls from his royal dominion; the scriptures of God warrant us to pray for and obey, in the Lord, princes and supreme magistrates, that are otherwise wicked; and to render all due obedience to them, Rom. xiii. 2, 5. 2 Tim. ii. 12. 1 Pet. ii. 18. Our souls should be afflicted before the Lord, for the burning of the ‘Causes of God’s Wrath.’ A sad practice, too like the burning of the roll by Jehudi, Jer. xxxvi. 22. In these controversies, we should take special heed to this, that Christ is a free, independent Sovereign, King, and Law-giver. The Father hath appointed him his own King in mount Zion; and he cannot endure, that the powers of the world should encroach upon his royal prerogatives, and prescribe laws to him: this presumption is not far from that of citizens that hated him, Luke xix. 14.

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‘He shall not rule over us;’ and from the intolerable pride of those who are for breaking asunder the bands of the Lord, and his anointed, and for casting away their cords from them, Psal. ii. 3. especially seeing the man Christ would not take the office of a judge upon him, Luke xii. 14. and discharged his disciples, to exercise a civil lordship over their brethren. True it is, the godly magistrate may command the ministers of the gospel to do their duty, but not under the pain of ecclesiastic censure, as if it were proper for him to call and uncall, depose and suspend from the holy ministry. The lordly spiritual government in and over the church, is given unto Christ, and none else : he is the sole ecclesiastic lawgiver. It is proper to him to smite with the rod of his mouth ; nor is there any other shoulder, in heaven or on earth, that is able to bear the government. As this hath been the great controversy betwixt our Lord Jesus and the powers of the world from the beginning, so it has ruined all that coped with him. Christ has proved a rock of offence to them ; they have been dashed to pieces by the stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands, Dan. ii. 34, 45. And the other powers that enter the lists with him shall have the same dismal exit. Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken ; and on whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind them to powder, Matth. xxi. 44. As the blessed prophets and apostles of our Lord contended not a little with the rulers of the earth, that Christ should be head corner stone : that Christ is the only head of the church, is as sure, as that he died, was buried, and rose again. It is a most victorious and prevailing truth, not only preached and attested by the ambassadors of the Lord of hosts, but confirmed by blood, martyrdom, and suffering. Many precious saints have thought it their honour and dignity, to suffer shame and reproach for the name of Jesus ; and it is beyond doubt, that passive suffering for the precious name of Christ comes nearest to that noble sampler, wherein Christ, though a Son, learned obedience by the things which he suffered, Heb. v. 8. Now blessed is the soul, who loves not his life to death, Rev. xii. 11. For on such rests the Spirit of glory and of God, 1 Pet. iv. 14. We cannot but say, it is a sad time to our land at present, it is a day of darkness, and rebuke, and blasphemy. The Lord hath covered himself with a cloud in his anger, we looked for peace, but behold evil : our souls rejoiced, when his majesty did swear the covenant of God, and put thereto his seal and subscription ; and therefore confirmed it by his royal promise. So that the subjects’ hearts blessed the Lord, and rested upon the healing word of a prince. But now, alas ! the contrary is enacted by law, the carved work is broken down, ordinances are defaced, and we are brought into the former bondage and chaos of prelatical confusions. The royal prerogative of Christ is pulled from his head, and, after all the days of sorrow we have seen, we have just cause to fear we shall be made to read and eat that book, wherein is written mourning, and lamentation, and wo. Yet we are to believe Christ will not so depart from the land, but a remnant shall be saved ; and he shall reign a victorious conquering king to the ends of the earth. O that there were nations, kindreds, tongues, and all the people of Christ’s habitable world, en-

compassing his throne with cries and tears for the spirit of supplication, to be poured down upon the inhabitants of Judah for that effect.*

Sic. Sub.—SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

February 28th, 1661.

II. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLE.

[This illustrious nobleman, having received a religious education, began very early to discover his zeal for the interests of the presbyterian church. In 1638 he attended the General Assembly which met at Glasgow, and contributed much by his presence and advice to give dignity and effect to its deliberations. Next year, and indeed for five years after, he was active in defending the same cause by his sword, which hitherto he had promoted by his talents and influence; and till the year 1648, might be regarded as the principal supporter of the covenanted reformation in Scotland. In 1649, he assisted in reinstating Charles II. on his father's throne, and received many professions of favour from that monarch. Having afterwards, however, during the success of Cromwell, been induced to capitulate, though after many refusals; all his good services were forgotten, and at the king's return in 1660, he was arrested, and sent to the Tower of London, whence he was brought to Scotland to be tried by the parliament for alleged high treason. This was early in 1661. On the 25th of May that year, he was tried and condemned, and, on the 27th, he suffered the death of a traitor, though there can be no doubt the essence of his crime consisted in his rigid adherence to the presbyterian interest.]

HIS LAST WORDS IN PRISON.

After sentence, he was ordered to the common-prison, where his excellent lady was waiting for him. Upon seeing her, he said, "They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it." She, embracing him, wept bitterly, and said, "The Lord will require it; the Lord will require it;" which drew tears from all in the room. But being himself composed, he said, "Forbear, forbear. I pity them, they know not what they are doing. They may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut God out from me. For my part, I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty; and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all." He added, he remembered a scripture cited by an honest minister to him while in the castle, which he intended to put in practice:—"When Ziklag was

* Rutherford's Life and Testimony.—Glasg. 1784.

and changed his ordinances?' What shall Scotland be called? Lorumah and Lo-ammi, who was termed Beulah and Hephzibah, 'A people delighted in, and married to the Lord.' I think that curse in Zeph. i. 17. is much accomplished in our days, 'They shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the Lord.' Does not our carriage under all these speaking and afflicting dispensations, fighting against God in the furnace, and our dross not departing from us, speak this with our hearts, 'That for three transgressions, and for four, he will not turn away the punishment of these covenanted lands?' And this shall be our blot in all generations—'this is that Scotland that in its afflictions, sins more and more.' It is no wonder then, that we be put to our, 'How long, how long wilt thou hide thy face? How long wilt thou forget, O Lord? O Lord, how shall thy jealousy burn like a fire, and we hear the confused noise of war, and of rumours of war?'

"Since God has put it, 'How long wilt thou go about, O thou backsliding daughter?' Jer. xxxi. 22. Are ye not gadding about to change, turning his glory into shame, and loving lying vanities? And there are four *How longs* that God is put to lament over Scotland, and which are most in Luke ix. 41. 'How long shall I be with you, and suffer you?' Is not Christ necessitate to depart, and to make us a land sown with salt and grass in our most frequented congregations? Ay, believe it, ere it be long, these two words shall be our lot, there is that in Jer. ii. 31. 'O generation, see the word of the Lord; when these that would not hear him in his word, shall see him in his dispensations; when all our threatenings shall be preached to our ears; and that word in Hosea vii. 12. 'I will chastise them as their congregation hath heard.' O shall poor Scotland serve themselves heirs to the sins of the Gadarenes, to desire Christ to flit out of their coasts, and to subscribe the bill of divorce (in a manner) before Christ subscribe it? It is like, these three sad evidences of affliction that are in Isaiah xlvii. 11. 'shall come upon us in their perfection.' I shall add no more on a sad subject.*

"My lord, not being able to write to you with my own hand, I have thought fit to present these few thoughts unto you by the hand of a friend.

"I know not, (I will not limit him) but I may stand within that judgment-hall, where that glorious and spotless high priest doth sit,

* It must be evident to every one at all acquainted with the history of the times, that in the foregoing reflections Mr. Gray alludes to the state of matters in Scotland, produced by the repeal of the act of classes, and more lately, by the toleration of all sects under Cromwell's usurpation. We pretend not to say how far his views on these matters were correct, but only to explain the allusions which he makes to the religious aspect of Scotland at the period in question. And undoubtedly, to one who regarded presbytery as the most perfect, and indeed, the divinely authorized form of church government, the diversity of principle, and consequently of profession, which then prevailed, even amongst the religious; and the laxity of feeling and conduct amongst the careless and the profane, naturally resulting from such a confusion in the public mind, might well appear to be the token and the precursor of still farther chastisements from the hand of God.

with that train that does fill the temple: and, O to be among the last of these that are bidden come in, and partake of that everlasting peace! O what a poor report will the messengers of the covenant and gospel make, whose image they crucify in their hearts, to whom I may apply these words by allusion, 'The morning of conversion is to them as the terrors of death, and as the terrors of the breaking in of the day to the destroying of them?' What a poor account will some of us make, both as to the answer of our conscience, and as to the answer of his pains taken upon us, and as to the answer of his promises, and as to the answer of his threatenings, and as to the answer of his commands—and as to the answer of our light? Now, not to trouble your lordship, whom I also highly reverence, and my soul was knit unto in the Lord, but that you would bespeak my case to the great Master of requests, and my broken case before him, who has pleaded the desperate case of many, according to the sweet word in Lamentations iii. 56.—this is all at this time from one in a very weak condition, in a great fever, who for much of seven nights has but slept little at all, but has been kept in a right sad and grievous torment from his hand, with many other sad particulars and circumstances.

"I shall say now no more, but I am yours in some single respects, I hope, I may say, dying in Christ,

ANDREW GRAY.*

• Gray's Works, pp. 513—514.

THE
LAST WORDS
AND
DYING TESTIMONIES
OF THE
SCOTS WORTHIES.

PART SECOND:

COMPREHENDING TESTIMONIES THAT WERE EMITTED, BETWEEN
THE YEARS 1660 AND 1680.

I. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

[THIS eminent Christian and divine, so well known to the religious world by his "Letters," was educated at Edinburgh, and very early was elected professor of philosophy in that university. He was afterwards called to be minister of Anwoth in Galloway, and became no less distinguished by the conscientious performance of his private duties, than by the troubles he experienced on account of his nonconformity. These he detailed to the memorable assembly of 1638, and in consideration of his high merits, was forthwith appointed to the divinity chair in the new college of St. Andrews. He was also selected in 1643, as one of the commissioners to the assembly at Westminster. It was about this period he published the famous treatise, entitled *Lex Rex*, for which, in the year 1661, it was proposed to indict him, when he was happily removed from the threatened evils into a better world. Together with his last words, we subjoin his testimony to the work of reformation, since 1638, which was signed by him only twelve days before his death.]

1. HIS LAST WORDS.

During the time of his last sickness, he uttered many savoury speeches, and often broke out in a kind of sacred rapture, exalting and commending the Lord Jesus. Especially when his end drew near, he often called him his "blessed Master," his "kingly King." Some days before his death, he said, "I shall shine; I shall see him as he

is; I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him, and I shall have my large share. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; these very eyes of mine, and none other for me. This may seem a wide word: but it is no fancy or delusion: it is true. Let my Lord's name be exalted, and if he will, let my name be grinded to pieces, that he may be all in all. If he should slay me ten thousand times, I will trust in him. He often repeated Jer. xv. 16. "Thy words were found of me, and I did eat them."

When exhorting one to diligence, he said, "It is no easy thing to be a Christian. For me, I have got the victory, and Christ is holding out both his arms to embrace me." At another time, to some friends present, he said, "At the beginning of my sufferings, I had mine own fears, like other sinful men, lest I should faint, and not be carried creditably through, and I laid this before the Lord, and as sure as ever he spoke to me in his word, as sure as his Spirit witnesseth to my heart, he hath accepted my sufferings. He said to me, Fear not, the outgate shall not be simply matter of prayer, but matter of praise. I said to the Lord, If he should slay me five thousand times five thousand, I would trust in him: and I speak with much trembling, fearing I should not make my part good; but as really as ever he spake to me by his Spirit, he witnessed to my heart, that his grace should be sufficient." The Thursday night before his death, being much grieved with the state of the public, he had this expression, "Horror hath taken hold on me." And afterwards, falling on his own condition, he said, "I renounce all that ever he made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as coming from me; I betake myself to Christ for sanctification as well as justification:—Repeating these words, "He is made of God to me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption:"—adding, I close with it, let him be so, he is my all in all.

March 17th, three gentlewomen came to see him, and after exhorting them to read the word, to be much in prayer, and much in communion with God, he said, "My honourable Master and lovely Lord, my great Royal King, hath not a match in heaven nor in earth. I have my own guilt, like other sinful men; but he hath pardoned, loved, washed, and given me joy unspeakable and full of glory. I repent not that ever I owned his cause. These, whom ye call protesters, are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those that have burnt the 'Causes of God's Wrath.' They have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice; but I believe the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob. Oh! to obtain mercy to wrestle with God for their eternal salvation. As for this presbytery, it hath stood in opposition to me these years past. I have my record in heaven, I had no particular end in view, but was seeking the honour of God, the thriving of the gospel in this place, and the good of the new college, that society which I have left upon the Lord. What personal wrongs they have done me, and what grief they have occasioned to me, I heartily forgive them, and desire mercy to wrestle with God for mercy to them, and for the salvation of them all."

The same day, Messrs. James M'Gill, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburn, all members of the same presbytery coming to visit him, he made them welcome, and said, "My Lord and Master is the chief of ten thousand; none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; preach for Christ, pray for Christ, feed the flock committed to your charge for Christ: do all for Christ: beware of men pleasing, there is too much of it amongst us. The new college hath broke my heart, I can say nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the house, and it hath been, and still is my desire, that he may dwell in this society, and that the youth may be fed with sound knowledge." After this, he said, "Dear brethren, it may seem presumptuous in me, a particular man, to send a commission to a presbytery;" and Mr. M'Gill replying, it was no presumption, he continued, "Dear brethren, take a commission from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cause, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge; let them feed the flock out of love, preach for God, visit and catechise for God, and do all for God: beware of men pleasing, the chief Shepherd will appear shortly. I have been a sinful man, and have had mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned and accepted my labours. I adhere to the cause and covenant; and resolve never to depart from the protestations* against the controverted assemblies. I am the man I was. I am still for keeping the government of the kirk of Scotland entire, and would not, for a thousand worlds, have had the least hand in the burning of the 'Causes of God's Wrath.' Oh! for grace to wrestle with God for their salvation."

Mr. Vilant having prayed at his desire, as they took their leave, he renewed his charge to them, to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a fainting, in which they who looked on, expected his dissolution, he said, "I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna." Mr. Blair (whose praise is in the churches) being present, when he took a little wine in a spoon to refresh himself, being then very weak, said to him, "Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think nothing of our cordials on earth." He answered, "They are all but dung; but they are Christ's creatures, and, out of obedience to his command, I take them. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer, I know he shall stand at the last day upon the earth, and I shall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air, and I shall be ever with him; and what would you have more? there is an end." And stretching out his hands, he said again, "There is an end." And a little after, he said, "I have been a sinful man, but I stand at the best pass that ever a man did: Christ is mine, and I am his."—And spoke much of the white stone and new name. Mr. Blair (who loved with all his heart to hear Christ commended) said to him again,

* This appears to be these papers bearing the name of representations, propositions, protestations, &c. given in by him, and Messrs. Cant and Livingston, to the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24th, 1654.

What think ye now of Christ?" To which he answered, "I shall live and adore him. Glory, glory to my Creator and my Redeemer for ever! 'Glory shines in Emmanuel's land.'" In the afternoon of that day he said, "Oh! that all my brethren in the public may know what a Master I have served, and what peace I have this day. I shall sleep in Christ, and when I awake, I shall be satisfied with his likeness. This night shall close the door, and put my anchor within the vail, and I shall go away in a sleep by five of the clock in the morning;" which exactly fell out. Though he was very weak, he had often this expression, "Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! for a well tuned harp!" He exhorted Dr. Colvil (a man who complied with prelacy afterward) to adhere to the government of the church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant, and to have a care to feed the youth with sound knowledge. And the doctor being a professor of the new college, he told him, that he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He spoke likewise to Mr. Honeyman (afterwards bishop Honeyman), who came to see him, saying, "Tell the presbytery to answer for God, and his cause and covenant," saying, "The case is desperate, let them be in their duty." Then directing his speech to Mr. Colvil and Mr. Honeyman, he said, "Stick to it. You may think it an easy thing in me, a dying man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that men can do; but he, before whom I stand, knows, that I dare advise no colleague or brother to do what I would not cordially do myself, upon all hazard; and as for the 'Causes of God's Wrath,' that men have now condemned, tell Mr. James Wood from me, that I had rather lay down my head on a scaffold, and have it chopped off many times (were it possible), before I had passed from them." And then to Mr. Honeyman he said, "Tell Mr. Wood, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he has done me, and desire him from me, to declare himself the man that he is still, for the government of the church of Scotland."

Afterwards, when some spake to him of his former painfulness and faithfulness in the ministry, he said, "I disclaim all that: the port that I would be at, is redemption and forgiveness through his blood, 'Thou shalt shew me the path of life, in thy sight is fulness of joy:' there is nothing now betwixt me and the resurrection, but 'To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise.'" Mr. Blair saying, "Shall I praise the Lord for all the mercies he has done and is to do for you?" He answered, "Oh! for a well-tuned harp." To his child, he said, "I have again left you upon the Lord: it may be, you will tell this to others, that 'the lines are fallen to me in pleasant places, I have got a goodly heritage,' I bless the Lord that he gave me counsel."

Thus, by five o'clock in the morning (as he himself foretold), it was said unto him, 'Come up hither,' and he gave up the ghost,—the renowned eagle took its flight unto the mountain of spices!

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"Though the Lord needeth not a testimony from such a wretched man as I, and if all the world should be silent, the very stones would cry, it is more than debt, that I should confess Christ before men and

angels. It would satisfy me not a little, that the throne of the Lord Jesus were exalted above the clouds, the heaven of heavens, and on both sides of the sun; and that all possible praise and glory were ascribed to him: that, by his grace, I might put my seal, such as it is, unto that song, even the new song of these, who with a loud voice sing, Rev. v. 9. 'Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign upon the earth.' And blessed were I, could I lay to, my ear of faith, and say, Amen, to the Psalm 'of the many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and elders, whose number is ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, saying, with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing;' and if I heard 'every creature, which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth; and such as are in the sea; and all that are in them (as John heard them), saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.' I mean not any such visible reign as the Millenarians fancy. I believe (Lord help my unbelief) the doctrine of the holy prophets and the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained in the books of the Old and New Testament, to be the undoubted truth of God, and a perfect rule of faith, and the only way of salvation. And I do acknowledge the sum of the Christian religion, exhibited in the confessions and catechisms of the reformed protestant churches; and in the national covenant, divers times sworn by the king's majesty, the state and church of Scotland, and sealed by the testimony and subscriptions of the nobles, barons, gentlemen, citizens, ministers, and professors of all ranks: as also in the solemn league and covenant, in the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland. And I do judge, and in conscience believe, that no power on earth can absolve and liberate the people of God from the bonds and sacred ties of the oath of God. I am persuaded, that Asa acted warrantably, in making a law, that the people should stand to the covenant, and in receiving into the covenant such as were not of his kingdom, 2 Chron. xv. 6, 10. And so did also Hezekiah, in sending a proclamation through all the tribes, from Dan to Beersheba, that they should come and keep the passover unto the Lord at Jerusalem, 2 Chron. xxx. 6, 7, though their own princes did not come along with them: yea, and it is nature's law, warranted by the word, that nations should encourage, and stir up one another, to seek the true God. It is also prophesied, that divers nations should excite one another this way, Isa. iii. 8. 'Many people shall go, and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways.' Zech. viii. 2. 'And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts: I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem; and to pray before the Lord.'

There is also a clear prophecy to be accomplished under the New Testament, 'That Israel and Judah shall go together and seek the Lord: they shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord, in a perpetual covenant, that shall not be forgotten,' Jer. l. 4, 5. It is also foretold, that different nations shall confederate with the Lord, and with one another, Isa. xix. 23, 24, 25. 'In that day there shall be an highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come to Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day, shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance.'

"The church of Scotland had once as much of the presence of Christ, as to the power and purity of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as many we read of, since the Lord took his ancient people to be his covenanted church. The Lord stirred up our nobles to attempt a reformation in the last age, through many difficulties, and against much opposition, from those in supreme authority: he made bare his holy arm; and carried on the work gloriously, like himself; his right hand getting him the victory, until the idolatry of Rome, and her cursed mass were dashed. A hopeful reformation was in some measure settled, and a sound confession of faith was agreed upon by the lords of the congregation. The people of God, according to the laudable custom of other ancient churches, the protestants in France and Holland, and the renowned princes of Germany, did carry on the work, in an innocent self-defensive war, which the Lord did abundantly bless. When our land and church were thus contending for that begun reformation, these in authority did still oppose the work. And there were not wanting men from among ourselves, men of prelatical spirits, who, with some other timeserving courtiers, did not a little undermine the building. And we doating too much upon sound parliaments, and lawfully constitute general assemblies, fell from our first love, to self-seeking, secret banding, and little fearing the oath of God.

"Afterwards, our work in public was too much in sequestration of estates, fining and imprisoning, more than in a compassionate mournfulness of spirit toward those whom we saw to oppose the work. In our assemblies, we were more bent to set up a state opposite to a state; more upon forms, citations, leading of witnesses, suspensions from benefices, than spiritually to persuade, and work upon the conscience, with the meekness and gentleness of Christ.* The glory and

* We think there can be only one opinion as to the truth of this observation. With all our admiration of the Worthies who succeeded the reformation from popery, we cannot but observe that there was frequently displayed by them more zeal for the forms than the essence of religion, and more perhaps of a bold, undaunted, and fiery spirit of opposition to the aggressing power, than the circumstances of the case called for, or was consistent with their own characters as subjects of a kingdom, not of this world, and disciples of the lowly Jesus. At the same time, we are not ignorant of the value and importance of the forms for

royalty of our princely Redeemer and king was trampled on, as any might have seen in our assemblies. What way the army, and the sword, and the countenance of nobles and officers seemed to sway, that way were the censures carried. It had been better, had there been more days of humiliation in assemblies, synods, presbyteries, congregations, families, and far less adjourned commissions, new peremptory summonses, and new drawn up processes. And if the meekness and gentleness of our Master had got so much place in our hearts, that we might have waited on gainsayers and parties contrary minded; we might have driven gently, as our Master Christ, who loves not to overdrive, but carries the lambs in his bosom.

“If the word of truth in the Old and New Testament be a sufficient rule, holding forth what is a Christian army, whether offensive or defensive; whether clean, or sinfully mixed,—then must we leave the question betwixt our public brethren* and us to be determined by that rule: but if there be no such rule in the word, then the confederacies and associations of the people of God with the idolatrous, apostate Israelites, with the Egyptians and Assyrians, as that of Jehoshaphat with Ahab, and these of Israel and Judah with Egypt and Assyria, should not be condemned; but they are often reprovèd and condemned in scripture. To deny the scripture to be a sufficient rule in this case, were to accuse it of being imperfect and defective;—a high and unjust reflection on the holy word of God! Beyond all question, the written word doth teach, what is a right constituted court, and what not, Psal. x.; what is a right constituted house, and what not, Josh. xxiv. 15.; what is a true church, and what is a synagogue of Satan, Rev. ii.; what is a clean camp, and what is unclean. We are not for an army of saints, and free of all mixture of ill affected men: but it seems an high prevarication for churchmen to counsel and teach,

which they contended, to the very existence, and certainly to the preservation and the spread of true godliness; nor must we fail to observe, that the circumstances in which they were placed, and the encroachments with which they were still farther threatened, might have excited their vigilance, as to minor points, to a higher pitch than their individual importance might seem to warrant.

* That is to say, the public resolutioners—those who were favourable to the repeal of the act of classes, and the admission of all men, of whatever religious denomination, to serve in the army and otherwise. The Scottish parliament had passed some acts, particularly the act of classes, for excluding from places of trust, civil and military, persons who had manifested a malignant opposition to the religion and liberties of the nation, as then established. After the defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar and Hamilton, by Cromwell, the court, in the end of 1650 and beginning of 1651, put two queries to the commission of the General Assembly, with reference to the admission of malignants to places of trust. The commission's answers, otherwise called *the public resolutions*, were favourable to the views of the court, and the act of classes was repealed. The resolutions and subsequent procedure of the commission and General Assembly, were *protested* against by a considerable number of ministers and elders. This gave rise to a division between the *resolutioners* and *protesters* (as they were called), which, though accommodated, was not completely healed, when the restoration took place. The protesters (of whom Rutherford was one), being the stricter presbyterians, were most obnoxious to the restored government.

that the weight and trust of the affairs of Christ, and his kingdom, should be laid upon the whole party of such as have been enemies to our cause; contrary to the word of God, and the declarations, remonstrances, solemn warnings, and serious exhortations of his church, whose public protestations the Lord did admirably bless, to the encouragement of the godly, and the terror of all the opposers of the work.

“ Since we are very shortly to appear before our dreadful Master and Sovereign, we cannot pass from our protestation, trusting we are therein accepted of him;—though we should lie under the imputation of dividing spirits, and unpeaceable men. We acknowledge all due obedience, in the Lord, to the king’s majesty; but we disown that ecclesiastic supremacy, in and over the church, which some ascribe to him; that power of commanding external worship not appointed in the word; and laying bonds upon the consciences of men, where Christ has made them free. We disown antichristian prelacy, bowing at the name of Jesus, saints’ days, canonizing of the dead, and other such corrupt inventions of men, and look on them as the highway to popery. Alas! now there is no need of a spirit of prophecy to declare what shall be the woful condition of a land that hath broken covenant, first practically, and then legally, with the Lord our God: and what shall be the day of the silent and dumb watchmen of Scotland? Where will we leave our glory? and what if Christ depart out of our land? We verily judge, they are most loyal to the king’s majesty, who desire the dross may be separated from the silver, and the throne established in righteousness and judgment. We are not (our witness is in heaven) against his majesty’s title by birth to the kingdom, and the right of the royal family: but that the controversy of wrath against the royal family may be removed; that the huge guilt of the throne may be mourned for before the Lord; and that his majesty may stand constantly, all the days of his life, to the covenant of God, by oath, seal, and subscription, known to the world; that so peace and the blessings of heaven may follow his government; that the Lord may be his rock and shield; that the just may flourish in his time; that men fearing God, hating covetousness, and of known integrity and godliness, may be judges and rulers under his majesty—and they are not really loyal and faithful to the supreme magistrate, who wish not such qualifications in him. We are not, in this particular, contending that a prince, who is not a convert or a sound believer, falls from his royal dominion; the scriptures of God warrant us to pray for and obey, in the Lord, princes and supreme magistrates, that are otherwise wicked; and to render all due obedience to them, Rom. xiii. 2, 5. 2 Tim. ii. 12. 1 Pet. ii. 18. Our souls should be afflicted before the Lord, for the burning of the ‘Causes of God’s Wrath.’ A sad practice, too like the burning of the roll by Jehudi, Jer. xxxvi. 22. In these controversies, we should take special heed to this, that Christ is a free, independent Sovereign, King, and Law-giver. The Father hath appointed him his own King in mount Zion; and he cannot endure, that the powers of the world should encroach upon his royal prerogatives, and prescribe laws to him: this presumption is not far from that of citizens that hated him, Luke xix. 14.

‘ He shall not rule over us ;’ and from the intolerable pride of those who are for breaking asunder the bands of the Lord, and his anointed, and for casting away their cords from them, Psal. ii. 3. especially seeing the man Christ would not take the office of a judge upon him, Luke xii. 14. and discharged his disciples, to exercise a civil lordship over their brethren. True it is, the godly magistrate may command the ministers of the gospel to do their duty, but not under the pain of ecclesiastic censure, as if it were proper for him to call and uncall, depose and suspend from the holy ministry. The lordly spiritual government in and over the church, is given unto Christ, and none else : he is the sole ecclesiastic lawgiver. It is proper to him to smite with the rod of his mouth ; nor is there any other shoulder, in heaven or on earth, that is able to bear the government. As this hath been the great controversy betwixt our Lord Jesus and the powers of the world from the beginning, so it has ruined all that coped with him. Christ has proved a rock of offence to them ; they have been dashed to pieces by the stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands, Dan. ii. 34, 45. And the other powers that enter the lists with him shall have the same dismal exit. Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken ; and on whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind them to powder, Matth. xxi. 44. As the blessed prophets and apostles of our Lord contended not a little with the rulers of the earth, that Christ should be head corner stone : that Christ is the only head of the church, is as sure, as that he died, was buried, and rose again. It is a most victorious and prevailing truth, not only preached and attested by the ambassadors of the Lord of hosts, but confirmed by blood, martyrdom, and suffering. Many precious saints have thought it their honour and dignity, to suffer shame and reproach for the name of Jesus ; and it is beyond doubt, that passive suffering for the precious name of Christ comes nearest to that noble sampler, wherein Christ, though a Son, learned obedience by the things which he suffered, Heb. v. 8. Now blessed is the soul, who loves not his life to death, Rev. xii. 11. For on such rests the Spirit of glory and of God, 1 Pet. iv. 14. We cannot but say, it is a sad time to our land at present, it is a day of darkness, and rebuke, and blasphemy. The Lord hath covered himself with a cloud in his anger, we looked for peace, but behold evil : our souls rejoiced, when his majesty did swear the covenant of God, and put thereto his seal and subscription ; and therefore confirmed it by his royal promise. So that the subjects’ hearts blessed the Lord, and rested upon the healing word of a prince. But now, alas ! the contrary is enacted by law, the carved work is broken down, ordinances are defaced, and we are brought into the former bondage and chaos of prelatical confusions. The royal prerogative of Christ is pulled from his head, and, after all the days of sorrow we have seen, we have just cause to fear we shall be made to read and eat that book, wherein is written mourning, and lamentation, and wo. Yet we are to believe Christ will not so depart from the land, but a remnant shall be saved ; and he shall reign a victorious conquering king to the ends of the earth. O that there were nations, kindreds, tongues, and all the people of Christ’s habitable world, en-

compassing his throne with cries and tears for the spirit of supplication, to be poured down upon the inhabitants of Judah for that effect."*

Sic. Sub.—SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

February 28th, 1661.

II. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLE.

[This illustrious nobleman, having received a religious education, began very early to discover his zeal for the interests of the presbyterian church. In 1638 he attended the General Assembly which met at Glasgow, and contributed much by his presence and advice to give dignity and effect to its deliberations. Next year, and indeed for five years after, he was active in defending the same cause by his sword, which hitherto he had promoted by his talents and influence; and till the year 1648, might be regarded as the principal supporter of the covenanted reformation in Scotland. In 1649, he assisted in reinstating Charles II. on his father's throne, and received many professions of favour from that monarch. Having afterwards, however, during the success of Cromwell, been induced to capitulate, though after many refusals; all his good services were forgotten, and at the king's return in 1660, he was arrested, and sent to the Tower of London, whence he was brought to Scotland to be tried by the parliament for alleged high treason. This was early in 1661. On the 25th of May that year, he was tried and condemned, and, on the 27th, he suffered the death of a traitor, though there can be no doubt the essence of his crime consisted in his rigid adherence to the presbyterian interest.]

HIS LAST WORDS IN PRISON.

After sentence, he was ordered to the common-prison, where his excellent lady was waiting for him. Upon seeing her, he said, "They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it." She, embracing him, wept bitterly, and said, "The Lord will require it; the Lord will require it;" which drew tears from all in the room. But being himself composed, he said, "Forbear, forbear. I pity them, they know not what they are doing. They may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut God out from me. For my part, I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty; and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all." He added, he remembered a scripture cited by an honest minister to him while in the castle, which he intended to put in practice:—"When Ziklag was

* Rutherford's Life and Testimony.—Glasg. 1784.

taken and burnt, the people spake of stoning David, but he encouraged himself in the Lord."

He spent the short time, till Monday, with the greatest serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercises of a dying Christian. To some ministers who were permitted to attend him, he said, "That shortly they would envy him, who was got before them,"—and added, "Remember that I tell you, my skill fails me, if you who are ministers will not either suffer much or sin much; for though you go along with these men in part, if you do not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer; and if you go not at all with them you must but suffer."

He also said, that he was naturally inclined to fear in his temper, but desired those about him, to observe that the Lord had heard his prayer, and removed all fear from him. Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. George Hutcheson preached to him in the tolbooth on the Lord's day, and at his own desire, his lady took her leave of him that evening. His dear and much valued friend, Mr. David Dickson, it is said, was his bed-fellow the last night he was in time.

The Marquis had a sweet time in the tolbooth as to the condition of his soul, and this still increased the nearer he approached his end; as he slept calmly and pleasantly the preceding night, so on Monday morning, though much engaged in settling his affairs in the midst of company, he had at intervals much spiritual conversation, and was so overpowered by a sensible effusion of the Holy Spirit, that he broke out on one occasion into a rapture, and said, "I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodness, but it will not do. I am now ordering my affairs, and God is sealing my charter to a better inheritance, and just now saying to me, *Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.*"

About this time he received an excellent letter from a certain minister, his friend, full of encouragement and comfort under his present circumstances. He then, with his own hand, wrote to his majesty in the following pathetic terms, respecting his family.

HIS LETTER TO THE KING

"Most sacred Sovereign,—I doubt not but your majesty hath an account given you from others of the issue of that strange process and indictment laid against me, before this can come to your royal hands; of which, if I had been guilty according to the charge, I should have esteemed myself unworthy to breathe upon the earth; much less would I have presumed to make an application to your majesty. But of all those great crimes which have been charged upon me, there hath nothing been proven except a compliance with the prevalent usurping rebels, after they had subdued all your majesty's dominions; whereby I was forced, with many others, to submit unto their unlawful power and government, which was an epidemic disease and fault of the time.

"What measure soever I have met with, and whatever malice or calumny hath been cast upon me, yet it is my inexpressible joy and comfort under all these sufferings, that I am found free and acquitted of that execrable murder committed against the life of your royal

father, which (as I desire a comfortable appearance before the Judge both of the quick and the dead), my soul did ever abominate ; for death, with the inward peace of my innocency, is much more acceptable to me than life itself, with the least stain of treachery.

“ And now, I am confident, that your majesty’s displeasure will be satisfied, and you will suffer my failings to be expiate with my life, which, with all humility and submission, I have yielded up ; and in this small period that remains of my life, no earthly thing shall be more cordially desired by me than your happiness ; and that your majesty and your successors, to all generations, may sway the sceptre of these nations, and that they may be a blessed people under your government.

“ And now, hoping that the humble supplication of your majesty’s dying subject may find some place within the large extent of your princely goodness and clemency, I have taken the boldness to cast the desolate condition of my poor wife and family upon your royal favour ; for whatever may be your majesty’s displeasure against myself, these, I hope, have not done any thing to procure your majesty’s indignation. And since that family have had the honour to be faithful subjects, and serviceable to your royal progenitors, I humbly beg *my* faults may not extinguish the lasting merit and memory of those who have given so many signal proofs of constant loyalty for many generations. Orphans and widows, by special prerogative and command from God, are put under your protection and defence, that you suffer them not to be wronged : they will owe their preservation so entirely to your majesty’s bounty and favour, that your countenance, and nothing else that’s human, can be a shield against their ruin.

“ I shall add no more : only being addebted to several of your majesty’s good subjects, and your royal justice being the source and fountain of all equity, whereby all your people are preserved in their just rights and interests, I humbly beg that none of them may suffer for my fault, but that you would allow them satisfaction and payment of what is justly owing unto them, from those sums and debts which are truly resting to my son and me. And as it is my serious and last desire to my children and posterity, next to their duty to Almighty God, that they may be faithful and serviceable to your majesty ; so, were I to enjoy this frail life any longer, I would endeavour, before all the world, to evidence myself to be your majesty’s most humble, devoted, and obedient subject and servant,

ARGYLE.”

“ From your Prison, Edinburgh,
May 27th, 1661.”

After this, he dined precisely at twelve o’clock, in company with his friends, displaying great cheerfulness, and then retired a little. Upon his opening the door, Mr. Hutcheson said, “ What cheer, my lord ? ” He answered, “ Good cheer, Sir, the Lord hath again confirmed and said to me from heaven, *Thy sins be forgiven thee.* ” Upon this tears of joy flowed in abundance ; he retired to the window and wept ; from that he came to the fire, and made as if he would stir it

a little to conceal his concern; but it would not do, his tears ran down his face; and coming to Mr. Hutcheson, he said, "I think his kindness overcomes me. But God is good to me, that he lets not out too much of it here, for he knows I could not bear it. Get me my cloak and let us go." But being told that the clock was kept back till one, till the bailies should come, he answered, "They are far in the wrong;" and presently kneeled and prayed before all present, in a most sweet and heavenly manner. As he ended, the bailies sent up word for him to come down, upon which he called for a glass of wine, and having asked a blessing to it, standing and continuing in the same frame, he said, "Now let us go, and God be with us."

After having taken his leave of such in the room as were not to go with him to the scaffold, going towards the door, he said, "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die like a Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first goes cleanliest." When going down stairs, he called the reverend Mr. James Guthrie to him, and embracing him in a most endearing way, took his farewell of him; Mr. Guthrie, at parting, addressed the Marquis thus: "My lord, God hath been with you, he is with you, and will be with you. And such is my respect for your lordship, that if I were not under sentence of death myself, I would cheerfully die for your lordship," So they parted to meet again in a better place on the Friday following.

Then, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen, mounted in black, he with his cloak and hat on, went down the street, and having mounted the scaffold, with great serenity, like one going to his Father's house, saluted all on it. Mr. Hutcheson then prayed; after which his lordship addressed the spectators.*

HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

"Many will expect that I speak many things, and according to their several opinions and dispositions, so will their expectations be from me, and constructions of me; but I resolve to disappoint many, for I come not hither to justify myself, but the Lord, 'Who is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works, holy and blessed is his name;' neither come I to condemn others: I know many will expect that I speak against the hardness of the sentence pronounced against me; but I will say nothing to it. I bless the Lord, I pardon all men, as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord myself: let the will of the Lord be done; that is all that I desire.

"I hope that ye will have more charity to me now, than ye would have at another time, seeing I speak before the Lord, to whom I must give an account very shortly. I know very well that my words have had but very little weight with many; and that many have mistaken my words and actings both: many have thought me to be a great enemy to these great works, that have of late been brought to pass. But do not mistake me, good people: I speak it in the presence of the Lord, I entered not upon the work of reformation with any design of advantage to myself, or prejudice to the king and his government;

* Scots Worthies—Life of Argyle. Wodrow's Hist. vol. i.

as my latter will which was written, 1655, and thereafter delivered to a friend (in whose hands it still remaineth), can show. As for these calumnies that have gone abroad of me, I bless God, I know them to be no more: and as I go to make a reckoning to my God, I am free as to any of these, concerning the king's person or government. I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the king home, and in my endeavours for him when he was at home, and I had no correspondence with the adversaries' army, nor any of them, in the time when his majesty was in Scotland; nor had I any accession to his late majesty's horrid and execrable murder, by counsel or knowledge of it, or any other manner of way. This is a truth, as I shall answer to my Judge. And all the time his majesty was in Scotland, I was still endeavouring his advantage, my conscience beareth me witness in it. So much to that particular. And [turning about, he said] I hope, gentlemen, you all will remember these.

"I confess, many look on my condition as a suffering condition: but I bless the Lord, that he that hath gone before me, hath trod the wine-press of the Father's wrath; by whose sufferings, I hope that my sufferings shall not be eternal. I bless him that hath taken away the sting of my sufferings: I may say that my charter was sealed to-day; for the Lord hath said to me, 'Son be of good cheer, thy sins are freely forgiven thee:' and so I hope my sufferings shall be very easy. And ye know that the scripture saith, 'the Captain of our salvation was made perfect by sufferings.'

"I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others; it is well known, it is only for compliance,* which was the epidemical fault of the nation. I wish the Lord to pardon them: I say no more.

"There was an expression in these papers presented by me to the parliament, of the 'contagion of these times,' which may by some be misconstrued, as if I intended to lay an imputation upon the work of reformation; but I declare, that I intended no such thing; but it only related to the corruptions and failings of men, occasioned by the

* His "compliance" with Cromwell's government was no doubt the chief judicial ground on which sentence against him was passed. And, in palliation of this fact, there are many circumstances to be taken into account. First of all, it was, as he declares, "the epidemical fault of the nation" and times. It was in his case become a matter of absolute necessity, so as to save himself and people from impending ruin, before he acceded to it. It was a fault, moreover, which was committed by many others, under circumstances as aggravated, who, nevertheless, were received into favour and office after the restoration, without an exception being taken to their loyalty. Of this, Sir John Fletcher, the king's advocate, who led the prosecution against him, and many of the noblemen who sat as his judges, were notable instances. It was determined, however, by Middleton and others, who expected to share in his property, and who dreaded his opposition in the measures they had in view anent the church,—that he should be made a sacrifice. And the detestable baseness of General Monk, who sent forward some of the Marquis's confidential letters, in which he had expressed approbation of the usurper's government, unhappily afforded means on which to substantiate the very insufficient plea upon which he was condemned.

prevailing of the usurping powers. [At this he turned, and took them all witnesses.]

“ Now, gentlemen, concerning the nation, I think there are three sorts of people that take up much of the world, and of this nation. There is:—

“ 1st, The openly profane: and truly I may say, though I have been a prisoner, I have not had mine ears shut; I hear assuredly, that drinking, swearing, whoring, were never more common, never more countenanced than now they are. Truly, if magistrates were here, I would say to them, if they would lay forth their power for glorifying of God, by restraining this, they should fare the better; if they continue in not restraining, they shall fare the worse. I say no more, but either let people shun profanity, and magistrates restrain it, or assuredly the wrath of God shall follow on it.

“ 2d, Others are not openly profane (every one will not allow that), but yet they are Gallios in the matter: if matters go well as to their private interest, they care not whether the church of God sink or swim. But whatever they think, God hath laid engagements upon Scotland; we are tied by covenants to religion and reformation; these that were then unborn are yet engaged; and in our baptism we are engaged to it. And it passeth the power of all the magistrates under heaven to absolve them from the oath of God: they deceive themselves, and it may be, would deceive others that think otherwise. But I would caveat this; people will be ready to think this a kind of instigation to rebellion in me; but they are very far wrong that think religion and loyalty are not well consistent. Whoever they be that separate them, religion is not to be blamed, but they. It is true, it is the duty of every Christian to be loyal; yet, I think, the order of things are to be observed, as well as their natures; the order of religion, as well as the nature of it. Religion must not be the cock-boat, it must be the ship. God must have what is his, as well as Cæsar what is his: and these are the best subjects that are the best Christians. And that I am looked upon as a friend to reformation, is my glory.

“ 3d, There is another sort that are truly godly: and to speak to them, I must say what I fear, and every one hath reason to fear, (it is good to fear evil.) It is true the Lord may prevent it; but if he do not, (and truly I cannot foresee any probability of it,) times are like either to be very sinning or very suffering times: and let Christians make their choice: there is a sad dilemma in the business, ‘ sin or suffer;’ and surely, he that would choose the better part, will choose to suffer. Others that will choose to sin, shall not escape suffering; they shall suffer, but it may be, not as I do, [turning about, and pointing to the maiden] but worse: mine is but temporal, theirs shall be eternal; when I shall be singing, they shall be howling. Beware therefore of sin, whatever you are aware of, especially in such times.

“ Yet I cannot say of my own condition, but that the Lord in his providence hath mind of mercy to me, even in this world: for if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with temptations, as many others are, and many more I fear

will be ; and so should have gone out of the world with a more polluted conscience, than through the mercy of God now I have. And hence my condition is such now, as when I am gone, will be seen not to have been such as many imagined. It is fit that God take me away before I fall into these temptations that I see others are falling into, and many others I fear will fall : I wish the Lord may prevent it. Yet blessed be his name, that I am kept both from present evils, and evils to come." [Here he turned about a little, and spoke some words to Mr. Hutcheson ; when, turning again to the people, he spoke as followeth.]

" Some may expect I will regret my own condition ; but truly, I neither grudge nor repine, nor desire any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my last going up to London, for I had always rather have suffered any thing, than lie under reproaches as I did. I desire not that the Lord should judge any man ; nor do I judge any but myself : I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, so he may pardon them for this and other things ; and that what they have done to me, may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would bless every one that stayeth behind."

[His last words, immediately before he laid his head on the block, after his doublet was off, were these :] " I desire you, gentlemen, all that hear me this day to take notice, and I wish that all who see me might hear me, that now when I am entering into eternity, and am to appear before my Judge ; and as I desire salvation, and do expect eternal salvation and happiness from him,—from my birth to my scaffold, I am free from any accession by my knowledge, concerning counsel, or any other way, to his late majesty's death ; and I pray the Lord to preserve his majesty, and to pour his best blessings on his person and government ; and the Lord give him good and faithful counsellors." [Turning about to his friends, he said,] " Many Christians may stumble at this, and my friends may be discontented ; but when things are rightly considered, my friends have no discredit of me, nor Christians no stumbling-block, but rather an encouragement."*

When he had delivered this seasonable and pathetic speech, Mr. Hamilton prayed ; after which he prayed most sweetly himself ; then he took his leave of all his friends on the scaffold. He first gave the executioner a napkin with some money in it ; he gave to his sons-in-law, Caithness and Ker, his watch and some other things out of his pocket ; he gave to Loudon his silver penner, to Lothian a double ducat, and then threw off his coat. When going to the maiden, Mr. Hutcheson said, " My lord, now hold your grip sicker." He answered, " You know, Mr. Hutcheson, what I said to you in the chamber. I am not afraid to be surprised with fear." The laird of Skelmorlie took him by the hand, when near the maiden, and found him most composed. He kneeled down most cheerfully, and after he had prayed a little, he gave the signal (which was by lifting up his hand), and the instrument, called the maiden, struck off his head from his body.†

* Naphtali, pp. 285—290.

† Scots Worthies—Life of Argyle.

III. JAMES GUTHRIE.

[Mr. Guthrie was born of an ancient and honourable family. Having passed through the usual course of learning at the grammar school and college with applause, he was elected a regent of philosophy in the university of St. Andrews. Whilst in this situation, by converse with Mr. Rutherford, who was then professor of divinity, his sentiments seem to have undergone a most important change; and from having been opposed to the presbyterian interests, he forthwith became their most cordial defender. Having passed his trials, he was in 1638, settled minister at Lauder, where he remained for about ten years. He was then translated to Stirling, where he continued till his death a most faithful watchman on Zion's walls. Notwithstanding the love to his country, and loyalty to his king by which he was distinguished, and which on many occasions he had prominently displayed, he was, according to the spirit of the times, charged with high treason, on account of certain expressions, which, in the discharge of his duty, he had written and uttered; and on the 1st of June, 1661, just three days after his friend Argyle's execution, he suffered a similar death.]

HIS LAST WORDS IN PRISON.

Betwixt Mr. Guthrie's sentence and his execution, he enjoyed perfect composure and serenity of spirit, and wrote a great many letters to his friends and acquaintances. In this interval he uttered several prophetic expressions, which, together with the foresaid religious letters, could they now be recovered, might be of no small use, in this apostate and backsliding age. The day (June 1.) on which he was executed, it being reported that he was to buy his life, at the expense of retracting some of the things he had formerly said and done, he wrote and subscribed the following declaration:

"These are to declare, that I do own the 'Causes of God's Wrath,' the Supplication at Edinburgh, August last, and the accession I had to the remonstrances. And if any do think, or have reported, that I was willing to recede from these, they have wronged me, as never having any ground from me to think or to report so. This I attest, under my hand, at Edinburgh, about eleven o'clock, forenoon, before these witnesses:—

Mr. ARTHUR FORBES, Mr. JOHN GUTHRIE,
Mr. HUGH WALKER, Mr. JAMES COWIE."

Upon the same day, and it is probable about the same time, he addressed a farewell letter to his wife, which is as follows.

HIS LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

"My heart,—Being within a few hours to lay down my life for the testimony of Jesus Christ, I do send these few lines as the last obedience of unfeigned and spotless affection which I bear unto you, not only as one flesh, but as a member with me of that blessed mysti-

cal body of the Lord ; for I trust you are, and that God who hath begun his good work in you, will also perfect it and bring it to an end, and give you life and salvation. Whatever may be your infirmities and weakness, yet the grace of God shall be sufficient for you, and his strength shall be perfected in your weakness. To me you have been a very kind and faithful yoke-fellow, and not a hinderer but a helper in the work of the Lord. I do bear you this testimony as all the recompense I can now leave you with:—In all the trials I have met with in the work of the ministry, these twenty years past, which have not been few, and that from aggressors of many sorts, upon the right hand and upon the left, you were never a tempter of me to depart away from the living God, and from the way of my duty, to comply with an evil course, or to hearken to the counsels of flesh and blood, for avoiding the cross and for gaining the profit and preferment of a present world. You have wrought much with your hands for furnishing bread to me and to my children, and was always willing that I should show hospitality, especially to those that bore the image of God. These things I mention not to puff you up, but to encourage you under your present affliction and distress, being persuaded that God will have regard unto you and unto the children of my body, which I leave unto your care, that they may be bred up in the knowledge of the Lord. Let not your wants and weaknesses discourage you : there is power, riches, and abundance with God, both as to the things of the body and things of the soul ; and he will supply all your wants, and carry you through. It is like to be a most trying time, but cleave you to God and keep his way, without casting away your confidence ; fear not to be drowned in the depths of the troubles that may attend this land, God will hide you under his shadow, and keep you in the hollow of his hand. Be sober and of a meek spirit ; strive not with providence, but be subject to him who is the Father of Spirits. Decline not the cross, but embrace it as your own. Love all that love the Lord, and delight in their fellowship. Give yourself unto prayer, and be diligent in reading the holy Scriptures. Wait on the ordinances, and have them in great esteem as the appointed means, of God, for your salvation. Join the exercise of piety and repentance together, and manifest your faith in the fruits of sincere obedience and of a gospel conversation. Value your conscience above your skin. Be not solicitous, although you know not wherewith to clothe you and your children, or wherewith to dine ; God's providences and promises are a true, rich, and never-failing portion. Jesus Christ be all your salvation and all your desire ! You, I recommend unto Him, and Him unto you : My heart ! I recommend you to the eternal love of Jesus Christ—I am helped of God, and hope I shall be helped to the end. Pray for me while I am here, and praise with me hereafter. God be with you—I am your's,

“ Edinburgh Tolbooth,
June 1st, 1661.”

JAMES GUTHRIE.*

* For this letter, which he presumes has never before been published, the Editor is indebted to one of Mr. Wodrow's MSS. yet in the possession of his de-

After this, he dined with his friends with great cheerfulness. After dinner he called for cheese, of which he was fond, but which he had been dissuaded from using for some time, being subject to the gravel, and said, I am now beyond the hazard of that disease. After having been in secret for some time, he came forth with the utmost fortitude and composure, and was carried down, under a guard from the tolbooth to the scaffold, which was erected at the cross. Here he was so far from showing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death; and spoke an hour with the composure of one delivering a sermon.*

HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

“Men and brethren, I fear many of you be come hither to gaze, rather than to be edified by the carriage and last words of a dying man: but if any have an ear to hear, as I hope some of this great confluence have, I desire your audience to a few words. I am come hither to lay down this earthly tabernacle and mortal flesh of mine; and I bless God, through his grace, I do it willingly and not by constraint. I say, I suffer willingly: if I had been so minded, I might have made a diversion, and not been a prisoner; but being conscious to myself of nothing worthy of death or of bonds, I would not stain my innocency with the suspicion of guiltiness by my withdrawing: neither have I wanted opportunities and advantages to escape since I was prisoner, not by the fault of my keepers, God knoweth, but otherwise; but neither for this had I light or liberty; lest I should reflect upon the Lord’s name, and offend the generation of the righteous: and if some men have not been mistaken, or dealt deceitfully in telling me so, I might have avoided not only the severity of the sentence, but also had much favour and countenance, by complying with the courses of the time:† but I durst not redeem my life with the loss of my integrity; God knoweth I durst not; and that since I was prisoner, he hath so holden me by the hand, that he never suffered me to bring it into debate in my inward thoughts, much less to propone or hearken to any overture of that kind. I did judge it better to suffer than to sin; and therefore I am come hither to lay down my life this day. And I bless God, I die not as a fool; nor that I have any thing wherein to glory in myself: I acknowledge that I am a sinner, yea, one of the greatest and vilest that has owned a profession of religion, and one of the most unworthy that has preached the gos-

scendants, the perusal of which he obtained through the good offices of a friend. It appears that Mrs. Guthrie, the worthy person to whom it was addressed, was, along with her daughter, brought to trouble sometime after for having in their possession a copy of the ‘Apologetical Narration,’ and refusing to tell what they knew of its author. They were even sentenced to exile in the Shetland Isles, but this sentence was not carried into execution.

* Scots Worthies—Life of Guthrie

† Mr. Guthrie here refers to the offer of a bishopric which was made to him while in prison, in order to induce him to comply with prelacy. That such an offer was made, even though it were less certain from the statements of history, is rendered exceedingly probable by the importance which both parties attached to his countenance and support.

pel; my corruptions have been strong and many, and have made me a sinner in all things, yea, even in following my duty: and therefore, righteousness have I none of mine own, all is vile; but, 'I do believe, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof I am chief.' Through faith in his righteousness and blood have I obtained mercy; and through him and him alone, have I the hope of a blessed conquest and victory over sin, and Satan, and hell, and death; and that 'I shall attain unto the resurrection of the just; and be made partaker of eternal life. 'I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.' I have preached salvation through his name, and as I have preached, so do I believe, and do commend the riches of his free grace, and faith in his name unto you all, as the only way whereby ye can be saved.

"And as I bless the Lord that I die not as a fool; so also, that I die not for evil doing. Not a few of you may happily judge, that 'I suffer as a thief, or as a murderer, or as an evil doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters.' It was the lot of the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and hath been of many of his precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil doers; and as my soul scareth not at it, but desireth to rejoice in being brought into conformity with my blessed Head, and so blessed a company in this thing; so I do desire and pray, that I may be to none of you to-day, upon this account, 'a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence.' Blessed is he that shall not be offended at Jesus Christ, and his poor servants and members, because of their being condemned as evil doers by the world. God is my record, that in these things for which sentence of death hath passed against me, I have a good conscience! I bless God, they are not matters of compliance with sectaries, or designs and practices against his majesty's person or government, or the person or government of his royal father. My heart, I bless God, is conscious unto no disloyalty; nay, loyal I have been, and I commend it unto you to be loyal and obedient in the Lord. True piety is the foundation of true loyalty: a wicked man may be a flatterer and a time-server, but he will never be a loyal subject. But to return to my purpose, the matters for which I am condemned, are matters belonging to my calling and function as a minister of the gospel, such as the discovery and reproving of sin; the pressing and the holding fast of the oath of God in the covenant, and preserving and carrying on the work of religion and reformation according thereto; and denying to acknowledge the civil magistrate as the 'proper competent judge in causes ecclesiastical:' that in all these things which (God so ordering by his gracious providence) are the grounds of my indictment and death, I have a good conscience, as having walked therein according to the light and rule of God's word, and as did become a minister of the gospel.

"I do also bless the Lord, that I do not die as 'one not desired.' I know that, by not a few, I neither have been nor am desired. It hath been my lot to have been a man of contention and sorrow; but it is my comfort, that for my own things I have not contended, but for the things of Jesus Christ, for what relateth to his interest and

work, and the well-being of his people. In order to the preserving and promoting of these, I did protest against, and stood in opposition unto these late assemblies at St. Andrews, Dundee, and Edinburgh; and the public resolutions for bringing the malignant party into the judicatories and armies of this kingdom, conceiving the same contrary to the word of God, and to our solemn covenants and engagements; and to be an inlet to defection, and to the ruin and destruction of the work of God. And it is now manifest to many consciences, that I have not been therein mistaken; nor was not fighting against a man of straw. I was also desirous, and did use some poor endeavours to have the church of God purged of insufficient, scandalous, and corrupt ministers and elders; for these things I have been mistaken by some, and hated by others: but, I bless the Lord, as I had the testimony of my own conscience; so I was and am therein approved in the consciences of many of the Lord's precious servants and people; and how little soever I may be desired by some, yet by these I know I do die desired, and their approbation, and prayers, and affection is of more value with me, than the contradiction, or reproach, or hatred of many others; the love of the one I cannot recompense, and the mistake, or hatred, or reproach of the other, I do with all my heart forgive; and wherein I have offended any of them, do beg their mercy and forgiveness. I do from my soul wish that my death may be profitable unto both, that the one may be confirmed and established in the straight ways of the Lord, and that the other (if the Lord so will) may be convinced, and cease from these things that are not good, and do not edify, but destroy.

“ One thing I would warn you all of, that God is wroth, yea, very wroth with Scotland, and threateneth to depart and remove his candlestick; the causes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not one great cause, that causes of God's wrath are despised and rejected of men. Consider the case that is recorded, Jer. xxxvi. and the consequence of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but also say, that there is a great addition and increase of wrath.

“ 1st, By that deluge of profanity that overfloweth all the land, and hath reins loosed unto it every where, in so far that many have lost, not only all use and exercise of religion, but even of morality, and that common civility that is to be found amongst the heathen.

“ 2d, By that horrible treachery and perjury that is in the matter of the covenant, and cause of God, and work of reformation; ‘ Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord; for my people have committed two evils, they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water. Shall he break the covenant and prosper? Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with God, which frameth mischief by a law?’ I fear the Lord is about to bring a sword on these lands, which shall avenge the quarrel of his covenant.

“ 3d, Horrible ingratitude: the Lord, after ten years' oppression and bondage, hath broken the yoke of strangers from off our necks; but what do we render unto him for his goodness? Most of the fruit of

our delivery is to work wickedness, and to strengthen ourselves to do evil.

“ 4th, A most dreadful idolatry, and sacrificing to the creature : we have changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into the image of a corruptible man, in whom many have placed almost all their salvation and desire, and have turned that which might have been a blessing unto us (being kept in a due line of subordination under God) into an idol of jealousy, by preferring it before him. God is also wroth with a generation of carnal, corrupt, time-serving ministers : I know and bear testimony, that in the church of Scotland there is a true and faithful ministry : blessed be God, we have yet many who study their duty, and desire to be found faithful to their Lord and Master ; and I pray you to honour, and reverence, and esteem much of these for their work's sake : and I pray them to be encouraged in their Lord and Master, who is with them to make them as iron pillars, and brazen walls, and as a strong defenced city in the faithful following of their duty : but oh ! that there were not too many who mind earthly things, and are enemies to the cross of Jesus Christ, who push with the side and shoulder, who strengthen the hands of evil-doers, who make themselves transgressors, by studying to build again what they did formerly warrantably destroy, I mean prelacy, and the ceremonies, and the service-book, a mystery of iniquity that works amongst us, whose steps lead unto the house of the great whore, Babylon, the mother of fornications : or whosoever else he be that buildeth this Jericho again, let him take heed to the curse of Hiel the Bethelite, and of that flying roll threatened, Zech. v. And let all ministers take heed that they watch, and be stedfast in the faith, and quit themselves like men, and be strong ; and give faithful and seasonable warning concerning sin and duty. Many of the Lord's people do sadly complain of the fainting and silence of many watchmen ; and it concerneth them to consider what God calleth for at their hands in such a day : silence now in a watchman, when he is so much called to speak, and give his testimony upon the peril of his life, is doubtless a great sin. The Lord open the mouths of his servants to speak his word with all boldness, that covenant breaking may be discovered and reproved, and that the kingdom of Jesus Christ may not be supplanted, nor the souls of his people destroyed without a witness.

“ I have but a few words more to add : all that are profane amongst you, I exhort them to repentance, for the day of the Lord's vengeance hasteneth, and is near : but there is yet a door of mercy open for you, if you will not despise the day of salvation. All that are maligners, and reproachers, and persecutors of godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed what ye do, it will be hard for you to kick against the pricks ; you make yourselves the butt of the Lord's fury, and his flaming indignation, if you do not cease from, and repent of all your ungodly deeds. All that are neutral, and indifferent, and lukewarm professors, be zealous, and repent ; lest the Lord spew you out of his mouth. You that lament after the Lord, and mourn for all the abominations that are done in this city, and in the land, and

take pleasure in the stones and dust of Zion, cast not away your confidence, but be comforted and encouraged in the Lord. He will yet appear to your joy; God hath not cast away his people nor work in Britain and Ireland: I hope it shall once more revive by the power of his Spirit, and take root downward, and bear fruit upward. There is yet a holy seed and precious remnant, whom God will preserve and bring forth: but how long or dark our night may be, I do not know; the Lord shorten it for the sake of his chosen. In the meanwhile, 'be ye patient and stedfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, and in love one to another:' beware of snares which are strawed thick; cleave to the covenant and work of reformation; do not decline the cross of Jesus Christ; 'choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;' and account the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the treasure of the world. Let my death grieve none of you, it will be more profitable and advantageous both for me, and for you, and for the church of God, and for Christ's interest and honour, than my life could have been. I forgive all men the guilt of it, and I desire you to do so also: 'Pray for them that persecute you, and bless them that curse you, bless, I say, and curse not.' I die in the faith of the apostles and primitive Christians, and protestant reformed churches, particularly of the church of Scotland, whereof I am a member and minister. I bear my witness and testimony to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland, by kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. Popery and prelacy, and all the trumpery of service and ceremonies that wait upon them, I do abhor. I do bear witness unto the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant betwixt the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland: these sacred, solemn, public oaths of God, I believe, can be loosed nor dispensed with, by no person, or party, or power upon earth; but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter; and are ratified and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls, since our entering thereinto. I bear my witness to the protestation against the controverted assemblies, and the public resolutions; to the testimonies given against the sectaries; against the course of backsliding and defection that is now on foot in the land, and all the branches and parts thereof, under whatsoever name or notion, or acted by whatsoever party or person. And in the last place, I bear my witness to the cross of Jesus Christ; and that I never had cause, nor have cause this day, to repent because of any thing I have suffered, or can now suffer for his name: I take God to record upon my soul, I would not exchange this scaffold, with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who hath showed mercy to such a wretch, and hath revealed his Son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel; and that he hath deigned, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of his people, and especially in the station wherein I was last, I mean the congregation and presbytery of Stirling. God forgive the poor empty man, that did there intrude upon my labours, and hath made a

prey of many poor souls, and exposed others to reproach, and oppression, and a famine of the word of the Lord. God forgive the misleaders of that part of the poor people, who tempted them to reject their own pastor, and to admit of intruders, and the Father of mercies pity that poor misled people: and the Lord visit the congregation and presbytery of Stirling once more with faithful pastors, and grant that the work and people of God may be revived through all Britain, and over all the world. Jesus Christ is my light, and my life, my righteousness, my strength, and my salvation: 'He is all my salvation, and all my desire.' Him, oh, him, I do with all the strength of my soul commend unto you. 'Blessed are they that are not offended in him: blessed are they that trust in him. 'Bless him, O my soul, from henceforth, even for ever.' Rejoice, rejoice all ye that love him; be patient and rejoice in tribulation: blessed are you, and blessed shall you be for ever and ever. Everlasting righteousness and eternal salvation is yours: 'All are yours, and ye are Christ's and Christ is God's.' 'Remember me, O Lord, with the favour thou bearest to thy people; O visit me with thy salvation, that I may see the good of thy chosen, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy nation; that I may glory with thine inheritance.'—'Now let thy servant depart in peace, since mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' "

Sic Sub.—JAMES GUTHRIE."

He gave a copy of this his last speech and testimony, subscribed and sealed, to a friend to keep, which he was to deliver to his son, then a child, when he came to age. When on the scaffold, he lifted the napkin off his face, just before he was turned over, and cried, "The covenants, the covenants, shall yet be Scotland's reviving."

IV. WILLIAM GOVAN.

[Of this person, who suffered along with Mr. Guthrie, little information has been transmitted. He is in some papers styled 'Captain Govan.' At all events, it is evident he was a soldier, and that as the chief offence charged against him, he had deserted the king's standard at Hamilton, in company with many others, when the protector's successes had rendered farther resistance useless. It was also alleged against him, that he was present on the scaffold when Charles I. was beheaded; but to the satisfaction of all, he proved himself *alibi*. He was reckoned a pious good man, and was evidently an adherent of the presbyterian interest. His speech, which he delivered immediately after Mr. Guthrie's execution and just before his own, contains almost all the account that now remains of his life and character.]

"Gentlemen and countrymen,—I am here to suffer this day; and that I may declare to you the cause—it is for laying down my arms

* Naphtali, pp. 290—299.

at Hamilton, as did all the rest of the company that was there. What was I, that king and parliament should have taken notice of me, being a private boy thrust forth into the fields, who was not worthy to be noticed by any? For as I was obscure in myself, so my actions were not conspicuous. Yet it pleased the Lord to employ me as a mean and instrument (unworthy as I was) for carrying on a part of the late reformation; which I did faithfully endeavour in my station, not going beyond it,—for which I am to suffer this day.

“Licentious people have taken occasion to calumniate me this time past, in saying I was an instrument in his late majesty’s death, and that I should have said I was on the scaffold at the time of his execution:—all which I do here deny, in the presence of Almighty God, to whom I must shortly answer. And, before you all, I do here protest, as I hope for salvation, that I was not instrumental in that, either in word or deed. But on the contrary, it was sore against my heart, who was still a wellwisher of his majesty, and even wished he might be to these lands as David, Solomon, and Josiah. But what could a simple protestation of one who is the least among men do? I do indeed remember I was honoured to bring up Montrose’s standard through these streets, and deliver it to the parliament; in which I glory, as thousands more than I did at that time, for I was then but an executioner, but now I am a sufferer for these things.

“Let me now speak a word to some sorts of people. First of all you that are profane, leave off your profanity, forbear sin and seek mercy; otherwise you will undoubtedly repent it when too late. For ere long you must answer, as I am shortly to do, before a just God. Again, to you civilians and indifferent folks, who, if your own private earthly interest prosper, do not care how the affairs of Christ and his church go,—know that that will not do your turn; you must bear a testimony for God, be zealous for his cause, and repent now of your sins: so shall you avoid that curse pronounced against the lukewarm Laodiceans,—*I will spue them out of my mouth*. As to the really godly, I would say this: be not afraid nor astonished to bear testimony and suffer for his truth.

“As for myself, it pleased the Lord, in the fourteenth year of my age, to manifest his love to me, and now it is about twenty-four years since; all which time I professed the truth which I suffer for, and bear testimony to at this day, and am not afraid of the cross upon that account: it is sweet, it is sweet—otherwise how durst I look upon the corpse of him who hangs there, with courage, and smile upon those sticks and that gibbet as the gates of heaven! I die confident in the faith of the prophets and apostles, bearing my testimony to the gospel as it is now preached by an honest ministry in this city: though, alas! there be a corrupt generation among the ministry.

“I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church, in general assemblies, synods, and presbyteries, and also to the protestation against the public resolutions. I bear witness to the covenants, national and solemn league, and now am to seal these with my blood. I likewise testify against all popery, prelacy, idolatry, superstition, and the service-book, for I have taken not a little

pains in searching out those things, and have found them to be but the relics of the Romish superstition and idolatry left in king Henry VIII's time; who, though it pleased the Lord to make use of him for beginning the work of reformation, yet he was no good man."

After having thus spoken, he took a ring from his finger and gave it to a friend upon the scaffold, desiring him to take it to his wife, and say that "he died in humble confidence, and found the cross of Christ sweet." He declared that "Christ had done all for him, and it was by him alone he was justified;" and being desired to look up to Christ, he answered, "He looketh down and smileth upon me." Then mounting up some steps of the ladder, he said, "Dear friends, pledge this cup of suffering before you sin, as I have done; for sin and suffering have been presented to me, and I have chosen the suffering part." Then the cord being put about his neck, he said, "Now I am near my last, and I desire to reflect on no man; I would only acquaint you of one thing: the commissioner and I went out to the fields together for one cause; I have now the cord about my neck, and he is promoted to be his majesty's commissioner; yet for a thousand worlds I would not change lots with him!!—Praise and glory be to Christ for ever." After having again prayed for a little, he gave the sign, and was forthwith turned over.*

V. SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

[This truly eminent and excellent person was bred to the profession of the law; and having given unequivocal proofs of his zeal in favour of the reformation then going forward, was chosen clerk to the General Assembly in 1638, and afterwards procurator for the church. In these offices, and in the various matters which they led him to undertake, he conducted himself in a manner which secured to him the respect of both the church and state; and in 1641, he was knighted by his majesty, and appointed a lord of session. Afterwards, in 1643, he was sent as a commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, an appointment which lasted till 1648. In 1650 the act of classes being repealed, he took a prominent part with those who protested against it; and in 1657, repaired to London with some others, to plead the cause of that party. This appointment, honourable as it was, proved fatal to him. He was won over by the insinuating arts of Cromwell, and prevailed on to accept the office of Clerk-register at his hands. And this, together with his zeal for the protesting cause, was, after the restoration, turned into a charge against him, upon which he was condemned. The following speech he read at his execution, on the 22d of July, 1663.]

"Right honourable, much honoured, and beloved auditors and spectators,—that which I intended and prepared to have spoken at this

* Wodrow's History, vol. i.

time, and in this condition, immediately before my death (if it should be so ordered that it should be my lot) is not at present in my power, having been taken from me : but I hope the Lord shall preserve it to bear my testimony more fully and clearly, than now I can in this condition, having my memory much destroyed, through much sore and long sickness, melancholy, and excessive drawing of my blood ;* though I bless the Lord my God, that notwithstanding the forementioned distempers, I am in some capacity to leave this short and weak testimony.

“ 1st, I desire in the first place to confess my sins, so far as is proper to this place and case, and to acknowledge God’s mercies ; and to express my repentance of the one, and my faith of the other, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ our gracious Redeemer and Mediator. I confess that my natural temper (or rather distemper) hath been hasty and passionate, and that in my manner of going about and prosecuting of the best pieces of work and service, to the Lord, and to my generation, I have been subject to many excesses of heat, and thereby to some precipitations, which hath no doubt offended standers-by and lookers-on, and hath exposed both me, and the work, to their mistakes ; whereby, the beauty of the work hath been obscured : neither have I, in following the Lord’s work, his good work, been without my own self-seeking ; which hath several ways vented itself, to the offence of both God and man, and to the grief thereafter of my own conscience, and which hath often made me groan, and cry out with the apostle, ‘ O miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death ;’ and to lie low in the dust mourning and lamenting over the same, deprecating God’s wrath, and begging his tender mercies to pardon, and his powerful grace to cure all these evils. I must withal confess, that it doth not a little trouble me, and lie heavy upon my spirit, and will bring me down with sorrow to the grave (though I was not alone in this offence, but had the body of the nation going before me, and the example of persons of all ranks to in-

* There are two things in this sentence which it may be proper to explain. When, in the year 1661, the order to apprehend him reached Edinburgh, Warriston happened to be from home ; and being informed of it, before entering the town, he turned his horse and escaped out of the kingdom, in the disguise of a merchant. He was immediately after declared a fugitive, and, notwithstanding his absence, sentenced to forfeiture and death. It was natural in these circumstances, and even proper, that with such a fate awaiting him, he should prepare the testimony which he had in view to seal with his blood. As yet, his powerful mind, though for some time depressed by melancholy, was unimpaired in its energies ; and would no doubt enable him to do ample justice to views with which he was familiar, and which he had long and often advanced and promoted. During his stay at Hamburgh, however, where he chiefly resided during his exile, he was taken ill, and being attended by Dr. Bates, is said to have suffered by his treatment. The character of this man, who allowed his friends to boast of his having shortened the days of Cromwell, renders the allegation not improbable. It is said that he gave Warriston poison in his physic, and took from him about 60 ounces of blood, thus weakening his mind, by destroying his bodily vigour. Now, it is not unlikely that the testimony which previous to this he might have prepared, would at his apprehension shortly after, be found upon him, and with his other papers would be seized and taken away.

snare me), that I suffered myself through the power of temptations, and the too much fear anent the straits that my numerous family might be brought into, to be carried unto so great a length of compliance in England with the late usurpers,* which did much grieve the hearts of the godly, and made these that sought God ashamed and confounded for my sake, and did give no small occasion to the adversary to reproach and blaspheme, and did withal not a little obscure and darken the beauty of several former actings about his blessed and glorious work of reformation, happily begun, and far advanced in these lands, wherein he was graciously pleased to employ, and by employing to honour me to be an instrument (though the least and unworthiest of many) whereof I am not ashamed this day, but account it my glory, however that work be now cried down, opposed, laid in the dust, and trode upon. And my turning aside to comply with these men, was the more aggravated in my person, that I had so frequently and seriously made profession of my averseness from, and abhorrence of that way, and had shown much dissatisfaction with these that had not gone so great a length; for which, as I seek God's mercy in Christ Jesus, so I desire that all the Lord's people, from my example, may be more stirred up to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation.

“ 2d, I do not deny on the other hand, but must testify in the second place, to the glory of his free grace, that the Lord my God hath often showed and engraven upon my conscience, the testimony of his reconciling and reconciled mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ pardoning all my iniquities, and assuring me that he would deliver me also by the graces of his Holy Spirit, from the speat,† tyranny, and dominion thereof; and hath often drawn out my spirit, to the exercise of repentance and faith, and often engraven upon my heart in legible characters, his merciful pardon, and gracious begun cure thereof, to be perfected thereafter, to the glory of his name, the salvation of my soul, and edification of his church.

* This, as stated in the previous notice, formed the chief ground of the indictment on which he was condemned. And yet there was much to be said in palliation, or even excuse of his conduct. First of all, he strongly objected to being sent on the commission, in the discharge of which at London he was unhappily gained over, and this just because he was afraid the temptations which he knew would be held out to him would prove too strong. Then, it evidently was from no indifference or want of loyalty to the exiled monarch, that he was led to acknowledge the protector's government, because, for upwards of five years, he had struggled with all his might for the king's interest, and both spoke and wrote against Scotchmen taking offices from Cromwell. Besides, it must not be forgotten that all his exertions seemed to have had little effect, and that resistance or opposition to the reigning influence had become vain, from its being generally and almost universally acceded to. And last of all, what probably weighed most with this good man in the step which he thus deeply deplores, was his private and domestic circumstances: his family was large—considerable sums were owing, which he had advanced on the public service, and a good many bygone years' salaries; and it is not wonderful that these considerations, added to the importunity which no doubt would be employed, should have prevailed on him to accept an office, lucrative in itself, and perfectly adapted to his profession and character.

† i. e. the overflowing.

“ 3d, I am pressed in conscience to leave here at my death, my true and honest testimony in the sight of God and man, to and for ‘ the national covenant; the solemn league and covenant; the solemn acknowledgment of our sins,’ and ‘ engagement to our duties;’ to all the ‘ grounds and causes of fasts’ and humiliations, and of the ‘ Lord’s displeasure’ and contending with the land; and to the several ‘ testimonies’ given to his interests, by general assemblies, commissions of the kirk, presbyteries, and by other honest and faithful ministers and professors.

“ 4th, I am also pressed to encourage his doing, suffering, witnessing people, and sympathizing ones with these that suffer, that they would continue in the duties of witnessing, mourning, praying, and sympathizing with these that suffer, and humbly to assure them in the name of the Lord our God, the God of his own word and work, of his own cause, covenant, and people, that he will be seen, found, and felt, (in his own gracious way and time, by his own means and instruments, for his own glory and honour) to return to his own truths, and interests, and servants, and revive his name, his covenant, his word, his work, his sanctuary, and his saints in these nations, even in the three covenanted nations, which were by so solemn bonds, covenants, subscriptions, and oaths, given away and devoted unto himself.

“ 5th, I exhort all these that have been, or are enemies or unfriends to the Lord’s name, covenants, or cause, word, work, or people, in Britain and Ireland, to repent and amend, before these sad judgments, that are posting fast, come upon them, for their sinning so highly against the Lord, because of any temptation of the time, on the right or left hand, by baits or straits whatsoever, and that after so many professions and engagements to the contrary.

“ 6th, I dare not conceal from you, that are friendly to all the Lord’s interests, that the Lord (to the commendation of his grace, be it humbly spoken) hath several times, in the exercise of my repentance and faith during my trouble, and after groans and tears upon these three notable chapters, to wit, the 9th of Ezra, the 9th of Nehemiah, and the 9th of Daniel, with other such suitable scriptures, and in the very nick of fervent and humble supplication to him, for the reviving again of his name, cause, covenant, word, and work of reformation, in these covenanted nations, and particularly in poor Scotland, which first solemnly engaged to him, to the good example and encouragement of his people, in the other two nations, to do the same also, that the Lord, I say, hath several times given to me good ground of hope and lively expectations of his merciful, gracious, powerful, and wonderful renewing and reviving again of his forementioned great interests in these covenanted nations: and that in such a way, by such means and instruments, with such antecedents, concurrents, consequents, and effects, as shall wonderfully rejoice his mourning friends, and astonish his contradicting and counteracting enemies.

“ 7th, I do earnestly recommend my poor wife and children, and their posterity, to the choicest blessings of God, and to the prayers and favour of all the Lord’s children and servants, in their earnest dealing with God and men in their behalf, that they may not be ruined for my cause, but for the Lord my God’s sake, they may be favoured,

assisted, supplied, and comforted, and also may be fitted by the Lord for his fellowship and service; whom God himself hath moved me often, in their own presence, and with their own consent, to dedicate, devote, and resign alike, and as well, as I devote and resign my own soul and body to him for time and eternity.*

“ 8th, I beg the Lord to open the eyes of all the instruments of my trouble, that are not deadly irreconcilable enemies to himself and his people, that they may see the wrong done by them to his interests and people, and to me and mine, and may repent thereof and return to the Lord; and may more cordially own and adhere to all his interests in time coming: the good Lord give unto them repentance, remission, and amendment; and that is the worst wish I do wish them, and the best wish I can wish them.

“ 9th, I do earnestly beg the fervent prayers of all his praying people, servants, and instruments, whether absent or present, wherever they be, in behalf of his name, cause, and covenant-work, and people; and in behalf of my wife, children, and their posterity: and that the Lord would glorify himself, edify his church, encourage his saints, further his work, accomplish his good word, by all his doings and dealings, in substance and circumstance toward all his own.

“ 10th, Whereas I have heard, that some of my unfriends have slandered and defamed my name, as if I had been accessory to his late majesty's death, and to the making of the change of government thereupon; the great God of heaven be witness and judge between me and my accusers in this; for I am free (as I shall now answer before his tribunal) from any accession, by counsel or contrivance, or any other way, to his late majesty's death, or to their making that change of government: and I pray the Lord to preserve our present king his majesty, and to pour out his best blessings upon his royal posterity, and to give unto them good and faithful counsellors, holy and wise counsels, and prosperous successes, to God's glory, and to the good and interest of his people, and to their own honour and happiness.

“ 11th, I do here now submit and commit my soul and body, wife and children, and children's children from generation to generation for ever, with all others his friends and followers, all his doing and suffering, witnessing and sympathizing ones, in the present and subsequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, graces, favours, services, employments, empowerments, enjoyments, improvements, and inheritments, on earth, and in heaven, in time, and eternity. All

* It has already been observed, that lord Warriston's family was numerous; and, no doubt, the thought of leaving them unprotected and forlorn in the midst of an unpitied world, must have excited within him the most pungent sorrow. It was consolatory to him, however, that he was able in this and a following passage, to commit them, in the exercise of faith and hope, to the Father of mercies. And it may be consolatory to others about to leave the world, though not by a death similar to his, to know that in this, as in a thousand other instances, the trust reposed in God was not disappointed. “ His numerous family,” says Wodrow, “ he left upon the Lord's providence cheerfully, who provided as well for most of them as they could have expected, though he had continued in his outward prosperity.”

which suits, with all others, which he hath at any time by his Spirit moved and assisted me to make and put up, according to his will, I leave before, and upon the Father's merciful bowels, and the Son's mediating merits, and the Holy Spirit's compassionate groans, for now and evermore. Amen."*

VI. JAMES WOOD.

[Mr. Wood is spoken of as having been one of the brightest lights of the period in which he lived, and as a person most eminent for his piety and learning. Of his early history we have no account. But, at the restoration, he held the office of principal in the old college of St. Andrews, and was a minister of that city. Having given offence to the archbishop, with whom he had formerly been intimate, by some bold reflections upon his lately discovered treachery, he was, in July 1663, cited before the council, stript of his office, on the plea that he had received it from the usurper, and ordered to confine himself to Edinburgh. Shortly after, however, his father's illness and other affairs requiring his presence at St. Andrews, he obtained leave to go thither; and, previous to his return, he took sick, and died there, early in the following year. During his sickness, he was visited by Sharp, who spread the report that he now felt a total indifference with regard to presbyterian government. It was to contradict this misrepresentation that he emitted his Testimony, as is evident from the following very full detail of his last words.]

I. HIS LAST WORDS.

Upon Monday night, being the 29th of February, 1664, which was the first day of his keeping bed all day without rising, his brother-in-law, Mr. J. C.† came to visit him; to whom, with outstretched arms, embracing him, he said, "Long looked for, long looked for." And beginning to speak a little of his spiritual condition, he said, "I have been under several shakings, but that word hath stayed me, 'Him that cometh to me, I will in no ways cast out;' blessed be the mouth that spoke it, may I not trust to it?"

On Tuesday, the 1st of March, he caused send for some persons concerned, and when they were come, he caused read over his Testament,‡ and, after he had desired his brother-in-law to pray, he subscribed it. And having been informed of some reports that were going through the country, anent what was spoken by him to Mr. Sharp, when he came to visit him, and hearing that some persons whom he respected were in town, he earnestly desired that they might be sent for in the evening. And when they were long in com-

* Naphtali, pp. 300—306.

† Mr. John Carstairs.

‡ This was his Latter-will, which, it appears, was written before his *Testimony*.

ing, he inquired once and again if they were come, saying, "I am pained till they come." And though it was the time of the evening that he used to take some refreshment, yet he put it by till he spake with them, so serious was he in what he was to say to them. When one of these, with another occasionally in company with him, came, being again sent for, though he was in great weakness of body, yet he did with much earnestness of mind, and more than ordinary extension of his voice, speak to them to this purpose, taking one of them by the hand, and saying, "I am glad to see you, an honest man. The bishop might have spared his visit, but sith he offered that civility, they could not keep him at the gate. I hear several reports have gone of what passed at that visit, as, that when he was speaking his dissatisfaction with the brethren that did not keep the meeting, that I should have assented, and said, 'if I live, I will testify against them'—the falsest lie that ever was spoken." And being inquired whether he called church government a nicety, and, if he lived, he would abstract more from such niceties, he answered, "Fie, fie, never such a thing I did indeed, that the bishop might not think that I was pursuing that controversy against them, say, I had a great business to think upon my salvation and peace with God at the stake; but I did not say, nor think that presbyterian government was a nicety. I judge it to be a truth of God, an ordinance of Jesus Christ, a part of his visible kingdom, for which every Christian, as called to it, should suffer even unto death; and I would exhort them to it, for it is but little that we have suffered yet, and, if I were to live, I would through the grace and might of the power of God, account it my glory to lay down my life in defence of that truth. There is no man in the world that hath more and stronger obligations on him, to stand to the maintenance of that government than I, wherein the Lord hath cleared me with a strong hand. I bless the Lord that made me understand the nature of his covenant, and gave me light in the point of justification, and helped me in some measure to hold out light therein to others, and cleared me in the controversy with the independents, and this anent prelacy." He said, "he had said before, and said so still, that if ever he should come to be against presbyterian government, he might fear to meet with God's everlasting wrath, and be made a spectacle to others." He said further, with much grave confidence, "God will give an outgate, (meaning of the prelates) though they will say, it is impossible, and how should it come; he can hiss for the bees, as beyond the river." He said also, nothing of it being suggested by them to him, "That he had a mind to leave a testimony behind him."

On Wednesday, the 2d of March, when in the forenoon it was told him that a co-presbyter of his was coming up to see him, while he was coming up stairs, he said to his brother-in-law, "That is a precious man, with little din." And when he came near him, he spake a few words to him, and desired him to pray. And when he was about to take his leave of him, he said, (nothing to that purpose having been hinted at by the person nor any other) "I take you witness before the Lord, that I did not, directly nor indirectly, speak any thing to the prejudice of presbyterian government; but to the contrary, I

judge it to be a truth of God, and a part of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, for which every Christian, if he be called to it, should suffer. The Lord bless you, and make you a blessing to his church, and you are a blessing." He did that morning, none moving any such thing to him, expressly desire the person that had written to him all the time of his sickness, who was going a little out of the town, to execute somewhat relating to the security of his children's provision, that he would come in to him about twelve or one o'clock, for he had somewhat to write that would take time. And when he asked, if he would not do it now? "No," said he, "for I must think of it." And when he came in, he did after dinner fall very weak, yet with wonderful calmness, presentness, and composure of mind, caused him to write the following testimony to presbyterian government, whereof he had spoken the night before, to divers ministers, and for which he had desired the young man that wrote to him to haste him in again, so much was the thing in his heart, and so deliberate was he in it.

Mr. William Tullidaff, one of the subscribing witnesses to this testimony, came in after the writing of it, most occasionally, knowing nothing at all of such a business; whom, after the testimony was subscribed by himself and the witnesses, after the distinct reading of it over, he commended as a very faithful friend, "and whom," he said, "he respected, especially for the grace of God in him." Adding, moreover, "they say he is led by me, and that it is by my influence upon him that he doth not conform: but I say it before you, brother, (directing his speech to his brother-in-law) that it was not through my influence, but through the strength of reason in himself, that he hath not done it." He continued in a most sweet and divine frame of spirit all that night; so that when one at the other end of the room, was at supper, blessing the table, and speaking somewhat of a frame fit for heaven, he cried out, "O to be there, O to be there!" And in midst of the night spake most refreshingly, thus: "I would fain, I would fain be taken up with the love of Jesus Christ, and be exercised in commending of it, which I hope shall be my exercise to all eternity: I think I will now lay by my doubtings, and stay myself on him. Many, many challenges, but now the feud is taken away, the feud is taken away; he hath said, 'because I live, ye shall live also.'" When after sitting up a little, he laid his head down on his pillow, he said, with great weight and seriousness, "Many say, who will show us any good? But, Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us, for thou hast caused more joy and gladness to my heart, than they have, when their corn and wine abound; I will lay me down and sleep, for thou only makest me to be in safety: I would not for a thousand worlds, for a thousand worlds, change my present condition with their bishoprics." And when it was said to him, "It is another sort of sweetness and satisfaction that ariseth from the hope of seeing God's face, than these things can afford," he said, "Nay, even from present approbation of myself in the course wherein I have suffered." A little after, he said, "I hope my anchor is cast in good ground, it will not drive, but draw me home to the harbour." He did twice that same night pray sweetly himself, being much therein taken up with the

Mediator's sympathy with his afflicted members. Now, are all these so gracious sayings and deliberate doings, the sayings and doings of a man that knew not what he said or did? What man of conscience, ingenuity, or reason, will say it?

On Friday, he called for his brother-in-law, and said, "Brother, O for one hour's converse with Him, for one hour's converse with Him." On Saturday, in the evening, after he had been much tossed with sickness all the day, his brother-in-law told him that Dr. Yeoman, whom he had caused send for, was come, and asked what he was doing? He answered, "I am longing, longing for a sight of that blessed face: O blessed be he that laid down his life at Jerusalem for poor sinners! O the love, O the love, O the love of Jesus! I bless him, that ever was pleased to reveal himself to me: O what would have become of me if he had not done it?" When it was said to him, that it would have been sad lying in that posture, if Christ had not died, and that death would have had a most dreadful aspect, he said pleasantly, "O death, where is thy sting?" Then a little after, when somewhat was spoken of sin, he said, "O to be freed from indwelling corruption, from a body of sin and death."

On the Lord's day, being the 6th of March, he was sorely oppressed with sickness and great weakness, yet he said, "He knew it was the Sabbath." Then he said, "Poor thing, poor thing, under a clog!" He would fain have spoken somewhat further; and when it was asked what he would say? he replied, "What shall I say, what shall I say, but Jesus, but Jesus; I am heavy and dead, but he must pardon, and I hope he will pardon." Then he desired that the family would withdraw for seeking God together. Toward the evening, he said, "O friendship with Jesus Christ! O friendship, friendship, with Jesus Christ!" When he was inquired whether the Lord had left any doubts with him about his friendship, he, after a while's silence, very soberly said, "I dare not doubt, I dare not doubt; but I fear a new storm." Then, a little after, he said, "Dearest Lord, dearest Lord, sweet Saviour, save me from all that I would be saved from; he will save me from all that I fear: I was beginning to fear, but he will disappoint my fears." Then he did, griping his brother-in-law fast by the arm, cry with great earnestness, "O to apprehend Jesus Christ—brother, brother." Then he said, sweetly, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name." When it was said to him, "It is but a little, and it will be sung; 'bless him who hath pardoned all thine iniquity, and hath healed all thy diseases, which he is now a healing;'" he said, "That will sing sweetly, that will sing sweetly." Speaking of a certain person,* he said, "I have said, and say so still, that God will honour him, as he hath honoured Him; God will bless him and his family; I am persuaded God will bless his family, I am persuaded of it." A little after, he said, "Dear Lord Jesus!—the matter of a song, not of straitened words, but of enlarged praise to all eternity."

On Monday morning, being the 7th of March, his brother-in-law

* Mr. John Carstairs.

did inquire how he had been all that night? He said, "Not well, but I bless the Lord I had some comfort. I would fain have sung a psalm with you if ye had been here, I would have sung a part of it myself:" and being inquired what psalm? he said, "the 103d," which he had caused his son William to read to him a little before. Toward the evening, when upon an apparent change, his relations were weeping about him, he said, "Would ye have me coming again when so near the shore, when so near the shore, when I am so near home?" In the night when he was so full of tossings, even till the morning, he spoke some sweet words in his agony: "I am weak in my thoughts, but God will pardon; he hides all mine iniquities." When it was asked at him, if there were any challenges now haunting him, he answered, "I have many, many and grievous challenges; but Jesus Christ answereth them all; through him, matters are fully taken up betwixt God and me. Blessed be God, blessed be God that ever was pleased to send his Son to die for sinners; what would have become of us if he had not died." When he was inquired, whether the thoughts of being a while under sharp affliction were terrible to him, he said, "Not: death is not terrible, but sweet to me; I will assure you, death is not terrible to me, for things are taken up betwixt God and me." When God's pardoning mercy in Jesus Christ was spoken of, he said, "It should make him to be extolled in praise." And when it was further said to him, there was indeed good ground for that song, 'Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity?' he replied, "I would fain sing it, but challenges detain me from it a while; yet all matters are taken up betwixt him and me."

On Tuesday, having been silent almost all the day, when he was inquired why he spake not? he said, "I cannot, I am very weak, but I hope I am strong in the Lord Jesus."

On Wednesday morning, the 9th of March, being exceedingly weak, he was inquired if his mind was quiet? to which he answered, "Somewhat quiet, but I cannot speak; fain would I be enlarged, to speak to the praise and commendation of the Redeemer." And being asked, whether there were any challenges moving now about him? he said, "None, but such as are answered by Jesus Christ." And when one sitting by, spoke of the answer of a good conscience, he cried, "No answer to challenges but through the blood of Jesus Christ." And when it was said to him, that ere long he would be associated with the spirits of just men made perfect, and sing his part of their hallelujahs before the throne, he lifted up his eyes and hands with much gravity and seriousness, a considerable space. A little after, having spoken a few words about common business, when he was desired not to trouble himself now about these things, he said, composedly, "Let then all business be laid aside: welcome, welcome, Lord Jesus; come, come, sweet Saviour; make haste, make haste, Lord; hasten thy pace, and come on the mountains." On this occasion the woman that waited on him, and had waited on his first wife when she was a dying, said, that she did chirm* and sing

* i. e. chaunt or hum.

sweetly a whole night, and that in the next morning she lifted up her eyes stedfastly, and said, 'I see him as it were putting his head through the clouds, and coming on the mountains.' And when the woman was inquired how long that was before her death? Mr. Wood overhearing, said, "it was the same day she died: and," said he, "I thought I then saw heaven." About eleven o'clock, the defluxion coming down mightily on him, it was said by one standing by, there is a torrent of it, whereupon he took occasion to cry out: "A torrent of the love of God, a torrent of the righteousness of Christ; I cannot enough wonder at the love of God, and at the love of Jesus Christ in his purchase; what would have become of me, if he had not died?" he added, "Lord, pardon all mine iniquity; Lord Jesus, intercede for me, and interpose betwixt me and the justice of God." When it was said to him, "your dissolution seems to be at hand; put yourself in a posture to wait for the coming of the Lord; let your soul be on wing to meet him." "To meet him," said he, "to meet him, blythe at my heart, blythe at my heart; he will give me wings, he hath promised it." In the night he was sorely oppressed, and much tossed with his fever. Yet, when some death-like passions* did overtake him, he was gathered and sweetly composed, and said to his weeping relations, "Hold me no longer, I am going; I desire to take leave of you." Then he spake a few weighty words in reference to his own case: "There are many faults, but he will pardon them all: Death maketh a fast bargain betwixt God and the soul, I mean of the believer. The bargain is agreed, death is not terrible, but sweet to me; Jesus Christ hath taken away the sting of it. Good news, good news, I am coming to heaven." When it was said to him, "God maketh your passage easy," he replied, with wonderful presentness of mind, "He hath made it easy, by a word that he spake to me even now; it is in 2 Cor. v. 'He hath made him to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God through him.'" When he was inquired if all fears and doubts were now blown away, he said, "I am scarce able to speak;" yet, with lifted up eyes and hands, he said, "They are blown away, only, only through the righteousness of Jesus." After which time he had but little speech; only on Friday he was overheard cry, "Lord, loose a poor prisoner!"

On the Lord's day, March 13th, about two or three in the morning, when he was inquired, if under this sore and long conflict he did win quietly to believe that the love of God was the same to him, he said, sweetly, "Yes, blessed be God, blessed be God; I find no change in him, he is constant, and just the same he was." After which he spake few sentences, or none at all. He fell asleep in the Lord, on Tuesday the 15th of March, about ten o'clock in the morning.†

* *i. e.* pangs.

† The above very interesting account of Mr. Wood's last words, now published for the first time, has been copied expressly for this Work from a MS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. There are various circumstances which render it probable that it was written by Mr. John Carstairs, Mr. Wood's brother-in-law, and one of the witnesses to his testimony. At all events, there is every reason for regarding it as perfectly accurate in all its details.—[MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. 18⁷/₂. Jac. V. i. 21. art. 70.]

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

" I James Wood, being very shortly, by appearance, to render up my spirit to the Lord, find myself obliged to leave a word behind me, for my vindication before the world. It hath been said of me, that I have, in word at least, departed from my wonted zeal for the presbyterian government, expressing myself, concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man should trouble himself therefore, in matter of practice. Surely any Christian that knows me in this kirk, will judge that this is a wrong done to me. It is true, that I being under sickness, have said sometimes, in conference about my soul's state, that I was taken up about greater business than any thing of that kind; and what wonder I said so, being under such wrestling anent my interest in Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment than any external ordinance? But for my estimation of presbyterian government, the Lord knoweth, that since the day he convinced my heart, which was by a strong hand, that it is the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for governing and ordering his visible church, I never had the least change of thought concerning the necessity of it, nor of the necessity of the use of it. And I declare, before God and the world, that I still account so for it; and that, however there may be some more precious ordinances, that is so precious, that a true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord shall see meet to put him to trial; and for myself, if I were to live, I would account it my glory to seal this word of my testimony with my blood. Of this declaration I take God, angels, and men, to be my witnesses; and have subscribed these presents, at St. Andrews, on the 2d March, 1664, about seven hours in the afternoon, before Mr. William Tullidaff, minister at Dumbog, Mr. John Carstairs, my brother-in-law, and John Pitcairn, writer hereof.

JAMES WOOD.*

WILLIAM TULLIDAFF,	} Witnesses.†
JOHN CARSTAIRS,	
JOHN PITCAIRN,	

* Wodrow's History, vol. i.

† It may serve to give the reader some idea of the cruelty and injustice that prevailed during the times in question, to state, that these persons, for simply witnessing to the subscription of a friend, were brought to much trouble. " When Mr. Wood's testimony came to be propaled, the primate raged terribly, and caused summon Mr. Carstairs, Mr. Tullidaff, and the notary, before the high commission court. The bishop alleged, yea, spread the report pretty publicly, that the notary informed him that when Mr. Wood was in great weakness, Mr. Carstairs had imposed upon him, and made him subscribe that paper which he had formed for him. But when Mr. Tullidaff and the notary came before them, both of them declared that the notary wrote it at his desire, and attested it, as it was his office to do. Here the primate once more got the lie given him to his face; and when the two had continued some time in prison, and nothing worthy of death and bonds could be fixed upon them, the bishop was forced to dismiss them, without any farther punishment, having shown his malice, and got shame for his reward. Mr. Carstairs thought fit, on many considerations, to abscond, and did not compear."—Wodrow, vol. i. p. 209.

VII. ROBERT BLAIR.

Mr. Blair was born at Irvine, in 1593. He was educated at Glasgow, and, having completed his studies, was appointed a regent in that university. In 1616, he was licensed to preach, and though he had several charges offered to him in Scotland, accepted a call to become minister of Bangor, in Ireland. In that country his labours were remarkably blessed. But being at length ejected from his living by the bishop of Down, he returned about the year 1638, and was admitted minister of Ayr, and next year was transported to St. Andrews. He now took a prominent share in the public acts of the church; and in 1646, was sent as a commissioner from the Assembly to the king at Newcastle, along with Mr. Henderson and others, and, on the death of that Worthy, became king's chaplain in his stead. In 1648, too, he, with two others, was sent to treat with Cromwell anent uniformity of religion in the three kingdoms; and after the restoration, in 1660, he suffered the award then so frequently bestowed on merit such as his, by being harassed with repeated citations and imprisonments, and afterwards turned out of his charge.]

Being worn out with age, and his spirits sunk by sorrow and grief for the desolations of the Lord's sanctuary in Scotland, Mr. Blair, upon the 10th of August, 1666, took his last sickness; and ever extolling the good and glorious Master whom he had served, contemplated with serious composure his approaching end. His sickness increasing, he was visited by many friends and acquaintances, whom he strengthened and comforted by his many gracious and edifying words.

At one time, when they told him of some severe acts of council lately made, upon Sharp's instigation, he prayed that the Lord would open his eyes, and give him repentance. And at another time, to Mrs. Rutherford, he said, "I would not exchange conditions with *that* man, (though for himself he was now on the bed of languishing, and the other possessed of great riches and revenues) even if all betwixt us were red gold, and given me to the bargain." When some ministers asked him, if he had any hopes of deliverance to the people of God? he said he would not take upon him to determine the times and seasons which the Lord keeps in his own hand, but that it was to him a token for good, that the Lord was casting the prelates out of the affections of all ranks and degrees of people, and even some who were most active in setting them up, were now beginning to loathe them for the pride, falsehood, and covetousness they displayed.

To his wife and children he spake gravely and affectionately; and, after having solemnly blessed them, he admonished them severally as he judged expedient. His son David said to him, "The best and worst of men have their thoughts and afterthoughts, now, Sir, God having given you time for afterthoughts on your way, we would hear what they are now."—He answered, "I have again and again thought upon my former ways, and communed with my heart; and as for my public

actings and carriage, in reference to the Lord's work, if I were to begin again, I would just do as I have done." He often repeated the 16th, the 23d, and once the 71st Psalm, which he used to call his own. About two days before his death, his speech began to fail, and he could not be heard or understood: some things, however, were not altogether lost; for speaking of some eminent saints then alive, he prayed earnestly that the Lord would bless them, and as an evidence of his love to them, he desired Mr. George Hutcheson, then present, to carry his Christian remembrances to them. When Mr. Hutcheson went from his bed side, he said to his wife, and others who waited on him, that he rejoiced in suffering as a persecuted minister. "Is it not persecution," added he, "to thrust me from the work of the ministry, which was my delight, and hinder me from doing good to my people and flock, which was my joy and crown of rejoicing, and to chase me from place to place, till I am wasted with heaviness and sorrow for the injuries done to the Lord's prerogative, interest, and cause?" What he afterwards said was either forgotten or not understood, and, at length, about four o'clock in the morning, August 27th, 1666, he was gathered to his fathers, by a blessed and happy death, the certain result of a holy life.*

VIII. THOMAS PATERSON, AND OTHERS.

[Upon the defeat of the covenanters at Pentland, 28th November, 1666, about 80 prisoners in all were brought to Edinburgh. Of these, the greater number were lodged in *Haddock's Hold*, a place which, as Wodrow remarks, has since then been turned to a better purpose, being now used as a church. Such, however, as were most distinguished by their station or office, it was thought proper to secure in the tolbooth-prison. And of this number, it seems Mr. Paterson was one.—He was a merchant in Glasgow, and had probably joined the insurgents in their progress from Ayr to Lanark. It seems he was confined in a chamber with some of the ten who were shortly after condemned and executed, and that he must have shared their fate, had he not died of his wounds before the trial. That his death preceded the trial, appears from his name not being in the process. The following testimony, therefore, to which he assented, must have been agreed upon by his companions† in trouble, previous to December 4th, the day on which they were condemned.]

* Scots Worthies—Life of Blair.

† Who the particular individuals were, whose sentiments it expresses, we have no means of knowing. It is certain, however, that they were of the ten, who were honoured to be the first victims of prelatic revenge. It is not improbable, that perceiving Mr. Paterson's death approaching, they might have drawn up the paper, on some of the few days which elapsed between their apprehension and their trial. In the preface to it in "*Naphtali*," it is said, that he "being in like manner indicted, but dying of his wounds before sentence, did communicate the same to his friends, with his assent thereunto."

“ Men and brethren,—Being condemned by our rulers as traitors, lest we should seem to many to suffer as evil-doers,

“ 1st, In the first place, we bless and praise the Lord our God, who hath made us (the unworthiest of all men) worthy to be faithful to him, who is ‘ King of kings and Lord of lords,’ and in simplicity and godly sincerity, singly to mind his glory; and who also maketh the cross of Christ (though by men superscribed with treason) our sweet consolation, and his own joy, our strength.

“ 2d, We declare, in the presence of the same God, before whom we are now ready to appear, that we did not intend to rebel against the king and his just authority, whom as we acknowledge for our lawful sovereign; so we earnestly pray in his behalf, that God would open his eyes and convert his heart, that he may remember his vows made unto God, relieve this oppressed kirk, and long reign and flourish in righteousness.

“ 3d, We declare, that perceiving the holy covenants of our God broken, the work of the Lord overturned, the gospel and kingdom of Jesus Christ despised and trampled upon, his pure ordinances corrupted, his faithful and our soul-refreshing ministers cast out, and the land filled with perjury and profanity, and like to be hurried back to that gulf of ignorance, superstition, and confusion, whence the Lord did so gloriously deliver us; and finding ourselves not only spoiled of our most precious blessings, and most dear enjoyments, but urged and compelled by cruel violence and barbarous persecution, to the wicked apostasy from our holy covenants, and to rebellion against our God; and all this done by no other hand than the wicked and perjured prelates; and for no other ends (whatever they may pretend) than the satisfying of their own vile lusts, and establishing their so often abjured antichristian tyranny, over both souls and bodies of men.

“ 4th, And lastly, finding former petitions condemned as seditious, and our private complaints, when but muttered, insolently rejected, we did in the fear and zeal of our God, and by the warrant of his holy word, according to the first and most innocent instinct of pure nature, and the practice of all people and persons in the like case; and after the example of all the oppressed kirks of Jesus Christ, and of our noble ancestors, take the sword of necessary self-defence, from the rage and fury of these wicked and violent men, until we might make our heavy grievances known to his majesty, and obtain from his justice a satisfying remedy.

“ We will not now mention our particular sufferings, nor the sighs and groans of poor wasted Galloway, which though very heavy from the hand of man, are all too light for Jesus Christ;* nor are we willing to

* This is a very proper distinction, and one which ought ever to be kept in view, when judging of the sufferings to which man is subject in the present state. These sufferings may be altogether unmerited from the persons who inflict them, and their infliction may be consequently altogether unjustifiable; but it ought ever to be remembered, that great as they may be, they cannot be undeserved as coming from God. From him it is only suffering we can be said to merit. At the very best, we are *unprofitable* servants; nay, we should rather say that *all* of us have sinned, and come short of his glory, and are therefore

reflect upon these grievous and bitter laws and edicts, by which they seem to be warranted: only we know, that God is righteous, whose laws and judgments are superior and above all the laws and actions of men. And to him who will judge righteously, we entirely commit our cause, which is none other than the reviving of the work of God and renewing of his covenant: which though it pleased the holy and wise God, not to favour with success in the field, and though by men it may be made our condemnation, yet it is our righteousness, innocence, and confidence in his sight. And all praise and thanks be unto our God, who not only kept us stedfast in his covenant, and made us willing and ready to adventure our lives for his name, but hath also accepted and dignified our offer with this public appearance: * where, in his own glorious presence, before whom we shall instantly appear, and before our often sworn and once zealous and tender brethren in the same cause, and in midst of thee, O Edinburgh! once famous for the glory and zeal of God and of this covenant, we may give and seal this our testimony with our blood.

“ We therefore, the unworthiest of all the faithful, do, in the Spirit of God and glory, testify and seal with our blood and lives, that both the national covenant and solemn league and covenant, are in themselves holy, just, and true, and perpetually binding, containing no other thing than our indispensable obligation to all duties of religion and righteousness, according to the revealed will of God, which no authority nor power of man, is or ever shall be able to disannul: and that our blessed reformations, both from popery and prelacy, and all that was done or ensued, in the sincere and upright prosecution thereof, was and is the work of God, which though men fight against, yet shall they never be able to prevail. And as this is our faith, so it is our hope to all that wait for the salvation of God, that our God will surely appear for his own glory, and vindicate his cause and persecuted people, and render vengeance to his adversaries, even the vengeance of his holy temple and broken covenant. O be not then moved with our sufferings, which are but light and momentary, for they ‘work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory,’ and for you also a strong confirmation, and abounding consolation against the like trial that possibly may befall you. O then save yourselves from this wicked and apostate generation, and ‘be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work and cause of the Lord: waiting for the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his

guilty before him. But this, it must be observed, is no excuse for those who, to gratify their own malignant passions, or compass their own selfish purposes, violate every feeling of humanity, trample on the rights of their fellow men, and are even forward to shed their blood!

* Of course, though this testimony was not spoken, and in so far as Pater-son was concerned, could not be spoken, it was written under the impression that all who concurred in it would be called to make such a public appearance as is here referred to. It is needless to say a word here with regard to the principles it avows. Of these principles it seems to contain an eloquent vindication. But, at the present day, it is enough for this purpose to remark, that they are the very principles which ultimately triumphed in the glorious revolution of 1688.

time he shall show, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach, whom no man hath seen, or can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting ! Amen."*

IX. JOHN M'CULLOCH, AND OTHERS.

[John M'Culloch of Barholm was "a gentleman of good parts and great piety." He had already suffered much for his conscientious adherence to the presbyterian church, having shared extensively both in 1663 and 1665, in the fines and exactions which were levied from Galloway. He was now far advanced in life, and we may be sure it was no ordinary oppression that had induced him to embark in the late insurrection. It appears he had served in the army, and had attained the rank of major. In consequence of this circumstance, as well as from his family influence, it is probable he was regarded as the most distinguished of the prisoners taken at Pentland. He was therefore one of the ten who, immediately after the defeat, were condemned and executed. And hence he was the first to affix his name to the following testimony, (which, in addition to that previously agreed to by some of them,) they subscribed in the prison, at Edinburgh, on the day of their death, being 7th December, 1666.]

"Men and brethren,—This is a great and important work, both for us, who are now to render up our spirits to him that gave them, and for you who are not a little concerned in the cause, and in our blood, by justifying or condemning our sentence; and therefore, as we speak to you as dying men, who dare not dissemble with God or man, nor flatter ourselves; so ye should not be idle, curious, or unconcerned spectators.

"We are condemned by men, and esteemed by many as rebels against the king (whose authority we acknowledge†) but this is our rejoicing,

* Naphtali, pp. 311—314.

† It has been common for the apologists of the House of Stuart, to hold up the covenanters who suffered under its dynasty, as characterized by the extremes of disloyalty and sedition. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth.—Whoever considers the tendency of their principles, must readily perceive that it must have been in an entirely opposite direction. But to pass over this, and to come to facts. The reader must perceive in the above, and in other succeeding instances, that those of them at least who had engaged in the Pentland insurrection, did so with far other feelings than rebellion against their king. Such was their uniform profession when about to leave the world, and surely, in such circumstances, it is but fair to acknowledge that, in such a profession, they were at least sincere. And what is more, they uniformly refer to the oppressions they had endured, as the sole cause of their rising; and release from these oppressions, and from the iniquitous system under which they were sanctioned, as the only end which they had in view. Nor is there a man, who candidly considers these oppressions, as described in the above testimony, and as detailed in "Naphtali," the "Apologetical Relation," "Wodrow's History," and other works relating to the period, that will not, if a spark of humanity remains in his bosom, be ready to acknowledge that they constituted a cause too adequate.

the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as evil-doers, but for righteousness, for the word of God, and testimony of Jesus Christ ; and particularly, for our renewing the covenant, and, in pursuance thereof, for preserving and defending of ourselves by arms, against the usurpation and insupportable tyranny of the prelates ; and against the most unchristian and inhuman oppression and persecution, that ever was enjoined and practised by just rulers, upon free, innocent, and peaceable subjects !

“ The covenant and cause being so just in themselves, and the duties of self-preservation and mutual defence in maintenance thereof, being to judicious and unbiassed men so clear, we need to say the less for vindication of our practice : only, the laws establishing prelacy, and the acts, orders, and proclamations made for compliance therewith, being executed against us by military force and violence ; and we, with others, for our simple forbearance, being fined, confined, imprisoned, exiled, scourged, stigmatized, beaten, bound as beasts, and driven unto the mountains for our lives ; and thereby hundreds of families being beggared, several parishes, and some whole country-sides exceedingly impoverished ; and all this, either arbitrarily, and without any law, or respect had to guilt or innocency ; or unjustly, contrary to all conscience, justice, and reason, though under the pretence of iniquitous laws, and without regard had to the penalty specified in the law : and all remonstrating of grievances (were they never so just and many) and petitions for redress, being restrained by laws condemning all former remonstrances and petitions in the like cases ; there was no other remedy left to us, but that last of necessary self-preservation and defence. And this being one of the greatest principles of nature, warranted by the law of God, scriptural instances, and the consent and practices of all reformed churches and Christian states abroad, and of our own famous predecessors at home, it cannot in reason or justice be reputed a crime, or condemned as rebellion by any human authority.

“ Though we be not the first that have suffered for the cause of God within the land, yet we are among the first that have been legally condemned and put to death expressly for taking the covenant : and we are so far from being ashamed thereof, that we account it our honour to be reckoned worthy to suffer for such a cause ; and cannot but bless the Lord, that we have such a cloud of witnesses, in this and other reformed churches, going before us in the same duty for substance, and in suffering therefore.

“ We cannot but regret (if we could, with tears of blood,) the national and authorized backsliding of the land, by perjury and breach of covenant ; the overturning of the work of reformation ; the great desolation of the house of the Lord, by smiting of the shepherds, and scattering of the flocks ; the intrusion of so many mercenary hirelings into the ministry, who, because of apostasy, perjury, ignorance, and profaneness, can neither be acknowledged as God’s mouth to the people, in preaching, nor employed as their mouth to him, in prayer ; the abounding of popery, superstition, and profaneness, by unheard of oaths, blasphemies, uncleannesses, and drinking, even in some whose

office and place requireth them to be more exemplary ; and the shedding the blood of the saints by the rage of persecution : and therefore we cannot but disown all these abominable laws, courses, and practices, and declare our abhorrency of the same, and dissent therefrom ; protesting before angels and men, that we be not interpreted as consenters thereto ; and beseeching the hearer of prayer, that we be not involved in the guilt thereof, nor partake of the plagues which follow thereupon.

“ As this land was happy above all nations, for the purity and plenty of the gospel, and for a form of church government more conform to the pattern in the scriptures, than in others of the reformed churches ; so we acknowledge his great goodness to us in special, that gave us our lines in such pleasant places ; for we have full persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, and have felt so much of the power and sweetness thereof, that we do here declare our firm belief and persuasion of, and adherence to the same, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the ‘ National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Directory of Worship, and Propositions for Government ;’ accounting it our honour and happiness to have been born in it, to have lived in communion with it, and now to die, through grace, members, witnesses, and assertors thereof.

“ And further, as Christians, and as members of the same church and commonwealth, in the fear and zeal of our God, in love to our brethren, in desire of the preservation of church and kingdom, and for our own exoneration, now when we take our leave of the world, we do seriously, and in the bowels of Christ, supplicate, warn, exhort, and obtest you, all the inhabitants of the kingdom, from the king to the meanest of the subjects, according to your old principles, professions, promises, declarations, oaths, and covenants, faithfully to own, maintain, preserve, and defend the said religion ; and after the example of our noble and renowned ancestors, to quit yourselves like men and Christians, in endeavouring by all just means, according to your places and powers, to shake off this heavy yoke of ‘ prelacy, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear,’ and which is destructive to all our true interests, religious and civil ; as ye would not involve yourselves in the guilt and plagues of perjury and breach of covenant ; and as you tender the good of your own names, persons, estates, families, and liberties, as well as of your immortal souls ; and as ye would partake of the good of God’s chosen, and of our joys, when ye come so near eternity as we are.

“ We shall say no more, but as we were not afraid to take our lives in our hands, so we are not afraid to lay them down in this cause ; and as we are not ashamed of Christ because of his cross, so we would not have you offended in Christ, nor discouraged because of us : for we bear you record, that we would not exchange lots with our adversaries : nor redeem our lives, liberties, and fortunes, at the price of perjury and breach of covenant.

“ And further, we are assured, though this be the day of Jacob’s trouble, that yet the Lord when he hath accomplished the trial of his own,

and filled up the cup of his adversaries, will awake for judgment, plead his own cause, avenge the quarrel of his covenant, make inquiry for blood, vindicate his people, break the arm of the wicked, and establish the just; for to him belongeth judgment and vengeance: and though our eyes shall not see it, yet we believe that 'the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing under his wings;' and that he will revive his work, repair the breaches, build the old wastes, and raise up the desolations; yea, 'the Lord will judge his people, and repent himself for his servants, when their power is gone, and there is none shut up or left: And therefore, rejoice, O ye nations, with his people: for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and he will be merciful to his land and people. So let thy enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him, be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might!'"

Sic Sub.—

JOHN M'CULLOCH of Barholm,
ANDREW ARNOT,
JOHN GORDON of Knockbrex,
ROBERT GORDON, his Brother,
JOHN ROSS,

JOHN SHIELDS,
JAMES HAMILTON,
JOHN PARKER in Busby,
CHRISTOPHER STRANG,
GAVIN HAMILTON.

X. ANDREW ARNOT.

[Captain Arnot, as he is usually styled, from the rank which, it appears, he had previously borne in the army, was a gentleman of some property and influence. He was brother to the laird of Lochridge, an estate lying in the district of Cunningham. He joined the covenanters at Ayr, took the command of a troop, and proceeded with them to Lanark; and from thence, till they arrived at Rullion Green, where he was taken with his sword in hand. Whether he delivered the following speech on the scaffold, we have not ascertained. As containing his separate testimony, to the cause in which he suffered, it may be regarded, only as an addition and enforcement to the foregoing, which, with his nine companions in suffering, he had already subscribed.]

"Dear friends and spectators,—I am brought by the good providence of God to this place of execution (which is no dishonour) for points of treason, as is alleged; but God knoweth (who knoweth the secrets of hearts) whether in rebellion or not, I came forth; he is my witness, and will be my judge. And whoever they be that any way have been instrumental or incensed against me, to procure this sentence against me, God forgive them, and I forgive them. I am not now purposed to dispute the matter of my being in company with these worthy Christians who are now defeat and broken, their blood shed, and they despitefully mocked by many: I acknowledge and declare, that I was with them. As to the cause of my being with them, whether in rebellion or not, God knoweth, and all Israel shall

know. And for me, I say the cause is the Lord's, who made the heaven and the earth, though now it be hated. And, I desire to bear witness, with the rest of the worthy witnesses who are gone before, and are now staged to that glorious work of reformation in Britain and Ireland, and to gospel ordinances in their purity, as they have been taught and administered these thirty years by-past. And I adhere to the presbyterial way of doctrinal worship, discipline, and government, by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and sessions, according to the pattern of the holy scriptures, (Jesus Christ himself being the head corner stone) the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Shorter and Larger, Directory for Public Worship, National Covenant, Solemn League and Covenant, and every paper tending to the good of the true religion. And this I think fit to testify and declare under my hand (not knowing if I shall have any liberty to speak) and intend, God willing, to seal with my blood shortly. I confess, that unexpectedly I am come to this place, (though sometimes I have had some small thoughts of it) and I do account myself highly honoured to be reckoned amongst the witnesses of Jesus Christ, to suffer for his name, truth, and cause; and this day I esteem it my glory, garland, crown, and royal dignity, to fill up a part of his sufferings.

"And now, I take my leave of you all, my dear and worthy friends and acquaintances. The blessings of the eternal God be multiplied upon you and your seed, and upon all the suffering friends of Christ, this day; upon my dear and loving wife, who hath been a faithful sympathizer with me, and upon my dear children. The work of God is now put under, but it shall carry the day: blessed is he that believeth and seeth not, for there shall be a performance. Now, the eternal God, who brought again the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, the great Shepherd of the sheep, strengthen and stablish you, and all the Lord's people. So pray ye, and so prayeth your friend,

ANDREW ARNOT."*

XI. JOHN SHIELDS.

[This was another of the ten persons who suffered on the 7th December, 1666. He is described in Wodrow, as resident in Titwood, and as a tenant of Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock. It appears that he had joined the insurgents in Ayrshire, and, that, with John Ross and others, he was employed to watch the movements of the king's forces in the neighbourhood of Kilmarnock. From thence he accompanied them till their overthrow at Pentland, where he was made prisoner. The following is his separate testimony to the cause in which he died.]

"I am a man unlearned, and not accustomed to speak in public; yet being now called to witness and suffer for the Lord in public, I cannot be altogether silent of that which religion and reason hath taught me anent the cause of my suffering.

* Naphtali, pp. 314—316.

“ I bless the Lord, I suffer not as an evil-doer, especially not for any rebellion against his majesty’s lawful authority ; I attest him who is the searcher of hearts, that was never my intention in the least, and it is as little the nature and intention of what I have done ; but for the renewing of the covenant with the Lord, and following the ends thereof, as to the suppressing of abjured prelates, and intruders upon the Lord’s flock, and the restoring of the government of the house of God by presbyters, as he himself hath appointed in his word, with a faithful, godly, called, and sent ministry ; and together with pure ordinances, the power of godliness. For this I am condemned, and to suffer this day. This I acknowledged freely before our judges ; this I still acknowledge, and am persuaded that herein I witness a faithful confession. This cause and covenant I commend to all the Lord’s people. It is not free for you to forsake it ; you are inviolably engaged in it ; it is not safe to desert it, because of the curse of the perjurer and false swearer. There is unspeakable blessedness in the pursuance of it, whereof I can bear witness to the Lord by my rich experience, since we began to do and suffer at this time for him : whereupon I cheerfully lay down my life for this his cause ; he it is who justifieth it, what man or authority under heaven can condemn it ? ‘ Arise, O Lord, let not man prevail against thee ! Plead and judge this cause which is thine own, for thine own name’s sake ’ ”*

XII. ANONYMOUS.

[The short testimony that follows has come down to us without a name. It professes to be by another of the ten† persons who were executed on the 7th December, 1666, and is said to have been left subscribed in the hands of a friend. Who the individual was, cannot now be ascertained, but from its having appeared in ‘ Naphtali,’ which was first published about 1667, there seems to be no good ground for doubting its genuineness.]

“ I designed no rebellion against lawful authority, but the suppressing of prelacy and of profanity ; and advancing of holiness in God’s world : in a word, I adhere to all the articles of the good covenant, and did intend the restoring of our good and soul-refreshing ministers, and the casting out of the dumb greedy dogs that cannot bark. In this cause I was a free volunteer, pressed by none, thinking it my duty to appear for helping the Lord against the mighty. This I testify under my hand, from the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 6th of December, 1666.†

* Naphtali, pp. 316, 317.

† Naphtali, p. 317

† We shall here subjoin a few slender particulars, with regard to the seven individuals of this number that remain, besides M’Culloch, Arnot, and Shields, of whom we have already given some account.

John and Robert Gordon were brothers, of the respectable family of Knockbreck in Galloway. This family had suffered much from the oppressions previously exercised in that district of country. Besides being har-

XIII. ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

[It has been supposed that there were two individuals of this name connected with the Pentland insurrection. And certainly there is some difficulty, without this supposition, to reconcile the statements which have been made with respect to a person or persons so designated. The following particulars seem undoubtedly to refer to the author of the following testimony. He was a preacher of the gospel, and the son of a minister. He had joined the insurgents so early as their arrival in Dumfries, where it appears he was present at the seizing of Sir James Turner. From thence he accompanied them to Ayr, and then to Lanark, where he took the covenant with the rest of the party. He then proceeded with them to Collington and Pentland, where he was seen fighting with a sword and pistols. He was basely betrayed by the laird of Morton, his friend, to whom he surrendered upon promise of his life. He was one of five who, on the 10th of December following, were put upon trial, and condemned to be hanged. One of the five obtained a respite; Mr. Robertson and the other four were executed on Friday, the 14th of that month.]

“Fearing that after the example of others, I should not be permitted

assess by the quartering of soldiers, their dwelling was wantonly pillaged and destroyed; and a similar treatment befell their tenantry. No wonder then that the two young men in question should have been tempted to join the insurgent forces. Who in such a case would not have rebelled against a government which, with a view to enforce conformity to a form of religion which they hated, recklessly surrendered its unoffending subjects to the insults and aggressions of a domineering soldiery? They are described “as youths of shining piety and good learning.” Of them it might be literally remarked, that “they were beautiful in their lives, and that in death they were not divided.” Being in the act of embracing when the drop fell, they died locked in each other’s arms.—We have collected the following with respect to the others:—

John Ross belonged to Mauchline; he joined the insurgents in that neighbourhood, and was sent along with John Shields and others to discover the motions of the king’s troops, and particularly whether they had yet come to Kilmarnock.

James Hamilton was a tenant in Killimuir. He took the covenant at Lanark, and belonged to M’Lellan of Barscobe’s troop of covenanters. John Parker was a “walker” (waulker, perhaps) in the parish of Kilbride. He also joined the insurgents in the west, and proceeded with them to Pentland.

Christopher Strang also was of Kilbride parish. He was at Lanark and took the covenant, and afterwards fought at Pentland under the command of Captain Paton.

Gavin Hamilton was from Mauldside, in the parish of Carluke. He joined in the west, and with James Hamilton (perhaps his brother) was in Barscobe’s troop.

It may not be uninteresting to add, that the sentence with regard to the whole ten was, that, after being hanged, their heads and right arms should be cut off, and disposed of as follows: the heads of M’Culloch and the two Gordons to be affixed at Kirkeudbright; those of Parker, the two Hamiltons, and Strang, at Hamilton; those of Ross and Shields, at Kilmarnock; and Captain Arnot’s at the Watergate of Edinburgh. And the right arms of all of them to be sent to Lanark, to be put up in the public parts of the town, “being the place where they took the covenant.”

to speak openly to the people, I thought fit (beside my adherence to what my brethren, who have gone before me, left behind them concerning our common cause) to leave a word in writ for satisfaction of them who survive me.

“ That, for preservation and defence of the true religion of this church, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted therefore, I joined with others in arms, and that I renewed the covenant, that all men might the better know my cause and principles, I am so far from denying or being ashamed of, that I both acknowledge and avow it as my duty ; but let no man, that will not condemn himself upon the same common obligations to do what I did, account me a rebel therefore, because with the same breath that I did swear, and with that same hand that I did subscribe to preserve and defend religion, I did also swear to defend the king and his authority.

“ Our church was not more glorious in herself, and terrible to her adversaries, while we enjoyed pure ordinances of word and sacraments, and her beautiful assemblies for government and discipline, of the Lord's own institution, than she became of late deformed by the usurpation and tyranny of prelacy ; and I solemnly declare as a dying man, who dare not dissemble, that as I thought and still aver, that the erecting of this abjured prelacy is the cause of much of the sin in the land, and of all the sufferings of the Lord's people therein ; so I had no worse design, than the restoring of the work of reformation according to the covenant, and more particularly the extirpation of prelacy, to which his majesty, and all the subjects are as much obliged as I. And let that be removed and the work of reformation restored, and I dare die in saying, that his majesty shall not have in all his dominions more loving, loyal, peaceable, and faithful subjects, than these who for their non-compliance are loaded with the reproaches of fanaticism and rebellion.

“ The sufferings and insupportable oppression* of these, that could

* It is impossible in the short compass of a note to give any thing like an adequate idea of the severities which excited the rising in Galloway. First of all, at three several inroads made into that county by an armed force, under the command of Sir James Turner, the most exorbitant fines were levied. Then by billeting soldiers on particular families, sometimes for 12 or 15 weeks at a time, their substance was wasted and consumed, to an amount perhaps still greater. But the exactions in money, and the destruction of property, was not all. The conduct and carriage of the soldiers who were thus quartered was such as to deprive the inhabitants of peace and comfort—to expose them to every species of inconvenience and insult, and sometimes by direct violence to injure their persons or endanger their lives. In support of these statements, many instances on record might be quoted, altogether tending to evince that the sufferings referred to *were insupportable*. And when we reflect that such sufferings were inflicted on account of nonconformity, and in order to compel men to desert the ministrations of pastors whom they venerated and loved, and attend upon those of persons whom they hated and despised, we are apt involuntarily to exclaim, Is it credible that such things took place in Scotland? How much more astonishing then, that in Scotland there should be found those who are forward to palliate, to excuse, or even to defend the exercise of such enormities, and to condemn and calumniate the unhappy men whose lot it was to bear them.

not, because of the command and oath of God, acknowledge and comply with prelacy, may seem light to some, in whom the spirit of the old enmity, that is betwixt the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent remaineth, and to others (perhaps their friends) who look thereupon at a distance ; but as there is just reason to think, that if these rigid oppressions had been made known to his majesty, his justice and clemency would have provided a remedy, and as the halt thereof would have made the prelates, their patrons and adherents impatiently mad, for as loyal as they pretend to be ; so in the like cases of irresistible necessity, when there is little open door for representing of grievances and desires, and less hope of relief thereby, I suppose it will not be found condemned by the confessions of reformed churches, or doctrine of sound divines, but that it is authorized by the light and law of nature, by uncondemned examples in the holy scripture, and by the practice of all Christian states,—by arms to preserve and defend men's lives, their religion, liberties, and fortunes ; and especially, where they are not seeking to acquire a new religion or new liberties, but only to preserve their old, or recover them, when they are violently and unjustly spoiled of the same, as in our case ; otherwise we should sin against the generation of the just, and condemn as rebellious the most of the thorough reformatations of the reformed churches abroad, and of our own at home.

“ If this course was lawful, and if it was our duty to join therein, as I believe and lay down my life in the persuasion that it was ; and if all the kingdom was (as they are) bound by covenant to assist and defend one another in the common cause of religion and liberty, whatever may be said of these that came not forth to help the Lord against the mighty,—it cannot but be their dreadful sin, who joined themselves in arms, or took oaths to oppose, suppress, and break it, seeing they have sided themselves against the Lord and his work, and their carriage is a much higher degree of accession to the blood that was shed, than Paul's keeping of the clothes of them that stoned Stephen to death ; and I wish that they may lay the matter to heart, and repent of it, that God may forgive them, as I forgive all men, and particularly Morton, who did apprehend me.

“ I know that there is a holy seed in the land, who shall be the substance thereof, and I pray that the Lord may make them more zealous and valiant for the truth upon earth ; I know also, that there are many whose bowels of compassion have been drawn forth toward these who took their lives in their hands, by prayers to God for them, and charity to them, and especially in Edinburgh toward the poor prisoners (of whom I may not only say, that what they have done, deserveth to be told for a memorial wherever the gospel is preached, but am assuredly confident, that besides the blessings of the poor and persecuted, the Lord is not unrighteous to forget their work and labour of love, which they have showed towards his name, and that they have ministered to the saints and do minister) and yet I must needs regret, that so many in this city once famous and honoured for harmonious owning of the cause and covenant of God, and blessed above many other cities with solemn assemblies for worship

and government, should have been ensnared into an oath so contradictory to the oath of the covenant; and which was devised, contrived, and imposed in lieu of the declaration against the same, and for a grave-stone to suppress the revival of the work of God within this land.

“The apostasy of this land is very great by perjury and breach of covenant, and so much the worse and more aggravated, that it is authorized, and very universal. And as I cannot but regret that so many are insnared therein, so I must needs warn all to abhor and beware of all declarations and oaths contradictory to the covenant, and renunciatory thereof, as they would not involve themselves in the guilt and plagues denounced against, and ordinarily inflicted upon perjury and breach of covenant; and so much the rather, because this is like to be the Shibboleth and trial of the times.

“As for myself, I have seen and do find so much worth in truth, which is to be bought at any rate, but sold at none; and so much transcendent excellency and amiableness in Christ, that not only with cheerfulness and confidence I lay down my life for him and his truth, committing my soul to him, to be kept in hope of a joyful resurrection of the body; but also bless him that gave me a life to lose, and a body to lay down for him; and although the market and price of truth may appear to many very high, yet I reckon it low, and all that I have or can do little, too little, for him ‘who gave himself for me,’ and to me: ‘for I account all things but loss and dung for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I now suffer the loss of all things, that I may win him, and be found in him, and that I may not only know the fellowship of his sufferings, but the power of his resurrection, and attain unto the resurrection of the dead.’

“And as for you, my dear friends, as I pray for you, that ‘the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after ye have suffered a while,’ may ‘make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, and settle you;’ so I recommend to you the same truth, that ‘ye be not soon shaken in mind, but that ye hold fast the profession of your faith without wavering;’ and ‘as you have received the Lord, so walk in him; warning and obtesting you, by all manner of obligations, and by the hope and joy of that crown which I wait for, that ye keep yourselves unspotted with the abominable courses and practices of these times, whereunto ye may be tempted by the extremity of suffering, and particularly, that ye beware of unlawful oaths and declarations against the cause and covenant of God, that ye have no compliance with, nor give consent unto this prelacy, which ye have abjured; and that you be afraid and aware of popery, which by connivance doth so visibly abound and daily increase; but by fighting the good fight, and keeping of the faith, you may finish your course, as I do, in the assurance of the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, hath laid up, and shall give unto me, and not to me only, but to all them that love his appearance.

ALEX. ROBERTSON.”

XIV. JOHN NEILSON.

[Mr. Neilson was laird of Corsack, in Galloway—a man of excellent parts and sincere piety. Being conscientiously attached to the presbyterian worship, and not attending the episcopal curate, an information was laid against him to Sir James Turner, and he was exposed forthwith to the most severe oppressions on account of his nonconformity. Under the influence of these, he joined the rising which shortly after took place in his neighbourhood. Far, however, from wishing to avenge himself on the instrument of his sufferings, he, at Dumfries, interposed in behalf of Turner, and saved his life. He then accompanied the insurgents in their progress to the Pentlands, where he was taken prisoner, and conducted to Edinburgh. The sufferings to which he was shortly after exposed, afford matter for one of the blackest pages in the history of persecution. With the youthful martyr, Mr. Hugh M'Kail, he was, on the 4th December, put to the torture, “and so fearfully tormented, that his shrieks would have melted any body but those present, who still called for the other *touch*.” He was, with Mr. Robertson and others, tried on the 10th, and suffered the sentence which was passed upon him on the 14th of that month. Here follows the testimony which he left behind him.]

“Being made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men, I found it necessary for vindication of the truth, and of myself, for undeceiving of some, and encouraging of others, to leave this line behind me, which, with my innocent blood, may speak when I am gone.

“I am condemned, I shall not say how unjustly, as a rebel against man, but the Lord God of gods he knoweth, and all Israel shall know, that it is not for rebellion against God, but for endeavouring to recover the blessed work of reformation, and particularly for endeavouring to extirpate prelacy, which hath been the cause of so much sin and suffering within this land, and for renewing of the covenant, from the obligation whereof (seeing I made my vow and promise to the Lord) neither I myself, nor any human authority can absolve me. And if any account this rebellion, I do plainly confess, ‘that after the way which they call heresy, I worship the God of my fathers.’

“Although the insupportable oppression under which I and many others did groan,* were enough to justify our preserving and defend-

* In order to give this statement of Neilson's its due weight on the reader's mind, it may be proper to set down a few particulars with regard to the sufferings which he had been called to endure, as these are recorded by Wodrow: “Mr. Dalgleish,” says he, “curate of Parton (the parish in which Neilson resided), had no small hand in this gentleman's hardships. When Sir James Turner came first into Galloway, Corsack was soon delated for nonconformity, and Sir James exacted £100 Scots from him; and, contrary to promise, he was sent prisoner to Kirkcudbright. He suffered very much by quarterings of soldiers upon him: from the beginning of March to the end of May that year, he had troopers lying on him, sometimes ten, sometimes six, sometimes four at once, and was forced to pay each man half-a-crown a day, which came to £819

ing of ourselves by arms, yet know that the cause was not ours, but the Lord's ; for we suffered all our grievous oppressions, not for evil-doing, but because we could not in conscience acknowledge, comply with, and obey prelacy, and submit unto the ministry of ignorant, light, and profane men, who were irregularly and violently thrust upon us ; neither did we only or mainly design our civil liberties, but the liberty of the gospel, the extirpation of prelacy, the restoration of our faithful pastors, the suppression of profanity, promoting of piety, the saving of ourselves from unjust violence, until we had presented our grievances and desires ; and, in a word, the recovering of the once glorious, but now ruined work of reformation, in doctrine, worship discipline, and government, according to the national covenant and solemn league and covenant, to which I declare my adherence ; and through grace shall seal the same with my blood.

" My advocate drew up a supplication for me, wherein was acknowledged, that I had been with the *rebels* ; but let none offend thereat : for I do hereby declare, that I was so far from accounting that course *rebellion*, that I judged, and still do judge, it was my duty to join therein, and my honour to suffer therefore ; otherwise, I should have counted myself accessory to the blood of the Lord's people which is shed : and cannot but regret that others of the Lord's people, when they heard of us, did not come forth with speed to help the Lord against the mighty ; much more let all mourn, that not only many have appeared as enemies, but also conjured themselves against the Lord, and the same covenant which they so solemnly swore ; and as for the petition itself, I knew not that expression was in it.

" Being conscious myself of so much weakness, and so many heinous sins which predominate in me, and of unfruitfulness under the gospel, and unsuitable walking thereto, I confess myself the vilest of sinners, and desire to mourn for the same, and pray that the Lord for Christ's sake may freely forgive me, as I have forgiven them that have wronged me, and hope through the righteousness of Jesus Christ to obtain the same ; and I do exhort all and every one of my friends to more holiness, prayer, and stedfastness, always abounding in the work of the Lord ; and above all things, to detest and shun

Scots, and free quarters besides to man and horse ; which moderately computing at fifteen pence a day, amounts to £408:10s. Next year Sir James Turner sent six foot soldiers to quarter upon him, from March to the middle of June. These had each of them twelve-pence a day, besides free quarters ; which amounts to £756. By those hardships Corsack was obliged to leave his house and wander up and down ; and upon his hiding, he lost his horse, worth £100, and was seized himself and imprisoned for some time. The loss of his household stuff, victual, and most part of his sheep, cannot be well reckoned. When they had turned his lady and children out of doors, they fell next upon his tenants, and obliged them to bring them in sheep, lambs, meal, and malt, till they were well nigh ruined. And last of all, they drove all his oxen and black cattle to Glasgow, and sold them.—And all this for nothing else but precise nonconformity!! After all this oppression, of which I have before me an attested account, the reader can scarce wonder that he and many others in like circumstances took hold on the first opportunity that offered to complain of, and relieve themselves from these calamities."—Wodrow, vol. i. p. 258.

that wicked declaration against the covenant, the apparent temptation of the time, and the very mark of antichristian prelacy.

“ All that I have is but little, but if I had many worlds, I would lay them all down, as now I do my life, for Christ and his cause ; nothing doubting but the Lord will abundantly provide for my wife and my six children, whom I commit to the Lord’s care, and recommend to the kindness and prayers of the faithful ;* and do lay an express charge on my wife that she show all my children, that I have bound them all to the covenant, for which now I lay down my life, and that she lay it upon them as my last command, that they adhere to every article thereof.

“ The work and people of God are brought very low ; it may be, because they were not ripe for a deliverance ; and for the greater trial, and filling up of the cup of the adversaries : or, because there was little, or less prayer than should have been amongst those who appeared at this time, that the Lord hath made this late breach. But, dear friends, be not therefore tempted to call in question the work of reformation ; or to think the worse of Christ and his cause, because of sufferings ; nor be discouraged because these few who took their lives in their hands, fell before the adversary ; for as sufferings are often sweetened by the Spirit of God and glory that resteth upon the sufferers, and afterward bring forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that are exercised thereby ; so the Lord will arise in due time, and have mercy upon Zion, and plead the cause which is

* His “ wife and children,” alas ! were for long exposed to a continuance of the distresses in which he himself had so largely participated. “ His lady,” says Wodrow, “ being in Edinburgh, after her husband’s death, Maxwell of Milton came to the house of Corsack with thirty men, and took away every thing that was portable, and destroyed the rest, and turned the family, *and a nurse with a sucking child*, into the fields.” “ Sometime after, Sir William Bannatyne came and inventured any thing that was in the house, seized that year’s crop, and arrested the rest in the tenants’ hands. The same Sir William, a little after, came and took lodging, with 30 horse, in Corsack, till the lady gave him a bond, with two neighbour gentlemen cautioners, for 300 merks. The said gentlewoman had all her moveables seized for her converse with her own son, who had been inter-communed, and paid near a hundred pounds. In the year 1680, her son was forfeited merely for noncompareance ; and in a year or two, by Claverhouse’s troop and others, she lost and expended, on vexatious suits, upwards of £400. Her eldest son, for three years, was forced to wander and hide in Ireland. In the year 1684, she and her son being cited to account for not hearing the curate, her son was imprisoned for some months, and fined in 200 merks. And still forward, until the liberty in 1687, this excellent gentlewoman was vexed with parties of soldiers, and compareance before courts, which put her to great trouble and much charges.”—[Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 258, 259.] And is it therefore to be supposed that the prayers of Neilson were unheard, or that his confidence on her account, and on that of his children, in the kindness and care of Providence, was unfounded or misplaced ? No. Amidst all these distresses, it may be that they inherited the choicest blessings of heaven ; that the peace of God, which passeth understanding, kept their hearts—that in the midst of their thoughts within them, his spiritual consolations delighted their souls, and that all those calamities, severe as they were, were felt to be preparing them for that better world, “ where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.”

his own : and this testimony, as I am this day to seal with my blood, so I subscribe with my hand :—

JOHN NEILSON of Corsack." *

XV. GEORGE CRAWFORD.

[Of the five prisoners who were condemned on the 14th of December, one, namely, John Lindsay, belonging to Edinburgh, was for the time respited, and eventually obtained a reprieve. The remaining four were, —Robertson and Neilson, the authors of the foregoing testimonies, John Gordon of Irongray parish, who does not seem to have left one ; and George Crawford from the parish of Cumnock, where it is probable he joined the insurgents in their march to Lanark ; whose testimony is as follows. It seems to be the production of a plain but respectable man, who understood and had weighed the principles which he owned and acted upon.]

“ Seeing I am to die after this manner, I lay before you this testimony, which I avow before God, and leave behind me to the world.

“ That which moved me to come along with these men, was their persuasion, and my desire to help them (which, with a safe conscience, I could not well refuse,) who, being tyrannically oppressed by the prelates and their dependants and upholders, and seeing no other way was left to be taken, took up arms for their own defence ; and if this be rebellion, I leave it to the great God, the supreme Judge, to discern : for in my weak judgment, I found it warrantable from the word of God, and without prejudice of the king's authority (whom I pray God to direct and guide in the right ways of the Lord, and to make him prosper therein, so that he may be surely set in his kingdom, having him whom no enemy can resist, to defend him,) seeing there was nothing intended by us, against his, or any other's, just and lawful authority.

“ But that which was my principal and chief design, was giving my poor assistance to the rooting out of the prelates and prelacy, and all such as are come into God's vineyard without the Master's commission, these hirelings who came not in at the true door, Jesus Christ, but have climbed up some other way, as thieves and robbers, whose voice the sheep know not ; (all which is too sadly confirmed by the dreadful and horrid sins that are risen in the land, and the curses and plagues that have followed thereupon,) that so, by taking away these, the abuses which proceed from them, and the sad consequences which follow their standing or falling with them, the covenant of God might be re-established, and true pastors that were silenced, might be set at liberty, their mouths opened, and they themselves put to the keeping of their flocks, and all other such persons, who were banished, or any other way under suffering, relieved.

“ And I do adhere to the way of church government sworn to in the covenant, which I think and assert to be conform to God's word ;

* Naphtali, pp. 322—325.

which, with his Spirit directing, is the only pattern and judge in all controversies: and however our endeavours at this time have not been successful, it is of the Lord, who will come in his own time, for he can do as well with a few as with many; but it is like, the cup of the adversaries is not full: and who knoweth, but the Lord God of hosts will hiss for the bee of Egypt, and the fly of Assyria, who will be more cruel and bloodthirsty than we were, to avenge the quarrel of his own people, and to make way for the establishing of his own cause. I say no more, but as I was willing to hazard my life for this cause, so I am ready to lay it down at my Master's feet, seeing he calls for it: and I pray the Almighty, to send his Spirit of consolation promised by his Son to his own people to strengthen them and bear them through, till the appointed time of the Lord's coming with deliverance: for he will come for his own cause, and for his people's sake, and will not tarry.

GEORGE CRAWFORD.*

XVI. HUGH M'KAIL

[It is scarcely possible to conceive a case more deeply affecting than that of this youthful martyr. Having finished his education, he was taken on trials, and licensed as a preacher in 1661, when only twenty years of age. After officiating several times, much to the benefit and gratification of those who heard him, he was called to preach in the great church of Edinburgh on the Sabbath immediately preceding the day fixed for the arbitrary removal of its ministers. And having in his sermon been led to remark, that "the people of God had been persecuted by a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church," he was thought to have alluded to the then rulers; and a party was sent next day to apprehend him. He escaped, however; and concealed himself for about four years. The people in the south and west being at length roused in defence of their rights, he joined them so early as the 18th November. But at last worn out, and rendered useless through fatigue, he was in the act of leaving them in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, on the 27th of that month, when, unhappily, he was taken and lodged in prison. After being again and again examined, he was, along with Neilson of Corsack, subjected to the torture of the boots, on the 4th of December. On the 18th he was arraigned with other eight for the crime of rebellion, and, being found guilty, was executed on the 22d of that month, in company with five of these, the others being reprieved.]

1. HIS SAYINGS IN PRISON.

During his abode in prison, the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fear of death, and to dispel all these overcloudings of terror, unto which the frailty of flesh and blood hath sometimes exposed the best of men; and also in assisting him in

* Naphtali, pp. 325—327.

prayer and praises, to the admiration of all his hearers, especially on the Thursday's night, December 20th, whereon being set at supper with his fellow-prisoners and his father, and one or two besides, he requested his fellow-prisoners, saying merrily, "Eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may all be a fat Christmas-pye to the prelates." After supper, in thanksgiving, he burst forth in blessing God, that had made him such a fool as to come to that prison; and after many gracious words, continued saying, "Many crosses have come in our way, and wrought but weakly upon us, but here is a cross that hath done more good than all the many that befell us before." Then lamenting the condition of the church of God, with much earnestness, he used that exclamation in the last of Daniel, "What, Lord, shall be the end of these wonders!"

The last night of his life, being Friday, December 21st, he proposed and answered himself several questions, to the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners, and great refreshing of all his hearers. As,

1. He inquired, "How should he, going from the tolbooth through a multitude of gazing people and guards of soldiers, to a scaffold and gibbet, overcome the impression of all these?" To which he answered, "By conceiving a deeper impression of a multitude of angels, who are also on-lookers; according to that, 'We are a gazing-stock to the world, angels, and men:' for the angels rejoicing at our good confession, are present to convey and carry our souls, as the soul of Lazarus, unto Abraham's bosom; not to receive them, for that is Jesus Christ's work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himself, with the songs of angels and blessed spirits; but the angels are ministering spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen all dying believers: and as Stephen saw the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, who then said, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;' so," said he, "do I believe that Jesus Christ is also ready to receive the souls of his dying sufferers."

2. He inquired, "What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are hasting unto it, seeing the word saith, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him?'" Whereunto he answered, "That the scripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven. The first is, by way of similitude, as in Rev. xxi. where heaven is held forth, by the representation of a glorious city, there described; and, in the same place, it is also termed the bride; but O! how unlike are these two, a bride and a city! which doth clearly evidence the insufficiency and vast disproportion of all such similitudes; and therefore," he added, "the scripture furnishes yet a more excellent way to conceive of heaven; and that is, 1st, By conceiving the love of Christ to us, even what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and immenseness of that love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, which is also the highest and sweetest motive of praise:—'Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God, and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.'—2d, By holding forth the love of the saints to Jesus Christ, and teaching

us to love him in sincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven:—Rev. v. 12. ‘Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.’ And no other thing than the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ, can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven.”

The last words which he spoke at supper, were in the commendation of *love* above *knowledge*, saying, “O but notions of knowledge without love, are of small worth, evanishing in nothing, and very dangerous.” After supper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16th Psalm, and his first words thereafter were, “If there were any thing in this world sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the scriptures:—‘I said, I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord, in the land of the living,’ but this needs not make us sad; for where we go, the Lamb is the book of scripture, and the light of that city, and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and living springs.” To this he added many excellent observations, and making mention of the 23d verse of the 31st Psalm, “O love the Lord, all ye his saints,” added, “That where love was, it was so operative, that it made flesh spirit, and where it was not, there spirit was made flesh:” thereafter he sung a part of the same Psalm.

Supper being ended, he calls, smilingly, for a pen, saying, “it was to write his testament,” wherein he only ordered some few books, which he had, to be re-delivered to several persons.

He went to bed a little after eleven o’clock, and having slept well till five in the morning, he arose and called to his comrade, John Wodrow, saying pleasantly, “Up, John, for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going this day to be hanged, seeing we lie so long.” Thereafter he said to him, in the words of Isaiah, xlii. 24. “‘Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? Did not the Lord, he against whom we have sinned, for they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto his law.’ And I think, John,” said he, “I have not known, nor do I lay it to heart, as is said in the end of the 25th verse. But, John,” said he, “for all this be not afraid, but read the xliii. chap. ver. 1, 2. for all will go well with us.” John said to him, “You and I will be chambered shortly in heaven, beside Mr. Robertson.” He answered, “I fear, John, you bar me out, because you was more free before the council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the scaffold.” Before breakfast, he said, “he had got a clear ray of the majesty of the Lord after his awaking, but it was a little again overclouded.” Thereafter he prayed, and attested the Lord, “that he had devoted himself to the service of God in the ministry of the Lord Jesus, and the edification of souls, very early;” adding, “Albeit, I have not been so with my God, yet ‘thou hast made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure; this is all my desire,’ joy, ‘and salvation, albeit thou make me not a house to grow. Now, Lord, we come to thy throne, a place we have not been acquainted with; earthly kings’ thrones have advocates against poor men, but thy throne hath Jesus, an advocate for us. Our supplication

this day, is not to be free of death, nor of pain in death, but that we may witness before many witnesses, a good confession."

His father coming to him that morning to bid him farewell, his last words to him were, after prayer and a little discourse, "That his suffering would do more hurt to the prelates, and be more edifying to the Lord's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry for twenty years." And then he desired his father to leave him, else he would but trouble him. "And I desire it of you," said he, "as the best and last service you can do me, to go to your chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with me on that scaffold; for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end."

About two o'clock in the afternoon, he was carried to the scaffold, with other five that suffered with him; where he appeared, to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, with a fairer, better, and more stayed countenance than ever they had before observed. Being come to the foot of the ladder, he directed his speech northward to the multitude; and premising, "That as his years in the world had been but few, so his words at that time should not be many," he spoke to the people the following testimony, which he had before written and subscribed.*

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"Being by a great surprisal of providence, thus staged before the world, in a matter of so universal concernment to all that fear God, and desire to be stedfast in his covenant, I could not forbear to leave behind me this standing testimony, concerning the occasion and uses thereof, for the glory of God, and the vindication of my profession from the aspersions cast thereon by men, and the edification of these by my death, to whom I had devoted my life in the work of the ministry.

"I have esteemed the government of this church by presbytery, to be among the chief of the ordinances of Jesus Christ, which by his blood he has purchased, and ascended up on high to bestow as a gift upon it; as being the very gospel ministry in its simplicity and purity from the inventions of men, and so the mean by which other ordinances are administered, and the most fundamental truths made effectual in the hearts of his people, and therefore that it ought with that same carefulness to be contended for. Experience, both of the having and wanting of it, hath given it this epistle of commendation, so that it may be both known and read of all men: which is also true of the solemn engagements of the nation thereto, by the national covenant, the solemn league and covenant, which I have esteemed in their rise and renewing, pregnant performances of that promise, Isa. xlv. 5. where it is evident, that where church reformations come to any maturity, they arrive at this degree of saying, 'I am the Lord's; and subscribing with the hand unto the Lord.' So was it in the days of

* Naphtali, pp. 341—345.

the reforming kings of Judah, and after the restoration from the captivity in the days of Nehemiah. This same promise did the Lord Jesus make yea and amen to us, when he redeemed us from spiritual Babylon; which is so much the greater evidence, that these were the very motions of God's Spirit in our first reformers, that they were expressly designed against the greatest motions of the spirit of darkness in antichrist and his supporters, and against the greatest confirmations that ever these abominations attained by the decrees of the council of Trent, and that bloody bond called the Holy League. And therefore, whatever indignity is done unto these covenants, I do esteem to be no less than doing despite unto the Spirit of grace in his most eminent exerting of himself, but especially, declaring against the same as flowing from a spirit of sedition and rebellion, to be a sin of the same nature with theirs, who ascribed Christ's casting out of devils to Beelzebub; and that, with this aggravation, that these Scribes and Pharisees came never the length of professing Christ, and submitting themselves to him and his ways.*

“ But we are condemned to death upon the account of this covenant, for adhering to the duties therein sworn to, by such as once did as much themselves as we have done, and some of them more than some of us: which considerations have moved me to great fears of God's wrath against the land, according to the curse that we are bound under, if we should break that covenant, and in the fear of it, many times to pour out my soul before the Lord; and as soon as I heard of a party up in arms in behalf of the covenant, (all other doors being shut, whereby the redress of the manifest violations of it might be obtained; and these by manifest and unheard of violence obtruded upon others to go along with them,) being bound by that covenant against detestable indifferency and neutrality in this matter, and to esteem every injury, done to any engaged in this covenant upon account of it, as done to myself:—very conscience of duty urged me to this against some reluctancy of fear of what might follow. Upon the same reasons, at Lanark, with the rest I declared my adherence to the cove-

* In one sense it may be said, that whatever opposes his work in the world—the progress of truth and the triumphs of the Redeemer's kingdom, is a sin committed against the Holy Spirit of God. In so far then as the covenants were means under providence of promoting and perpetuating genuine Christianity, “ the declaring against them as flowing from a spirit of sedition and rebellion,” might be viewed as a sin *somewhat similar* to, though not perhaps “ of the same nature with theirs, who ascribed Christ's casting out of devils to Beelzebub.” In this latter instance, we have reason to believe there was a special degree of malignity against God, a determined hostility to his truth, combined at the same time with a perception and consciousness of its claims upon their reception, such as is not often exhibited in ordinary instances of infidelity. But yet it is impossible not to remark the resemblance, existing between the circumstances of those, who thus insulted the Saviour to his face and sinned against the Holy Ghost, and of those who, notwithstanding the impressions they must have had of their devotedness and worth, did, with unrelenting severity, exclude from their sacred office, men, whose fidelity and success in ministerial labours, loudly proclaimed them the servants of God—supplying their places with those, whose characters displayed that they were the very reverse.

nant, by my lifting up of my hand, after the articles thereof were read.

“ And here I cannot but with grief of heart acknowledge my fainting in a day of trial, that being engaged with them upon such accounts, I many times in fear designed to withdraw, and at length did, which, as it was the occasion of my falling into the hands of the enemy, so I think among other things it was the cause why God delivered me into their hands. Upon the same fear, in all my examinations, I have denied my engagement with them, and endeavoured to vindicate myself by asserting the real designs I had to part from them, and have utterly cast away the glory of a testimony, which my very being in their company, as a favourer of the ends of the covenant, and as one willing to contribute my best endeavours for the promoting of them, but especially my declaring for the covenant, did bear unto the truth and ordinances of Jesus Christ against this untoward generation: this I confess to be no less than a denying of Jesus Christ, and a being ashamed of his words before men; but I hope the Lord, who remembereth that we are but frail dust, shall not lay it to my charge, and according to his faithfulness and grace will forgive me, who by this public confession, take to myself shame and confusion of face, and fly to the propitiation offered to all sinners in Jesus Christ. And these things as they have procured this death unto me, as an act of God’s justice; so they mind me of other evils in mine own heart, that have been the source of this my unwillingness, to take on Christ’s cross: my heart hath not studied to maintain that spirituality in walking with God, and edifying exemplariness with others, that became one that had received the first-fruits of the Spirit, and aimed at the ministry of the gospel, living in times of so much calamity for the church of God, and particular afflictions as to myself. If I had spent my days in groaning after my house from heaven, would I have shifted so fair occasion of being clothed with it? Alas, that I have loved my Lord and Master Jesus Christ so little! Alas, that I have done so little service to him, that I have so little labour to follow me, to my everlasting rest! This I speak to these especially, with whom I have familiarly conversed in my pilgrimage, that seeing the Lord will not grant me life to testify my real reformation of these things, my acknowledgment at death may have influence upon them, to study not only godliness but the power of it.*

* The inconstancy (if it may be so termed) which Mr. M’Kail regrets so bitterly, throughout the foregoing paragraph, was that exhibited in his declaration before the council, and especially in his supplication of December 11th, entreating an adjournment of his trial, whilst as yet he was writhing under the effects of his late torture—and his petition, after sentence, for the king’s pardon, or a mitigation of punishment. Into this last document, it is proper to observe, that his friends, out of zeal for his life, introduced several expressions which he never sanctioned; and that even with these expressions retained, it does not, in the judgment of charity, present any thing very inconsistent with the most cordial approval of those principles, for which he now was ready to lay down his life. But such was the extreme tenderness of his conscience, and such the ardent desire to glorify God, of which he was now conscious, that *what* might well appear to other men as *venial shortcomings*, prompted by the

“ As I acknowledge that I have not been free and ingenuous in these particulars forementioned, so in other things, wherein I interponed that holy name of God, as to the not being upon the contrivance of this rising in arms, nor privy to any resolution thereanent, nor conscious of any intelligence at home or abroad concerning it, I was most ingenuous : and they have wronged me much, who said that I denied upon oath, that which they were able to make out against me, or knew to be truth ; but none allege perjury against me, but such as are so manifestly guilty of it before the world, that their tongues in such allegements are no slander.

“ Although I be judged and condemned as a rebel amongst men, yet I hope, even in order to this action to be accepted as loyal before God. Nay, there can be no greater act of loyalty to the king, as the times now go, than for every man to do his utmost for the extirpation of that abominable plant of prelacy, which is the bane of the throne, and of the country : which, if it be not done, the throne shall never be established in righteousness, until these wicked be removed from before it. Sure I am, those who are now condemned as rebels against him, by them, are such as have spent much time in prayer for him, and do more sincerely wish his standing, and have endeavoured it more by this late action so much condemned, than the prelates by condemning them to death.

“ This disaster hath heightened greatly the afflictions of our church, and ought to teach all of you to drink the wine of astonishment : ye have not known tribulation till now : now we judge them happy that are fallen asleep, and removed far away, and know that God hath been taking away his servants from the evils that were to come. Know that God's design is, to make many hearts contrite, that have been formerly too whole, and have not lamented sufficiently the removal of his ordinances and ministry, and the reproach rubbed upon the work of reformation. Beware that your sorrow be not a momentary motion of common compassion, that evanisheth, when it may be, there is some intermission in this violent course of shedding innocent blood ; but labour to have a constant impression that may sanctify the heart ; nay, ye should live much in the apprehension of approaching judgment. Certainly the withdrawing of many from us, and not contributing their help to the great work they were engaged to, as well as we ; the general rising against us in many places of the country ; but, above all, this open shedding of the blood of the saints, which involveth the land in the guiltiness of all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the world, have made Scotland fit fuel for the fire of God's wrath. I can say nothing concerning times to come, but this, ‘ All things shall work together for good to them that love God,’ and so this present dispensation. And they shall have most comfort in this promise, who are most willing that such afflictions as we are brought to, be the way that God chooseth to work their good.

love of life, and justifiable even, on the score of duty, were felt by him as *sins* lying heavy upon his heart, and demanding of him, the contrition and acknowledgments which are here expressed.

pure river of water of life, and so forth (reading the passage) ‘where the throne of God is, and the Lamb is in it, where his servants serve him and see his face, and his name is in their foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever;’ and here you see my access to my glory and reward. ‘Let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.’ And here you see also my welcome, ‘The Spirit and the bride say, Come.’” Then he said, “I have one word more to say to my friends, (looking down to the scaffold) Where are you? You need neither lament me nor be ashamed of me in this condition, for I may make use of that expression of Christ, ‘I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God, to your King and my King, to the blessed apostles and martyrs, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant;’ and so I bid you all farewell: for God will be more comfortable to you than I could be; and he will also now be more refreshing to me than you can be: farewell, farewell in the Lord!” Then the napkin being put on his face, he prayed a space within himself, after which he put up the cloth from his face, with his own hand, and said, “He had one word more to say, and that was to show them the comfort he had in his death,” saying, “I hope you perceive no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage, and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it as a wonder to myself, and I will tell you the reason of it: besides the justness of my cause, this is my comfort, which was said of Lazarus when he died, that ‘the angels did carry his soul into Abraham’s bosom;’ so, that as there is a great solemnity here, of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and people looking out of windows; so is there a greater and more solemn preparation in heaven of angels to carry my soul to Christ’s bosom. Again, this is my comfort, that it is to come into Christ’s hands, and he will present it blameless and faultless to the Father, and ‘then shall I be ever with the Lord.’ And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord! and now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars. Welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; welcome death.” Then he desired the executioner not to turn him over, until he should himself put over his shoulders, which, after praying a little within himself, he did, saying, “O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit: for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth!” Thus in the 26th year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.*

* Naphtali, pp. 341—356.

XVII. JOHN WODROW.

[With respect to this person, who was imprisoned in the same room with Mr. M'Kail, and suffered along with him, very little information has come down to us. It appears he was a merchant in Glasgow, and had probably joined the insurgents during their progress through Ayrshire, or at Lanark. He seems at all events to have been cordial in the cause which they had in view to promote; and, as has been observed, has expressed himself in regard to it with a degree of propriety and force not to be expected from his education or condition in life. His *last words* consist in a letter to his wife, written on December 22d, being the day of his death, and the testimony delivered by him upon the scaffold.]

1. HIS LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

“My heart,—Reverence the good providence of the Lord our God, who can do nothing wrong; for whatsoever he doth is well done, and my soul saith, Amen. I had not a will of my own, my heart, since that day wherein you and I parted, my Lord and my God captivated it, and brought it to a submission unto his will: I bless him for evermore for it, that I was never left to my own will: praise, O praise him all ye living! and O thou, my soul, praise the Lord for it. I bless the Lord for evermore, that ever he visited my father's family, that ever he condescended to come unto my father's family, and to give a visit to the like of me: he visited me there, and set his love upon me, and hath chosen me for this very end, to be a witness for his covenanted reformation. For this my soul is glad, and my glory rejoiceth for this honour, wherewith he hath honoured me; and that, though I be condemned to die by men on earth, yet am I justified of God through the blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ, who standeth in our nature in heaven, and hath made me free through his imputed righteousness, made over unto me, in which I stand for ever: and within a few hours I shall see him in peace, as I am seen of him, and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore, even that most glorious excellency which is in him! All that which is spoken of him is but little: O my heart, my dear love, come and see, I beseech you! I thought I had known something of my dearest Lord before, that I had some love from and to him before, but never was it so with me, as it hath been with me since I came within the doors of this prison; many a precious visit hath his gracious Majesty given unto me. He is without all comparison; O love, love him! O come to him: O taste and see, and that shall resolve the question best. The thing I suffer for is the covenanted reformation. I bless God, and all that is within me doth bless and magnify his holy name for this, that Scotland did ever enter into a covenant with the Lord, into a sworn covenant, with the hand lifted up to the Lord: and I have now sworn and renewed this covenant again for myself, and you, and my four children, in all the parts and points thereof; and I pray, God help you to abide in the covenant for ever!

“ And now I give you and my four children unto the Lord, and commit you to him as your covenanted God and Husband, and my children’s covenanted Father. I say no more, but either study to be indeed a sincere Christian, and seeker of his face in sincerity, or else you will be nothing at all. I recommend you and your young ones to him who is God all-sufficient, and aboundeth in mercy and love to them that love him, and keep his covenant. The blessing of the covenant be upon you, so fare you well. So saith your loving and dying husband,

JOHN WODROW.*

2. HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

“ Dear friends,—I am condemned to die. I shall say little concerning men who have judged and condemned me, they are to answer to God for it; but I bless the Lord, who hath counted me worthy to die for so good and honourable a cause. And that I be not mistaken after I am gone hence, I have thought fit to testify, that in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came into the service, not constrained, but from conscience of my being engaged by covenant to God, and with a full purpose to perform my vows made in that covenant unto the Lord, in the strength of Jesus Christ; and that I might endeavour to restore again the precious ordinances to their former purity and power, and to recover the fair church in this land (which our blessed Lord hath purchased to himself, and bought at so dear a rate) to her former beauty, which is now defaced: and particularly to bring down that antichristian prelacy, and that perjured crew of prelates, who have so perfidiously wronged the interests of our blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. This is the only cause for which I undertook this service, and joined with others my dear and covenanted brethren; and that I had no intention to wrong the king’s person or authority, but to seek his real good, according to my duty in the word of God, and also as I swore in the same covenant wherein I did swear against prelacy. And notwithstanding I be condemned of men as a rebel, yet I am justified of God, my God and Father, in and through my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who giveth me sweet peace of conscience and joy of heart: I grant it is not enough to justify me before him, that I had a just cause, unless likewise I had therewith the acceptation of my person through faith in the merits of Jesus Christ,† who standeth in our nature in heaven, which I dare declare this day as a dying man, that I have obtained; for I am confident

* Naphtali, pp. 360—362.

† Perhaps to some into whose hands this volume may fall, the statement here made may seem to require explanation. Let it then be observed, that it is in complete consistency with the acknowledged principles of revealed truth, to inculcate the necessity of the Mediator’s righteousness towards the acceptance on the part of God, of even our best and most laudable actions. Hence says the apostle, “ whatsoever is not of faith, is sin,” thereby intimating, that, without faith in Christ, and the consequent acceptance of our persons in and through him, all our actions, however excellent in themselves, must be destitute of value in the sight of God.

that through his righteousness made over unto me, he hath made me free, in which I shall stand for ever; and that within a few hours I shall see him in peace, as I am seen of him; and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore that most glorious excellency of his. And this yieldeth to me great consolation in all my extremities, were they never so great; this, I say, is my peace and consolation this day, even Christ my righteousness, who hath both accepted my person and cause: therefore I count it a small thing to be judged and condemned of men, for my testimony is on high, and my record in heaven.

“ And now, my friends, I am condemned to die for adhering to my covenant made with God, for reformation of religion and conversation, to which all ranks of the land are bound as well as I, though many (alas! too many) shaking off all fear of God, have despised the oath, not only by breaking the covenant, but by professing and declaring avowedly the bond thereof null, and not binding, either to their own or other men's consciences: and this mischief is framed by a law, which doth greatly heighten the sin; ‘ O! tell it not in Gath, and publish it not in Askelon.’ Oh! that this should be heard of amongst papists and pagans, that professed reformed protestants should stand in so little awe of a solemn oath, and name of the great and living God.

“ But I exhort and obtest you all, that so much the more as others have made void his covenant, you would esteem it the more precious, and closely follow the reformation vowed, in every article thereof, upon all occasions given you of the Lord; and that you abhor, detest, and refuse any engagement whatsoever, that may wrong your oath in the covenant directly or indirectly, as ye would escape the wrath of God that is coming on such breaking of covenant; but rather choose the greatest extremity of affliction, than the least sin of this sort; as Moses did, who refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, but chose rather to suffer reproach for Christ: and be not afraid of suffering for Christ, as though it were an evil thing, neither scar ye at his cross, for the Lord himself saith, ‘ My yoke is easy, and my burden light;’ yea, it is lighter to us, than to many that stand by: believe it, faith maketh all burdens light to the believing sufferer.

“ And now I beseech you believers in Christ, abide in him, bring forth fruit unto holiness, and study tenderness in all manner of conversation, and holiness, ‘ without which no man shall see the Lord;’ and let not this profane and mocking generation have any thing to reproach you with, but that whereof you would not be ashamed; that when you suffer, ye may not suffer as evil-doers, that whereas they speak evil of you, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ. It is not knowledge, nor a bare profession, that glorifieth God, but tenderness, holiness, and righteousness, that do commend religion and his cause to all men, and shall convince your adversaries of their wickedness in wronging you, and make them the more inexcusable in that day when they shall be judged: yea, what know ye, but ye may win others, by your tender and good conversation?

“ I recommend to you, that ye would be much and fervent in the

use of that precious duty of prayer, wherein most near communion with God upon earth is to be found: be much in prayer with and for others. 'Forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is,' (I wish they may see the evil of it who neglect it) 'but exhort one another, and so much the more, as you see the day approaching'.—Earnestness and diligence will hasten the Lord's coming with relief unto you, and to the Lord's borne-down work; and your slackness in this, may make the wheels of his chariot to move the more slowly. For, the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much with God; it will do more than armies of men and weapons of war for your defence and deliverance.

"I beseech you also, my dear friends, that you acquaint yourselves with the word of God in the holy scripture, that ye may have acquaintance with Jesus Christ, who is clearly set forth therein; that ye may know him in his excellency, and come to love and believe in him whom ye know; that ye may be acquainted with his revealed will therein, and may know what is true, and cleave fast thereto, from a sure persuasion that it hath the warrant of his word; and may be guarded against every error of the wicked, and that ye may fully know what is good and what is evil: and that ye may suffer with confidence, when ye are brought forth thereto as I am.

"Finally, my dear friends, be ye perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

JOHN WODROW.*

XVIII. RALPH SHIELDS.

[This person, as is evident from the tenor of the following testimony, was by birth an Englishman. Having come to Scotland in the prosecution of his worldly employment, he seems to have settled in Ayr, and to have practised the trade of a clothier. It is probable he joined the covenanters whilst in that neighbourhood; and it must be obvious from his own words, that he did so from the most cordial acquiescence in their principles. He was one of the five who suffered along with Mr. M'Kail on the 22d of December, 1666. The following is the testimony which he declared on the occasion.]

"My Friends,—I am come here to die, and I thank God it is not for evil-doing, that I now suffer: although I be charged with rebellion against the king's authority, yet I declare before God and you all, that in all this matter, I never intended to wrong his majesty's just power and greatness, but for conscience' sake, did respect authority as the ordinance of God, appointed for the punishment of evil-doers, and that I wish his majesty all welfare both in this life, and the world to

* Naphtali, pp. 356—362.

come; and that it may be his happiness to consider his obligations to God and perform the same, that so it may be well with him and his posterity to many generations; and I pray to God make him a friend to his cause, and the truly godly who own the same, though falsely called fanatics or turbulent persons.

“I declare I have such persuasion of the interest of religion reformed, and sworn unto in the covenant, that I dare venture not only to lay down my own life, but if every hair of my head were a man, they should all be put to venture for this cause: I would not have the world to stumble at the cause, because of my death after this manner; for I rejoice greatly in it: and I desire every good Christian, as they tender their own souls' good, that they would grip fast, lay hold on, and cleave to Jesus Christ and his way.

“My coming out at this time, I say, was not against his majesty, but for the covenant which is now trodden under foot; my intention was for the cause of Christ: I take God to witness, it was nothing else I came out for, and for that I am free to lay down my life.

“I bless God I am much encouraged in this, and not at all afraid to die for so good and clear a cause; and I hope, he will bring me through all my difficulties in this dark shadow of death: I hope I have the peace of a good conscience, and have had some glimpses from Jesus Christ, of his countenance and reconciled face, since I came into this prison; for which, I desire to bless his name with all my soul, heart, and spirit. And I rejoice that he has made use of me to suffer for his cause; and I think it too little, not only to lay down my body, but (if it were possible) even my very soul at the stake for that cause, and for Jesus Christ my good and kind Master, who hath loved me, and given himself for me. I give the Lord thanks that I had some of his presence since I came into this condition: and again I say, I am much encouraged and not afraid to die, and bless him that I die not as a murderer, or evil-doer, or rebel against authority, but for such a cause as this.

“O that it were the happiness of my nation of England, once to subject themselves unto the sweet yoke of Christ's reformed government, under which this nation of Scotland hath enjoyed so much of the power and life of the gospel, by a faithful ministry, according to the covenant sworn by them both!

“And now, my dear friends in Christ, and fellow-covenanters, though I be a stranger in this land, being an Englishman, but trysted by providence in the prosecution of my calling, to have my residence for a time here in Scotland, (which I look upon, as a singular evidence of God's special love to me) though I be a stranger, I say, to many of you, yet I must be bold, as a dying friend, to beseech you, by the mercy of God, and by your appearance before Jesus Christ, when we shall have to do with none but him as our Judge, that ye be faithful and stedfast in the cause of God, and the covenant which ye have sworn with hands lifted up to the most high God, which no power on earth can loose you from, and that ye keep you from snares unto the contrary, and not suffer yourselves to fall into a detestable neutrality and indifferency in the cause of God; especially that ye keep yourselves

“ Commit wholly the management of all matters to God, and make it your entire study, night and day, to keep your very garments clean : it is hard in times of so general corruptions not to be defiled one way or other ; be free of the sins as ye would be of the judgments, which will certainly be such as will make ‘ all the churches know, that God is the searcher of the hearts, and trier of the reins,’ Rev. ii. 23. and so will not be mocked by these pretences, whereby men colour their going along in an evil course, from the real love that they have to a present world. If simple presence amongst them who are esteemed rebels by men, be sufficient to engage them in the crime and punishment, (for that is all the ground of my condemnation,) shall not God be much more zealous of his own glory, against all who so much as seem to go along with this course of backsliding.

“ As a good mean and encouragement, to all the duties of our time, labour to be rooted and grounded in the love of Jesus Christ ; this will be tender of any thing, that may have the least reflection upon him, his words or works, and will prompt the soul to zealous appearing for him at the greatest hazard, and to as much willingness to die for him, as to live that they may glorify him. And for the encouragement of you all in this matter, I do declare, that ever since the day of my coming into prison, God hath kept my soul free from all amazement or fear of death ; that since my indictment and sentence, God hath so manifested himself at several times, that he hath lifted up my soul above prelates, principalities, and powers, death, and hell, to rejoice and be glad in his salvation ; and from my soul to account him worthy, for whom, in this his cause, I should undergo the greatest shame or pain ; and to the assured hopes of eternal communion with him in heaven : and that nothing hath more brangled my peace, than shifting an open and free testimony before my examiners, to the work that I was engaged in.

“ I do freely pardon all that have accession to my blood, and wish that it be not laid to the charge of this sinful land, but that God would grant repentance to our rulers, that they may obtain the same reconciliation with him, whereof I myself do partake. Truly, I believe many of them, if not instigated by the cruel prelates, (at whose door our blood doth principally lie) would have used more mitigation : but that reluctancy of mind to shed blood, will be so far from vindicating of them, that, upon the contrary, it will be a witness against them in the day of the Lord.

“ I heartily submit myself to death, as that which God hath appointed to all men because of sin, and to this particular way of it, as deserved by my particular sins. I praise God for this fatherly chastisement, whereby he hath made me in part, and will make me perfectly partaker of his holiness. I glorify him that called me forth to suffer for his name and ordinances, and the solemn engagements of the land to him, and that he hath taken this way to take me away from the evil to come. The Lord bless all his poor afflicted groaning people that are behind.

“ Hereafter, I will not talk with flesh and blood, nor think on the world’s consolations : farewell all my friends, whose company hath

been refreshful to me in my pilgrimage ; I have done with the light of the sun and moon. Welcome eternal life, everlasting love, everlasting praise, everlasting glory ! Praise to him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever ! Though I have not been so with thee as I ought to have been in the house of my pilgrimage, yet ' thou hast made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure : and this is all my salvation, and all my desire.' Bless the Lord, O my soul ! that hath pardoned all mine iniquities in the blood of his Son, and healed all my diseases ! ' Bless him, O all ye his angels that excel in strength, ye ministers that do his pleasure ! Bless the Lord, O my soul !' Hallelujah !

Sic Sub.—HUGH M'KAIL.*

" Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Dec. 22d, 1666."

3. HIS LAST WORDS.

Having done speaking to the people, who heard him with great attention, he sung a part of the 31st Psalm, and then prayed with such power and fervency, as forced many to weep bitterly. Having ended, he gave his cloak and hat from him ; and when he turned himself, and took hold of the ladder to go up, he said with an audible voice, " I care no more to go up this ladder, and over it, than if I were going home to my father's house : " and as he went up, hearing a great noise amongst the people, he called down to his fellow-sufferers, saying, " Friends and fellow-sufferers, be not afraid, every step of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven." Then having seated himself thereon, he said, " I do partly believe, that the nobles, counsellors, and rulers of the land, would have used some mitigation of this punishment, had they not been instigated by the prelates ; so our blood lies principally at the prelates' door. But this is my comfort now, that ' I know my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth, and though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold', pointing to his eyes, ' and not another, though my reins be consumed in me.' And now I do willingly lay down my life for the truth and cause of God, the covenant, and work of reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation. And it is for endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate that bitter root of prelacy, that I embrace this rope," (the executioner putting the rope about his neck.) Then hearing the people weep, he said, " Your work is not to weep, but to pray that we may be honourably borne through ; and blessed be the Lord, that supports me : now, as I have been beholden to the prayers and kindness of many since my imprisonment and sentence, so I hope you will not be wanting to me now, in this last step of my journey, that I may witness a good confession : and that you may know the ground of my encouragement in this work, and what my hope is, I will read to you the last chapter of the Bible : " and having read it, he said, " Here you see the glory that is to be revealed upon me, ' a

* Naphtali, pp. 349—356.

pure river of water of life, and so forth (reading the passage) ‘where the throne of God is, and the Lamb is in it, where his servants serve him and see his face, and his name is in their foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever;’ and here you see my access to my glory and reward. ‘Let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.’ And here you see also my welcome, ‘The Spirit and the bride say, Come.’” Then he said, “I have one word more to say to my friends, (looking down to the scaffold) Where are you? You need neither lament me nor be ashamed of me in this condition, for I may make use of that expression of Christ, ‘I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God, to your King and my King, to the blessed apostles and martyrs, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant;’ and so I bid you all farewell: for God will be more comfortable to you than I could be; and he will also now be more refreshing to me than you can be: farewell, farewell in the Lord!” Then the napkin being put on his face, he prayed a space within himself, after which he put up the cloth from his face, with his own hand, and said, “He had one word more to say, and that was to show them the comfort he had in his death,” saying, “I hope you perceive no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage, and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it as a wonder to myself, and I will tell you the reason of it: besides the justness of my cause, this is my comfort, which was said of Lazarus when he died, that ‘the angels did carry his soul into Abraham’s bosom;’ so, that as there is a great solemnity here, of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and people looking out of windows; so is there a greater and more solemn preparation in heaven of angels to carry my soul to Christ’s bosom. Again, this is my comfort, that it is to come into Christ’s hands, and he will present it blameless and faultless to the Father, and ‘then shall I be ever with the Lord.’ And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord! and now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars. Welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; welcome death.” Then he desired the executioner not to turn him over, until he should himself put over his shoulders, which, after praying a little within himself, he did, saying, “O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit: for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth!” Thus in the 26th year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.*

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JOHN WODROW.*

2. HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

“ Dear friends,—I am condemned to die. I shall say little concerning men who have judged and condemned me, they are to answer to God for it; but I bless the Lord, who hath counted me worthy to die for so good and honourable a cause. And that I be not mistaken after I am gone hence, I have thought fit to testify, that in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came into the service, not constrained, but from conscience of my being engaged by covenant to God, and with a full purpose to perform my vows made in that covenant unto the Lord, in the strength of Jesus Christ; and that I might endeavour to restore again the precious ordinances to their former purity and power, and to recover the fair church in this land (which our blessed Lord hath purchased to himself, and bought at so dear a rate) to her former beauty, which is now defaced: and particularly to bring down that antichristian prelacy, and that perjured crew of prelates, who have so perfidiously wronged the interests of our blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. This is the only cause for which I undertook this service, and joined with others my dear and covenanted brethren; and that I had no intention to wrong the king’s person or authority, but to seek his real good, according to my duty in the word of God, and also as I swore in the same covenant wherein I did swear against prelacy. And notwithstanding I be condemned of men as a rebel, yet I am justified of God, my God and Father, in and through my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who giveth me sweet peace of conscience and joy of heart: I grant it is not enough to justify me before him, that I had a just cause, unless likewise I had therewith the acceptation of my person through faith in the merits of Jesus Christ,† who standeth in our nature in heaven, which I dare declare this day as a dying man, that I have obtained; for I am confident

* Naphtali, pp. 360—362.

† Perhaps to some into whose hands this volume may fall, the statement here made may seem to require explanation. Let it then be observed, that it is in complete consistency with the acknowledged principles of revealed truth, to inculcate the necessity of the Mediator’s righteousness towards the acceptance on the part of God, of even our best and most laudable actions. Hence says the apostle, “ whatsoever is not of faith, is sin,” thereby intimating, that, without faith in Christ, and the consequent acceptance of our persons in and through him, all our actions, however excellent in themselves, must be destitute of value in the sight of God.

that through his righteousness made over unto me, he hath made me free, in which I shall stand for ever; and that within a few hours I shall see him in peace, as I am seen of him; and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore that most glorious excellency of his. And this yieldeth to me great consolation in all my extremities, were they never so great; this, I say, is my peace and consolation this day, even Christ my righteousness, who hath both accepted my person and cause: therefore I count it a small thing to be judged and condemned of men, for my testimony is on high, and my record in heaven.

“ And now, my friends, I am condemned to die for adhering to my covenant made with God, for reformation of religion and conversation, to which all ranks of the land are bound as well as I, though many (alas! too many) shaking off all fear of God, have despised the oath, not only by breaking the covenant, but by professing and declaring avowedly the bond thereof null, and not binding, either to their own or other men's consciences: and this mischief is framed by a law, which doth greatly heighten the sin; ‘ O! tell it not in Gath, and publish it not in Askelon.’ Oh! that this should be heard of amongst papists and pagans, that professed reformed protestants should stand in so little awe of a solemn oath, and name of the great and living God.

“ But I exhort and obtest you all, that so much the more as others have made void his covenant, you would esteem it the more precious, and closely follow the reformation vowed, in every article thereof, upon all occasions given you of the Lord; and that you abhor, detest, and refuse any engagement whatsoever, that may wrong your oath in the covenant directly or indirectly, as ye would escape the wrath of God that is coming on such breaking of covenant; but rather choose the greatest extremity of affliction, than the least sin of this sort; as Moses did, who refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, but chose rather to suffer reproach for Christ: and be not afraid of suffering for Christ, as though it were an evil thing, neither scar ye at his cross, for the Lord himself saith, ‘ My yoke is easy, and my burden light;’ yea, it is lighter to us, than to many that stand by: believe it, faith maketh all burdens light to the believing sufferer.

“ And now I beseech you believers in Christ, abide in him, bring forth fruit unto holiness, and study tenderness in all manner of conversation, and holiness, ‘ without which no man shall see the Lord;’ and let not this profane and mocking generation have any thing to reproach you with, but that whereof you would not be ashamed; that when you suffer, ye may not suffer as evil-doers, that whereas they speak evil of you, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ. It is not knowledge, nor a bare profession, that glorifieth God, but tenderness, holiness, and righteousness, that do commend religion and his cause to all men, and shall convince your adversaries of their wickedness in wronging you, and make them the more inexcusable in that day when they shall be judged: yea, what know ye, but ye may win others, by your tender and good conversation?

“ I recommend to you, that ye would be much and fervent in the

use of that precious duty of prayer, wherein most near communion with God upon earth is to be found: be much in prayer with and for others. 'Forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is,' (I wish they may see the evil of it who neglect it) 'but exhort one another, and so much the more, as you see the day approaching'.—Earnestness and diligence will hasten the Lord's coming with relief unto you, and to the Lord's borne-down work; and your slackness in this, may make the wheels of his chariot to move the more slowly. For, the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much with God; it will do more than armies of men and weapons of war for your defence and deliverance.

"I beseech you also, my dear friends, that you acquaint yourselves with the word of God in the holy scripture, that ye may have acquaintance with Jesus Christ, who is clearly set forth therein; that ye may know him in his excellency, and come to love and believe in him whom ye know; that ye may be acquainted with his revealed will therein, and may know what is true, and cleave fast thereto, from a sure persuasion that it hath the warrant of his word; and may be guarded against every error of the wicked, and that ye may fully know what is good and what is evil: and that ye may suffer with confidence, when ye are brought forth thereto as I am.

"Finally, my dear friends, be ye perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

JOHN WODROW.*

XVIII. RALPH SHIELDS.

[This person, as is evident from the tenor of the following testimony, was by birth an Englishman. Having come to Scotland in the prosecution of his worldly employment, he seems to have settled in Ayr, and to have practised the trade of a clothier. It is probable he joined the covenanters whilst in that neighbourhood; and it must be obvious from his own words, that he did so from the most cordial acquiescence in their principles. He was one of the five who suffered along with Mr. M'Kail on the 22d of December, 1666. The following is the testimony which he declared on the occasion.]

"My Friends,—I am come here to die, and I thank God it is not for evil-doing, that I now suffer: although I be charged with rebellion against the king's authority, yet I declare before God and you all, that in all this matter, I never intended to wrong his majesty's just power and greatness, but for conscience' sake, did respect authority as the ordinance of God, appointed for the punishment of evil-doers, and that I wish his majesty all welfare both in this life, and the world to

* Naphtali, pp. 356—362.

come; and that it may be his happiness to consider his obligations to God and perform the same, that so it may be well with him and his posterity to many generations; and I pray to God make him a friend to his cause, and the truly godly who own the same, though falsely called fanatics or turbulent persons.

“ I declare I have such persuasion of the interest of religion reformed, and sworn unto in the covenant, that I dare venture not only to lay down my own life, but if every hair of my head were a man, they should all be put to venture for this cause: I would not have the world to stumble at the cause, because of my death after this manner; for I rejoice greatly in it: and I desire every good Christian, as they tender their own souls' good, that they would grip fast, lay hold on, and cleave to Jesus Christ and his way.

“ My coming out at this time, I say, was not against his majesty, but for the covenant which is now trodden under foot; my intention was for the cause of Christ: I take God to witness, it was nothing else I came out for, and for that I am free to lay down my life.

“ I bless God I am much encouraged in this, and not at all afraid to die for so good and clear a cause; and I hope, he will bring me through all my difficulties in this dark shadow of death: I hope I have the peace of a good conscience, and have had some glimpses from Jesus Christ, of his countenance and reconciled face, since I came into this prison; for which, I desire to bless his name with all my soul, heart, and spirit. And I rejoice that he has made use of me to suffer for his cause; and I think it too little, not only to lay down my body, but (if it were possible) even my very soul at the stake for that cause, and for Jesus Christ my good and kind Master, who hath loved me, and given himself for me. I give the Lord thanks that I had some of his presence since I came into this condition: and again I say, I am much encouraged and not afraid to die, and bless him that I die not as a murderer, or evil-doer, or rebel against authority, but for such a cause as this.

“ O that it were the happiness of my nation of England, once to subject themselves unto the sweet yoke of Christ's reformed government, under which this nation of Scotland hath enjoyed so much of the power and life of the gospel, by a faithful ministry, according to the covenant sworn by them both!

“ And now, my dear friends in Christ, and fellow-covenanters, though I be a stranger in this land, being an Englishman, but trysted by providence in the prosecution of my calling, to have my residence for a time here in Scotland, (which I look upon, as a singular evidence of God's special love to me) though I be a stranger, I say, to many of you, yet I must be bold, as a dying friend, to beseech you, by the mercy of God, and by your appearance before Jesus Christ, when we shall have to do with none but him as our Judge, that ye be faithful and stedfast in the cause of God, and the covenant which ye have sworn with hands lifted up to the most high God, which no power on earth can loose you from, and that ye keep you from snares unto the contrary, and not suffer yourselves to fall into a detestable neutrality and indifferency in the cause of God; especially that ye keep yourselves

free of any engagements by word or writ, that may wrong your oath of the covenant. I commit my wife and children to his care, who careth for them that put their trust in him before the sons of men, not doubting but they shall be eyed with good will and favour by the godly, after I am gone. And now I render up my spirit to him who gave it me, and for whose sake I now lay down my life. To this God, my covenanted God, be glory, blessing, and praise, for now and ever! Amen.

"That this is my mind and testimony, which I leave behind me, I witness by my ordinary subscription

R. SHIELDS."*

XIX. HUMPHREY COLQUHOUN.

[This was another of the five individuals who were executed along with Mr. M'Kail. He seems to have been a plain unlettered man, belonging, it is probable, to the lower ranks of life. The following notice by Wodrow of his behaviour at death, is the only information which history has transmitted respecting him: "Humphrey Colquhoun, when he died, spoke not on the scaffold and ladder like an ordinary townsman, but, like one in the suburbs of heaven, related his Christian experience, called for his Bible from one of his friends, and laid it on his wounded arm, and read some most apposite passages, and spoke to the admiration of all who heard him." His testimony is as follows.]

"Dear friends and spectators,—I am come here this day, to this place to die this death, for crimes for which (I thank God) my conscience doth not condemn me. My crime, as is alleged, is for disloyalty against the king's majesty; yet I thank God that my appearing lately with the Lord's people was from my sense of my obligation in the covenant, and the sense of the wrongs done in the land, and the crying oppressions committed therein. This was the end of my appearing for the Lord against his enemies, to bear witness against the same; the which obligation of the oath of God, I judge that none on earth can loose the conscience from. I bless the Lord again and again, I die for this oath and covenant; and I thank God also, that I have by the great mercy of the Almighty God in Christ Jesus, obtained mercy and forgiveness for all my transgressions both against the first and second table of the law: and that through that ocean of grace which is in the Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that I am justified and sanctified, and believe now to be glorified with him, by that blessed blood of his, which hath purchased this salvation to me, through faith in the same, made application of, according to the good covenant of grace. He hath performed this, out of his wonderful and incomparable free grace: and this is my joy and exceeding great rejoicing and consola-

* Naphtali, pp. 362—364.

tion, and all my salvation, for which I am grace's debtor throughout all eternity ! I die with this my testimony, and my adherence to the national covenant, to the solemn league and covenant, to the work of reformation a great length carried on, and now overthrown most sinfully by ungodly men, who have established their apostasy by law, which no just power on earth could ever do. Also I adhere to the presbyterial government, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, and to the solemn acknowledgment of the church of Scotland, and public testimonies thereof, against the sins of the time. This day I rejoice that He hath counted me worthy to lay down my life for him, as one that beareth witness against the breach of all the sacred oaths and ties that were established in this land, yea, by the just laws both of God and man, which never could have been repealed lawfully, as this wicked generation hath done.

“ Dear friends, I hope ye will stand fast in this obligation, and in the solemn oaths and ties ye are under, and all the body of the land also will be stedfast in the same, upon the greatest hazard ye can meet with ; and that ye will study perfect holiness and nearness with God, which will help to keep you straight in this day of persecution and sharp trial that is now raging in this land : I bless the Lord, I die not a fool, though some men have thought so of me by their speeches to me, since my imprisonment : neither durst I ever be the man to buy my liberty at such a dear rate as perjury, and to shake off these blessed bonds I did willingly come under ; and I thank God, I never yet to this moment rued or repented it ; and sure I am, it is better for me to suffer the worst of deaths, than to preserve my life by breaking the oaths of God. I also give my testimony against prelacy and that wicked hierarchy now established in this land, as that which the church of Christ could never bear until this day, it being such a grand enemy to the purity of the gospel, and power of godliness ; yea, a yoke which the church of God groaneth under. I have no more to say, but commend all you the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ to God himself, and to the good word of his grace, which is able to build you up until the day of his appearance, and to give you all an inheritance with them that are sanctified through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ : And subscribe myself an expectant and apparent heir of the grace of Christ,

HUMPHREY COLQUHOUN.*

XX. JOHN WILSON.

[John Wilson was from the parish of Kilmaurs, in Ayrshire, but his occupation or rank in life has not been mentioned. With the exception of “ Mungo Kaipo from Evandale ” whose testimony, if he gave one, has not been transmitted, he is the last of the five who,

* Naphtali, pp. 365—367.

with Mr. M'Kail, were executed on December 22d, 1666. He seems to have been a person like the most of his companions in suffering, of plain good sense, belonging to some of the humbler ranks of life, and without much of what is properly denominated learning. This much may be gathered from the following testimony, which, however, contains a very clear and manly statement of the principles for which he suffered.]

“ Good people and spectators,—I am here condemned to die upon alleged rebellion against the king and his authority, which God knoweth, I never intended. For in my judgment, a man's endeavouring to extirpate perjured prelates and abjured prelacy, according as he is bound by oath in a sworn covenant, may very well stand with a man's loyalty to king and country; for I am sure, the king and his subjects may be happy, yea, more happy in the extirpation of prelates and prelacy, than in their standing; yea, the throne shall never be established in peace, until that wicked plant be plucked up by the roots, which hath so much wasted and made desolate the Lord's vineyard: for my part, I pray that the Lord may bless our king with blessings from heaven, and make him a friend to the interests of Christ, as the best way for the standing of his throne to many generations: and I pray for all that are in authority under his majesty, that the Lord may not lay to their charge the innocent blood of his saints, which they have shed. But the ground of my sentence is truly, the renewing of the covenant with my God, and labouring to defend the same, according to my oath: and this I profess is and was my duty, and by the grace of God will not quit it; and in token hereof, I am here before you all to lay down my life in defence of the same, and require you all to be witnesses to this my testimony; I do declare, I am not ashamed, but count it my glory. I do likewise declare this before you all in the sight of God, the Judge of all hearts, that since the day I did first swear and subscribe this covenant for reformation, it hath been sweet unto me, for I am persuaded in my conscience of the warrantableness thereof. I did swear the covenant four times, and the last time at Lanark, which was the sweetest time to me of them all; for with my whole soul I renewed it, and gave up both my soul and body to him, to be at his disposal, which, I trust in God, I shall never rue. Hearty praise and thanks be to the blessed God, that ever it pleased him to give to this poor church that mercy to enter in covenant with himself, that he might be unto us a covenanted God, the richest mercy that can be bestowed on men!

I have lived a presbyterian in my judgment, according as I have sworn, and judge it to be the only way that God hath appointed in his word, for the government of his church on earth; for under that government the power and practice of religion hath greatly flourished, and many a soul has been converted to the Lord, and found sweet fellowship with him in his ordinances, by the ministry of his honest and lawfully called servants. And blessed be the day that ever I heard a faithful sent minister preach the gospel! I do declare before heaven and earth, that my whole design in this rising in arms was only against abjured prelacy and prelates, the great oppressors of God's in-

terests, and cruel persecutors of his people, both in their consciences and bodies ; and I judge their government and way to be not conform to the word of God in the holy scriptures. I might cite many scriptures to this purpose, but I shall only name two, Luke xxii. 26. ‘ But ye shall not be so : but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger ; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.’ And 1 Pet. v. 3. ‘ Neither as being lords over God’s heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.’ Yea, it may be seen from sad experience, that under their government, the power of godliness hath decayed, and avowed profanity and popery itself hath increased, both to the dishonour of the holy Lord, and great grief of the hearts of the godly. I am so persuaded of the truth of the covenant, and of the error of their way, and that Jesus Christ is the only King and Lord over his own house, and besides him there is none else, ‘ for he will not give his glory to another,’ that I dare seal the truth thereof with my blood, and am come hither for the same end, without any fear or amazement ; yea, if every hair of mine head were a man, I would have ventured all, according to the covenant which I made with my God ; and although I be a poor polluted sinner, and ‘ my house not so with God,’ as it became ; ‘ yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, well ordered in all things and sure, and this is all my salvation, and all my desire ;’ and I hope the Lord will soon tread down all his enemies with shame, and the enemies of his covenant also. Therefore, let all that love the Lord Jesus Christ and his truth and covenant, take comfort and courage, notwithstanding all that which is come to pass ; and let them not be ashamed to adhere thereunto, whatsoever sufferings they meet with therein, for he will make up that loss in himself, and avenge the wrongs done to himself and them, in his own due time : I assure you, Christ is a good Master to serve : if ye knew him rightly and his cross, it is sweet and easy to the believer ; for he maketh death to be life, and bringeth light out of darkness. I desire to follow the blessed Captain of my salvation through weal and wo. I beseech you, my dear friends, whom now I am to part with, that ye stand to the defence of all the truths of God and of his word ; and that ye receive the Lord Christ as he hath offered himself therein, ye who have not closed with him ; and that ye who have closed with him, abide in him by a lively faith and love, bringing forth fruits, that you may put a credit on your profession, and keep off every thing that may shame your glorious and blessed Master before this evil and adulterous generation. And I give you all warning, and dehort you heartily as ye love your own souls, and as ye will answer to him, who shall judge the quick and dead, that ye stand fast in all the duties ye are sworn unto in the national and in the solemn league and covenant, both towards God, your king, and one another : and that ye beware of snares in taking of any oaths or declarations contrary, in the least, to the oath of God in these covenants. I leave my wife and little children upon Jesus Christ my Lord, who are now to be made a widow and fatherless for his sake, trusting, he will care for them ; and I recommend them to the counsel and kindness of his people under him. I can forgive the wrong done to me in taking away my life for this

cause, and wish God to be merciful to those that have condemned me, or have had any hand in my death: but blessed be God, that brought and hath kept me on *His* side of this cause, and honoured me to be a public witness for him and his blessed truth and cause; for which I shall praise him in the world to come, whither I now go: yea, I will praise him on the borders of death and eternity. To his blessed name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be praise for now and ever. So saith your dying friend, for Christ:—

JOHN WILSON.*

XX. JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

[Mr. Livingstone was born at Kilsyth, in 1603, and was the son of the minister of that parish. He studied at Glasgow, and, having passed Master of Arts in 1621, was in about four years after, licensed to preach the gospel. After some disappointments with regard to a settlement, he was induced to accept of a call to Killinchie, in Ireland, where he remained till about 1638. Having then returned to Scotland, he shortly after became minister of Stranraer, in Galloway. From this station he was, ten years after, translated to Ancrum, in Teviotdale, and henceforth began to take a part in the public affairs of the church. In 1650, he was sent as one of the commissioners to the king, at Breda. In 1654, he repaired to London, on a conference with Cromwell; and some time after, was appointed by the General Assembly to wait upon the committee of Estates, then with the protector's army. He also took some interest in the disputes with respect to the public resolutions, and joined the Protestors. And with many of that party, after the restoration, having refused to subscribe the oath of allegiance, he was banished from the king's dominions. He went to Rotterdam, and continued there till his death, which happened on the 9th of August, 1672. Previous to his last words, we insert a letter which about a year before, he wrote to his flock at Ancrum, as a parting memorial of his fidelity and affection.]

1. HIS PASTORAL LETTER.

“Notwithstanding, all the sad things that have fallen out of late, I would put you in mind of the many good days we have seen together, both of Sabbath-days and solemn communion-days, wherein we saw the Lord's power and grace in the sanctuary, that in remembrance thereof we may exalt his name together; for my part, I have challenges, besides many others, that in my ministry I did not so stir up or improve the gift that the Lord had given me, nor so carry myself like a spiritual, grave, diligent, and faithful servant of Christ, as I ought to have done; that in my ministry among you, I was not more frequent in visiting families and dealing with persons in particular, to bring them

* Naphtali, pp. 367—370.

to, and keep them in the ways of God. As for you, I may reckon you all in three ranks: and I fear the far greater number is of those who, although in general professors of Christianity, yet, so far as could be observed, never laid religion to heart, and some of these for gross ignorance and looseness were always debarred from the Lord's supper; others, although having some knowledge and civil walk, yet upon good grounds were always suspected to be void of the love and fear of God, continuing in their natural unrenewed condition, neglecting the worship of God in their families and alone, and showing by all their carriage, that their thoughts and designs were never beyond the world: these, no doubt, are glad of the change now come, that they may cast off Christ's yoke, and be free of the word and discipline which terrified and tormented them, and may now both swear terrible oaths and drink themselves drunk, which by some will be expounded as an evidence of their loyalty; they may now, after the example of many great ones, walk in the lust of uncleanness, mind nothing but how, justly or unjustly, to get the world, and then how to spend it on their lusts; and hate, and to the utmost of their power persecute all, who will not run with them to the same excess of riot. Now, as I have often in public, with as great earnestness and tenderness as I could, warned these to flee from the wrath to come, so I would yet desire them to stand still before they go to the pit, and hear from a truly loving friend, a few words, which I am confident in the day of the great reckoning, shall be found a message from the living God. Do you believe that there is a God, or heaven or hell? Or can you, with all your will and strength, 'scape the thoughts of these out of your sleeping consciences? Or do ye in such sort hate God, that because ye are his creatures ye will in so far be avenged, as to sell yourselves to his enemy, the devil, for nought—to be tormented in all eternity? I am most sure, none of you all can be sure, that you are reprobates; and I can give you assurance, greater than the stability of heaven and earth, even the sworn word of him that liveth and reigneth for ever, that, if you will betake yourselves to the only Saviour of the world, of lost sinners, and forsake your sins, ye are no reprobates. O! what advantage have ye when ye have gained all the world, all the pleasures, all the riches, and all the favours of it, and have lost your precious and immortal souls? It is utterly impossible but that sometimes your heart tells you there will be bitterness in the end. Doth not whoredom and drunkenness waste the body, take away the judgment, and leave a sting in the conscience? Can any avoid the curse that goods gotten by falsehood and oppression bring upon the man, and all he hath, yea, on his posterity? Is it not sad that Satan can prompt man to swear, curse, and blaspheme, and utter that which he dare not utter himself? Though ye were free of all outbreakings, doth not an unrenewed state, the neglect of commanded duties, Sabbath-breaking, and such like evils, bind you over to the wrath of him who is coming there in flaming fire, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel? Ye may possibly think ye are so far gone on, that there is no retreat, and the

ways of the Lord are such as your disposition can never agree with ; but how can your disposition agree to burn and consume, and yet never consume, in everlasting flames, where each of all your sins shall have their own particular torment ? How can you agree to dwell with infernal furies ? Or will ye add to your other wickedness—despair, and despising all the Lord's loving, loud, and long-continued invitations ? What shall you answer, if the Lord shall say to some of you, at the judgment, I would have given thee both grace and glory if thou hadst sought it ; thou wouldest not give one, two, or three knocks at my door ; thou wouldest not open when I knocked often and long at thy door, by so doing thou hast subscribed thine own condemnation !

“ O let me obtain this much, of all and every one of you, for all the pains I have taken among you in preaching, for all my nine years' banishment from you, for all the prayers I have put up for you, for all the love which He who knoweth all things, knoweth that I bear to you, yea, let your own souls, and the love ye have to your own welfare here and hereafter, obtain it, or rather let him who for sinners shed his most precious blood at Jerusalem, obtain this of you, that you will take one day, each of you, from morn to even, forbearing both meat and drink, and go apart either into some quiet room in a house, or unto some part of the fields, where, you may be most quiet, and having beforehand marked in the Bible, such places as are fit to be read at such a time, as also having somewhat searched your way toward God, and his ways toward you, there set yourselves in his sight, spending the time in confession of sin, and prayer for pardon and grace to serve him, and save your own souls : and if (which is not readily to be supposed) ye get no access on such a day, yet, continue thereafter, in such exercise and suits ; for, deliverance from hell, enjoyment of heaven, and the favour of God, are worth more pains than you can take all your life. Now, if this so easy and necessary advice shall be rejected, without prescribing time and place, or measure and manner, I take instruments before sun and moon, and all the creatures, that I have left this warning as an endorsed summons fixed on the door of your consciences, to be called and judged before Him who is ready to judge the quick and the dead at his appearance, in his glory, when besides the witnessing of your own conscience, and of all the creatures, I also, as your lawful minister, sent to bring about your reconciliation to God, shall appear to witness, that ye got fair warning, but did reject the same and would choose death. Therefore, while it is called To-day, take a trial of Christ's yoke, do but put him to it, and see whether or not he will open the windows of heaven and rain blessings and righteousness upon you ; come and see, and taste the goodness of the Lord, you shall be made to say, He is a rich and loving Master ; once engage your heart to him and ye may defy Satan and all the allurements and terrors of the world to draw you from Him. Glad would my heart be before I go to the grave, that some of you have begun a new course, and if ye begin indeed, ye will not get it suppressed ; it will be heard. I shall, as I can pray for it, and desire others here to

pray for it; it is not needful to multiply words. I leave it with you as ye shall answer to Jesus Christ when he shall come in the clouds with power and great glory.* Your affectionate pastor,

JOHN LIVINGSTONE."

Rotterdam, October, 1671."

2. HIS LAST WORDS.

Upon the 9th of August, 1672, the day on which he died, some of his friends who occasionally came to visit him being present, he was desired by his wife to speak something to them. He said, "There is a vanity in speaking and desiring to hear. But He (Jesus Christ) needs no testimony from man, yet if my poor testimony could signify any thing, it is good my duty to give it him, for he hath made good his word to me in all things. The Lord was pleased to take me when I was young, and to keep me on his side, for when I was at the college of Glasgow, he engaged me to an opposition to kneeling at the communion. The first acquaintances ever I had were Christian acquaintances, as the tutor of Bonnington, and my lady Kenmuir, who is the oldest acquaintance I have alive now in Scotland. And when I was called to Ireland, I was joined to some worthy men there, whose books I was not worthy to bear."

And after a pause, (for he was not able to speak much together) looking towards his friends, he saith with an emphatic sweetness, "Carry my commendations to *Him*, (meaning Jesus Christ) till I come there myself and bring them."

After this Jacob-like pause, he added, "I die in the faith that the truths of God, which he hath helped the church of Scotland to own, shall be owned by him as truths so long as sun and moon endure. I hate independency; though there be good men among them, and some well meaning people favour it, yet it will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God than many are aware of, for they vanish into vain opinions. I have had my own faults, as other men, but he made me always to abhor shows. I have, I know, given offence to many through my slackness and negligence, but I forgive, and desire to be forgiven. I cannot say much of great services, yet, if ever my heart was lifted up, it was in preaching of Jesus Christ. There is a cloud: I would not have people forecasting the worst,—yet there is a storm coming, but I hope it shall not last long. I have not much to do with creatures, I have ordered my cause, and he knoweth my words which I uttered before him at Mizpeh!"

Speaking of some of his special friends in the south, he mentioned these two ladies, the lady Merton and the lady Riddell, who, he said, "had been very useful to him and his family."

His wife apprehending him not able to speak more at that time, and fearing what shortly followed, desired him to take his leave of his friends: "I dare not," said he, with an affectionate tenderness, "and

it is like our parting will be but for a short time!"* And then he slept in the Lord.

XXI. JOHN BURNET.

[Mr. Burnet is characterized by Wodrow, as having been a man "of great solidity and learning." He was, at the restoration, minister of Kilbride, in Lanarkshire; and had laboured for many years in that parish with much assiduity, acceptance, and success. He was, however, along with the great majority of his faithful brethren, outed from his charge, and deprived of his living by the Act of 1662. From this period, we do not observe any mention of him till 1673, when with many others, he was offered the Indulgence. This favour he felt it his duty to decline; and though he did not carry his opposition to the measure so far as others, he yet regarded it as a measure derogatory to the fundamental principles of presbyterian government. Being unable, from sickness, to appear before the council when cited, to give his reasons for refusing it,—he forwarded them in writing, with a letter to the Chancellor. The paper containing them, together with that letter, is here introduced, as exhibiting a very clear and decided Testimony, not merely against the evil in question, but also in favour of the presbyterian government of the church of Scotland. And, considering that he died shortly after, on the 22d December, 1673, these may still farther be regarded as constituting his *last testimony*, to that good cause.]

1. HIS TESTIMONY AGAINST THE INDULGENCE.

"Being called before his majesty's privy council† to give an account of the reasons, why I have not accepted of this present Indulgence, granted by his most excellent majesty to several presbyterian ministers in Scotland; I desire humbly and in the fear of God (who standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the gods) to give this true, sober, and ingenuous relation of such things, as did and do invincibly bind me, why I cannot accept of this late complex Indulgence, framed in three distinct acts of council, of the date September 3d and 7th, 1672.—To which, I shall premise these things briefly:—

"1st. That it is well known to all the protestant reformed churches

* This account of Livingstone's last words has been extracted expressly for this Work, from a MS. in the handwriting of Mr. M. Ward, who was present when he died. The title of the MS is as follows:—"Some expressions of Mr. John Livingstone, when some of his friends were together occasionally to see him, a little before his death August 9th, 1672."—[LX. Jac. V. l. 10. Art. 58.]

† In reference to the particular form in which this paper has come down to us, as a memorial to the privy council, the author has prefixed to it the following intimation:—"The draught of this paper was framed purposely to the S. Council, as will appear in the very entry thereof, which mould I could not change, because of the want of health, and other inconveniencies."

abroad, concerning the constitution and government of this ancient church of Scotland for many years, and particularly in the year 1660, that it was framed according to the word of God; confirmed by many laudable and ancient laws of the kingdom; and solemnly sworn to by all ranks within the same.

“ 2d, It is also found by lamentable experience, that since that time, this ancient and apostolic government is wholly overturned in its very species and kind, and *that* by the introduction of lordly prelacy, which is tyrannically exercised; whereby the church was suddenly deprived of her lawfully called pastors, and their rooms filled by strangers, violently thrust in upon the people, many of whom have proved scandalous and insufficient.

“ 3d, The sad effects of these things are conspicuously apparent upon the face of this church this day,—such as involving the land in great backsliding and defection; the abounding ignorance and atheism; the overflowing speat of sensuality and profaneness like to Sodom; the increase of popery and error through the land, even to the height of antichristian paganism, and quakerism; the sharp suffering and smartings of many of his majesty’s loyal subjects through the land, merely because they cannot conform to the present prelatical frame; and, finally, the increase of animosities, dissensions, divisions, jealousies, and differences among the subjects.

“ 4th, Whatever power sound and orthodox divines do acknowledge the magistrate to have, and to have exercised in a troubled and extraordinary state of the church; yet, it is not at all yielded by them, that the magistrate may, in any ways, alter its warrantably established government, and so turn that same troubled and perplexed state and frame of the church, made such by himself, merely to be the subject of his magisterial, authoritative care, and operation.

“ 5th, That I be not mistaken, as denying to his majesty his just power in ecclesiastic matters, I do humbly and with great alacrity acknowledge, that the civil magistrate hath a power *circa sacra*, which power is objectively ecclesiastic; so as he, by his royal authority, may enjoin, that whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, may be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven; which power also is by God’s appointment only cumulative and auxiliary to the church, not privative, nor destructive, and is to be exercised always in a civil manner.

“ As to the reasons of my not-acceptance of the present offer, and not repairing to the place designed by the council, they are;—

“ 1. That our Lord Jesus Christ, Mediator, the King, and Law-giver of his own church, hath committed all ministerial authority, for government of his house, to his own church officers, as the first proper subject and receptacle thereof, John xx. 21. ‘As my Father sent me, so send I you.’ Matth. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. ‘All power is given to me in heaven and earth; go ye and preach the gospel.’ 2 Cor. x. 8. ‘Our authority which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for destruction,’ &c. But so it is, that the act explanatory of his

majesty's supremacy in the church, (whereupon the Act of Indulgence is grounded) doth not only claim the power to belong of right to his majesty and successors, as an inherent privilege of the crown, but doth actually, also, invest and clothe him with the formal exercise thereof in his own person, and that he may derive the same and convey it to others, as in his royal wisdom he shall think fit: for, his majesty is pleased to design and make application of ministers to congregations, and *that*, without the previous call of the people, and power of the presbytery (which would suppose the civil magistrate to have authority to judge of the suitableness of ministers' parts and gifts to labour amongst such and such a people;) as also to frame and prescribe ecclesiastic rules, relating to the exercise of the ministerial office, as also appointing a commission to plant and transplant ministers, as they shall think fit; notwithstanding that it hath been unanswerably evinced, that presbyterian government is founded on the word of God, and confirmed otherwise abundantly.

" 2. Although I do freely disallow and condemn all tumultuary and seditious meetings (among which, it is sad and grievous, that the peaceable meetings of the Lord's people for worship, and hearing the word soundly preached, should be reckoned,) yet I am so convinced in my heart of the Lord's blessing attending the preaching of the gospel (though not in a public parish church) as that I judge the narrative of the first act to go near to involve my acceptance of this Indulgence, being an interpretative condemning of the said meetings.

" 3. There is a standing relation betwixt me and another flock, over which I was set by the appointment of Jesus Christ in his word, which tie can never really be dissolved by any other power than that which at first did make it up, and gave it a being: and after that I had ten years (during the English usurpation) wrestled in opposition to quakers and independents, in the place where the first breach had been made upon the church of Scotland, I was without any ecclesiastic sentence thrust from the public exercise of my ministry in that place, where there will be twelve hundred examinable persons, whereof there were never fifty persons, yet to this day, who have subjected themselves to him, who is called the regular incumbent; and that, even when I was living thirty miles distant from the place. Now, what a door is hereby (by my being kept from my charge) opened to error, atheism, and profaneness may be easily conjectured by those who hear of the deplorable case of that people: and what a grief must it be to them, to have their own lawful pastor shut up in a corner, whereby we are both put out of a capacity to receive any more spiritual comfort flowing from that relation, which is yet in force betwixt us? or how is it to be imagined that any new supervenient relation can result betwixt another flock and me, by virtue of an act only of a mere civil judicatory?* Beside, that the people, in whom I

* Mr. Burnet, as already stated, had been minister of Kilbride, in Lanarkshire, and it was now proposed in the act of indulgence to settle him at Newmills, in Ayrshire. This, however, as is here well argued, was in direct opposition to the presbyterian polity, which requires that a man should be *presbyterially* loosened from one charge, before being admitted to another.

have present interest, are utterly rendered hopeless, by a clause in the end of the first act, viz. 'That the Indulgence is not hereafter to be extended in favours of any other congregation than these mentioned in the act,' whereof they in that parish are none.

" 4. That I will not offer to debate the magistrate's sentence of confinement, let be his power to do the same; yet I shall soberly say, there are so many things attending the present application thereof to my person, that it cannot be expected I should give that obedience hereto, which might infer my own consent or approbation. For, 1st, Though this confinement be called a gentle remedy of the great evils of the church, in the narrative of the first act, yet it is found to be a very sharp punishment, as it is circumstantiated. 2d, All punishments, inflicted by magistrates on subjects, ought to relate to some cause or crime, and cannot be done arbitrarily, without oppression, which truth is engraven on the light of nature; for Festus, a heathen man, Acts xxv. 27. could say, 'It seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crime laid against him;' yet am I sentenced and sent in fetters to a congregation, without so much as being charged with any crime, and all the world are left to collect the reason of this censure! 3d, If my confinement relate not to any crime, it must needs relate to a design, which design is obvious to common sense, viz. that I should preach and exercise the office of my ministry, wholly at the appointment and disposal of the civil magistrate; and a sentence of confinement is less obvious to debate and dispute by the subjects, and will more easily go down with any simple man, than an express command to preach, grounded on his majesty's royal prerogative and supremacy, and cannot readily be refused by any, unless a man make himself to be constructed a squeamish, wild fanatic, and expose himself to great sufferings; so this confinement, which hath both his majesty's prerogative and supremacy in ecclesiastic matters in it, comes to me in room, and that directly, of the people's call, and presbytery's authority, and other ecclesiastic appointment. Now this design, however closely covered, I dare not in conscience, yea, I cannot (with the preservation of my judgment and principles) concur with, or be consentient thereto. 4th, By the confinement I am put to an open shame before the world, and particularly in that place where I am permitted to preach the gospel: for what weight can my preaching or ministerial acts of discipline and government have, while I myself am handled and dealt with as a malefactor and transgressor, a rebel or traitor to my prince and nation? Or how can I preach the word of the Lord freely and boldly against the sins of the times (as against profaneness, error, injustice, and oppression) as ministers ought impartially to do, while I am kept under a perpetual check of the sword of the magistrate at my throat? This to me is not preaching, but an overawed discourse: moreover, I become a prey for any malicious prejudicate hearer, who shall happen to accuse and inform against me. Can I be answerable to God who sent me, to render up myself willingly to be a servant of men? Were not this to cut out my own tongue with my own hands? 5th, This confinement is not simply or mainly of my person, (which sentence, if it were so, I should most

willingly undergo) but it is of the office itself (the imprisonment of which ought to be sadder to me, than any personal suffering whatsoever) while, 1st, It is not of me alone, but of all the presbyterian ministers in Scotland, a very few only excepted. 2d, While the propagation of the gospel by the personal restraint of us all is manifestly obstructed. 3d, We are cut off from the discharge of many necessary duties, which we owe to the nation and church; and especially at such a time, while she is in hazard to be swallowed up with a swarm of Jesuits, quakers, and other damnable subverters of the truth; and (which is yet more) while three parts of the kingdom are groaning under the want of the word, faithfully preached, and some few shires only here in the west are made, as it were, the common gaol of all the ministers that are permitted to preach. 4th, By this confinement, I lose an essential part of my ministry, which is the exercise of jurisdiction and church government; which yet Mr. Baxter (a very favourable nonconformist) asserts to be as essential to the office of a minister, as preaching of the word; the staff being as needful to the shepherd, as either the pig or the horn is; so says the scripture of preaching elders, Acts xx. 28. 'The Holy Ghost hath made you overseers' or bishops, no less than teachers; a principal part of which government is ordination of ministers, for preservation of a succession of faithful men in the church; whereof by the act of confinement (as also is expressly provided by the last clause of the last act) we are intentionally deprived for ever, while it is in force: in losing of which one branch of our government, we undo our own cause with our own hands. I remember the first thing the ambitious Roman clergy invaded and usurped, was the jurisdiction and authority of presbyters, turning the ministers of Jesus Christ into the prelates' journeymen, making curates of them, only for preaching and intimating the bishops' mandates. And what else do I in this case, but make the ministry of the gospel in my person immediately dependant, in the exercise of it, upon the arbitrament of the civil magistrate.

" 5. As for the permission and allowance I have to preach, when confined: this permission seemeth very fair, while I look on it abstractly, without relation to the rest of the particular circumstances of the act; for this would look like opening the door in part, which the magistrate himself had shut; but while I take it complexly with what else is joined with it, it doth presently carry another face, like some pictures or medals that have two or three different aspects to the eyes of the beholder: for, permission to preach in any vacant church within the kingdom is so very great a favour, that for it I would desire to bless God, and thank his majesty most heartily: but take it without the previous call of the people, the authority and assistance of a presbytery, as it may be had; and take it without the exercise of discipline and government but what is congregational—and so it is lame. Again, take it with the confinement, and other clogs and caveats contained in the second act; or take it with the burden of being obliged to follow all matters (formerly referrible to presbyteries and synods) before these presbyteries and synods, which are now constitute by bishops and their delegates; and so it is nothing

but that same accommodation, which we formerly had in our offer from the bishop, and did refuse : and take it yet with the robbing of our own congregations, and with the depriving of three parts of four of the whole rest of the land, and then I have it to consider, whether this my permission to preach be not the putting of my neck under a heavier yoke, than it could be under before.

“ 6. The last reason (for brevity) is from the affinity with and dependance this act of his majesty's royal Indulgence hath upon the late explanatory act of his majesty's supremacy,) which I desire with sorrow of heart to look upon, as the greatest encroachment can be made upon the crown and authority of Jesus Christ, who only is King and Lawgiver of his church upon earth) as will be evident by comparing the two acts together ; for the act of his majesty's supremacy (besides the narrative) contains two principal parts, viz. 1st, The assertory of his majesty's supremacy, which is the main theme proposed to be explained, in these words : ‘ The estates of parliament do hereby enact, assert, and declare, that his majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastic within this kingdom.’ 2d, The explanatory part follows, in so many most comprehensive and extensive branches and articles, thus : ‘ That by virtue thereof the ordering and disposal of the external government of the church doth properly belong to his majesty and his successors, as an inherent right of the crown, and that his majesty and successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters, to be proposed and determined therein, as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit.’

“ Again, the act of his majesty's royal Indulgence, which is the exercise and actual application of his supremacy in matters ecclesiastic, may be taken up in these particulars comprehensively. 1st, The nomination and election of such and such ministers, to such and such respective places. 2d, A power to plant and transplant, put out and put in ministers to the church. 3d, The framing and prescribing rules and instructions, for limiting ministers in the exercise of the ministerial office. 4th, The ordaining inferior magistrates, as sheriffs, justices, &c. to inform the council every six months, under highest pains, anent the carriage of indulged ministers, and how they observe the foresaid rules. 5th, The confining of licensed ministers to one small corner of the kingdom, and declaring all other places and congregations whatsoever within this nation to be incapable of any share of this royal favour, except such places only as are expressly contained in the act itself. Now, that these particulars of the act of indulgence are of the same nature and kind with the articles explanatory of his majesty's supremacy, will demonstratively appear by this plain argument, viz. ‘ To settle, enact, emit constitutions, acts, and orders concerning matters, meetings, and persons ecclesiastic, according to their royal pleasure,’ is the very substance and definition of his majesty's supremacy, as it is explained by his estates of parliament. But the act of his majesty's indulgence, in the whole five forenamed particu-

lars thereof, is only to settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders, concerning matters, meetings, and persons ecclesiastical, according to royal pleasure: therefore the Act of his majesty's Indulgence is the substance and definition of his majesty's supremacy, as it is explained by his estates of parliament. The rules and instructions for limiting ministers in the exercise of their office, as also the rest of the two forenamed particulars of the Indulgence, are such, as I declare I cannot accept of them, or any other favour whatsoever, upon such terms and conditions; because they contain the downright exercise of erastianism, (as I humbly conceive; and a discrete judgment of such acts as a man resolving to practise cannot be denied him, unless men be turned into brutes, and so be ruled no more as reasonable creatures) namely, the magistrate by his proper and elicit acts, doing that which is purely spiritual and ecclesiastic, as a nomothetic head and lawgiver, framing such laws and constitutions ecclesiastic, as are not competent for any ministerial or declarative power to enact or impose; but of that power only, which is absolutely sovereign: and whatsoever will militate against an ecclesiastic person, to arrogate to himself to be Christ's vicar on earth, and a visible head, to give and make laws for the church, according to his pleasure; the same also, will make much against any other, though the greatest in the world, to assume to himself this prerogative, so long as he can produce no divine warrant for this claim.* A more particular consideration of these rules, and other particulars, I must needs (for brevity) forbear."

2. HIS LETTER TO LAUDERDALE.

"My noble Lord,—Having, in the singleness of my heart, and I trust without any just ground of offence, given this short and sober account of the reasons why I have not made use of his majesty's royal favour and indulgence; and being fully persuaded in my conscience, that both magistracy and ministry are God's ordinance, and no ways destructive, but mutually helpful one to another; so that I cannot but earnestly long, that the Lord, who hath the hearts of kings and rulers in his hand, would put it in the heart of our great sovereign (and in your grace's heart to be instrumental therein) that he would grant us, ministers, liberty to make full proof of that ministry, which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for destruction; that we might have the opportunity to make it appear, that the government, which the Lord Jesus hath appointed in his church, doth well consist and agree with the magistrate's civil government in the state, that so I and all others, my outed brethren, may have access to our former charges, or other congregations, as we shall have opportunity of a cor-

* "By this free and faithful testimony, we see what reasons moved him not to accept of this supposed favour; and particularly we may observe, that one main reason was, the relation and affinity that was betwixt the Act of Indulgence and the explicatory Act of Supremacy; so that whoever accepted of this Indulgence, could not but be looked upon as virtually and materially (at least) approving and consenting to the Supremacy; and what iniquity lieth wrapped up in this, a few words could not express."—Brown's Hist. of the Indulgence.

dial invitation from the people, with the assistance and help authoritatively of lawful church judicatories, until such time as God shall grant a patent way to return to our own charges. And 2d, that presbyterian ministers may have access to his majesty for representing just grievances, which press heavily our consciences, and the consciences of the people, his majesty's loyal and faithful subjects in the land:—In granting of which necessary and just desire, I, your grace's servant, shall be a humble supplicant at the throne of grace, for the preservation of his majesty's person, the establishing of his throne in righteousness; and that the Lord would pour forth the spirit of righteous judgment on your grace, that the Lord may be blessed, and your grace may find mercy in the day of visitation.

J. BURNET.*

XXII. JOHN BROWN.

[Perhaps there are few of his cotemporaries who, for talents, learning, and piety, can be put into comparison with John Brown. For many years previous to the restoration, he was minister of Wamphray, in Annandale; and not only in that parish, but also in the whole district of country where it is situated, had his labours been abundant and successful. Upon some trivial offence given to the prelatie party, who then governed the church, he was, in 1662, summoned before the Council, and forthwith sent to prison. Here he remained five weeks, when the failure of his health, by reason of the confinement, caused him to supplicate for liberty. This, however, was acceded to only upon his obliging himself, to remove from the king's dominions. He accordingly, shortly after, went over to Holland,—at that time the asylum of the persecuted covenanters. But even there, he was not free from annoyance. In 1676, an application was made to the States-general to banish him, along with other two, from that country. The application was ultimately successful; and by an act of that body, he was doomed to leave Rotterdam in March, 1677. It seems, however, that on the attestation of a physician that his health would be injured by the removal, he was allowed to remain in the country, and, it would appear, took advantage of this opportunity to prepare the following very valuable Testimony, which is dated in that year.]

“Reader,—Because some, not knowing what was the true cause of my silence and speaking nothing in public, as my worthy and dear brother, Mr. M'Ward did, while we were both of us to depart out of Rotterdam, in order to our going out of the United Provinces, (in obedience to the resolution of the States-general, taken in compliance with the importunate urging of the king of Britain, contrary to their own inclinations, being sufficiently convinced of the injustice of the thing,

* Faithful Witness-bearing Exemplified, pp. 188—196.

and of the injury done to us,) might wonder how it came that I gave no testimony unto that cause, for which I was as hardly pursued and persecuted in strange cities as the rest, and might hence suppose that my zeal for that glorious cause, of owning and witnessing for Christ's truth, ordinances, and interest, was cooled, and that sinful fainting and base timorousness had seized upon me, to the scandal and offence of the worthy and valiant sufferers for that cause—to the grief and trouble of the godly, who yet adhere unto that persecuted cause—and to the rejoicing of the hearts of apostates from, and enemies to the same:—I thought I was called of the Lord, and under an obligation to lay hold on this unexpected occasion and opportunity, to the end I might remove, so far as I could, all occasion of mistake or stumbling in this matter. As to that which was the real cause of my not appearing in public at that time, I shall not need to say much, seeing it is abundantly well known to all the Scottish congregation in Rotterdam, and to many others in that city, that by reason of much sickness and infirmity of body, under which I had been for half a year before, occasioned by the recurring of that chronic distemper which hath afflicted me these eleven years by-past,—I was not in case to visit friends and acquaintances in that city, and salute them at my departure; nor in case to preach, as I had purposed, for some diets before that day. *This*, and nothing else, was the true cause of my not appearing in public, whether to preach a farewell sermon unto that people unto whom I had for a long time had liberty and opportunity of preaching the gospel, or to give any public testimony unto that noble cause, for which I had been exiled fourteen years before, and forced to live all that time in a strange country.

“ I cannot but acknowledge it to have been a rare and singular dispensation of love and grace in God towards such an unworthy sinner as I am, that he should have at first honoured me with banishment into a strange land, for his cause and truth, with six others of his faithful and worthy servants, with whom I was never worthy to be named in one day; and that now, after he had so wonderfully delivered me from so many deaths in which I have been these eleven years past, I should have a second crown put upon my head, and be honoured with a second exilement, together with my dearly beloved brother, after all the rest of our number who were exiled from our native country, for the testimony of Jesus, were fallen asleep in the Lord, and enjoying their rest above, after all their labours and toil here below for their Lord and Master:—Mr. Livingstone, (I mean) that great seer and famous divine; zealous Mr. Trail; constant and faithful Mr. Nevay; stedfast and public spirited Mr. Simson; and pious Mr. Gardner: herein I ought to rejoice, and, through his grace, shall rejoice, that the free grace of God will yet once more, before I go hence and be no more in this valley of tears,—put me to undergo a little more for my Lord and King; and, at least, have me called and accounted a sufferer for his name and truth, with my brother, zealous, faithful, and magnanimous Mr. M'Ward, and that valiant and faithful old soldier of Jesus Christ, colonel James Wallace.

“ Let no man think that all this unrighteous usage, and these injuries I am put to suffer upon the account of the truth and interest of Jesus Christ, have in the least darkened the glory, beauty, and goodness of that cause in my esteem, or abated my affection thereunto, and zeal therefore. I thank the Lord, all these things do contribute more and more to the confirming of my soul, in the certain persuasion and full conviction that this course of defection and apostasy from the truth and interest of Christ, is hateful and abominable in the eyes of the Lord, and an iniquity that the righteous Lord will not suffer to go unpunished, even in the sight of the nations, that all flesh may tremble before him, and see how jealous he is for his name and glory. And I account it my mercy, that I have this occasion and call, before I receive my last summons to depart hence, and, before my decaying tabernacle fall into pieces, to bear witness to the truth, which is now blasphemed and buried under heaps of obloquy and reproach, and to give testimony against this unparalleled catastrophe begun in the year 1660, and carried on since, in Britain and Ireland, by a profane, predominating, popish, prelatical, malignant, and erastian faction, (the old and constant enemy of the church of Scotland from the very beginning; the Amalekites that first made war against our Israel, after our forefathers were delivered from the bondage of Egyptian Romish taskmasters; and the Canaanites that have ever since been pricks in our eyes and thorns in our sides,) conspiring against the Lord and against his anointed; who are not satisfied with their own treacherous and perfidious apostatizing from the truth, which they once outwardly owned, defended, and appeared for, in their several capacities,—in pulpits, assemblies, councils, parliaments, and in arms against king and court, and all that were engaged against the same; but with rage, cruelty, inhumanity, and barbarous persecution, do also compel, and with a God-daring audacity and hellish fury, force all, so far as they can, to blaspheme, and join with them in the same excess of wickedness and rebellion against the Most High.

“ Though it be but little that I can say in my present circumstances, wherein, upon several accounts, I am much out of case to speak to this great and weighty matter as I ought, (the full delineation whereof in its rise and progress, in its causes and consequences, in its parts and concomitants, would call for a more able head and fitter hand than I have, and require a large volume rather than a sheet,) yet, not knowing how soon it may please the Lord, after many granted issues from death, and unexpected deliveries from the very mouth of the king of terrors, to put an end to my tossings in this valley of sin, trouble, and distance from him, I durst not at this present be wholly silent; but finding myself called of the Lord to witness a good confession for him, and for his oppressed truth and interest, now trode under foot, and trampled upon with the highest insolency, contempt, and audacity, I resolved to speak a few words (how weakly and insufficiently soever it might be) to a few heads of things, unto which other particulars may be reduced.

I. “ And first,—to begin with that which was the first foundation stone of this Babel and rebellion against the Lord, and which, as corrupt

blood, runneth through all the veins of this defection to this day, I mean that horrid sin of *covenant-breaking*, whereof the land and the inhabitants thereof stand in a high measure guilty before the Lord. It pleased the Lord to choose that land, and to set his love upon it, because he loved it; and we became a special people to himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth, so that, though all the earth be the Lord's, yet we became a peculiar treasure unto him, above all people, when he took us into covenant with himself, when all our tribes, officers, and rulers, our wives, and little ones stood before the Lord, that they should enter into covenant with the Lord their God, and into the oath of the Lord to be his; and avouched the Lord in that day to be our God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken to his voice; and the Lord did avouch us in that day to be his peculiar people, to make us high above all nations which he had made, in praise, in name, and in honour; and that we ought to be a holy people unto the Lord. Thus the Lord, after he had redeemed us for a people to himself, to make himself a name, and had done great things and terrible—when he redeemed us from Egyptian darkness,—did confirm us unto himself, to be a people unto him for ever, and the Lord Jehovah became our God. *This, even this*, was our glory above all nations: for, what great nation was there, that had the Lord so near unto them as the Lord our God was unto us, in all things, that we called upon him for? When we were as no people, and no eye pitied us, being cast out in the open field, and lying polluted in our blood, it pleased the Lord to say to us even then, live; for it was a time of love, and he spread his skirt over us; yea, he sware unto us, and entered into a covenant with us, and we became his: he washed us, and anointed us with oil—he clothed us, and decked us with ornaments, and made our renown go forth for our beauty, for it was perfect through the comeliness which he had put upon us. What a wonderful mercy was this, that the Lord should have made choice of Scotland, above all other lands, to be his peculiar covenanted people; and that he should have avouched us for his people, and caused us to avouch him to be our God, by a solemn covenant, and that so frequently; for at five several times did the Lord bring that land into covenant with him, and moved them to devote themselves to the Lord to be his, to own and stand for the crown, privileges, and prerogatives of Jesus Christ, to receive and submit to his doctrine, discipline, and government, and to have all things done in the house of the God of heaven, according to the mind and command of the God of heaven. This, sure, was a crown, whereof we might have gloried in the Lord above all people or nations, that are, or have been upon the face of the earth since the rejection of Israel. And what a singular dispensation of love and favour was it, that the Lord should have carried on this work so far, as at length to have brought the neighbour kingdoms of England and Ireland into the same bond of the covenant, whereby these islands became the Lord's in another manner, and more nighly related to him, than was the whole continent beside. Thus, were the uttermost parts of the earth given for a possession to Jesus Christ, in a singular

manner, as his peculiar subjects, openly and formally owning and acknowledging Christ as King in Zion, and as only head of the church,—embracing his laws, ordinances, and institutions; and rejecting all men's inventions, all superstition, and dregs of popery, and every thing that materially or virtually did impugn, or was inconsistent with Christ's sole right and authority, as King and Lawgiver in his house and kingdom. And what a wonderful dispensation of providence was it, that the king himself should have become a covenanter with God, and that in these lands in their most public capacities, in their parliaments and high councils, should have owned this glorious and honourable relation and subjection to the Lord God! Was not this the peculiar glory of these lands, to have the God of the whole earth so nearly related unto, and engaged for them; and they to become his espoused land, his peculiar inheritance, and covenanted kingdoms! But now, behold, not only hath there been in the year 1660, and since,—a manifest, shameful, wicked, and impudent departing from our oaths, vows, covenants, promises, engagements, resolutions, declarations, attestations, proclamations, acts, and actings; and a doing contrary to what we had sworn, and that solemnly, with hands lifted up to the most High God, with direful imprecations if we should not stand to the covenant, and promised under the pain of all the curses contained in the book of God, and as we should answer to him in the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, attesting the Searcher of hearts of the reality and sincerity of our intentions herein: but also, there hath been an open, deliberate, plain, and avowed renouncing of that covenant; a parliamentary annulling and rescinding of it, beside other affronts done unto it, as if we could not have been satisfied with a simple cancelling of our contract and obligation, and with an open declaring before all the world, angels, and men, that we would no more own the Lord Jehovah for our God, nor any longer abide his people, devoted unto him: but such was our wickedness, spite, and rage, that we would have the same covenant that was so solemnly sworn, and ordered to be printed and translated into Latin, that the nations about might see and understand in what relation we stood unto the great God, and what we had vowed and sworn to do and to be for him; yea, and affixed publicly, in an open place, in the parliament house of England, and in every church and chapel throughout the same, that parliaments, when assembled, might be kept mindful of their obligation, and steer their course in all their parliamentary consultations, deliberations, votes, and resolutions, according to the solemn league and covenant; and that people, when assembling to worship the Lord, might see and read their obligation, and remember their engagements to the Most High, before whom they were appearing,—*such*, I say was our rage, that we would have this covenant taken and burned publicly by the hand of a public hangman, (thus was it dealt with in England) in testimony of our souls' perfect and pure abhorrence of the same; for, a greater declaration of detestation and abhorrence could not be devised to be done to the most blasphemous, hellish, and devilish pamphlet that ever was or could be penned. O! will not the Lord God be witness against us, even the Lord from

his holy temple? Was ever the like of this heard? Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this; be horribly afraid, and be very desolate, for we have not only forsaken the fountain of living waters, but we have done it with all the indignity and effrontery imaginable. 'Pass over the isles of Chittim and see, and send unto Kedar and consider diligently, and see if there be any such thing. Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods? But we have changed our glory for that which doth not profit.' Will not the Lord plead with us and with our children, yea, and with our children's children, upon this account? Will not the Lord deal with us, as we have done, who have thus despised the oath, in breaking the covenant? Will he not judge us with the judgments of a woman that breaketh wedlock, and give us blood in fury and jealousy? May we not fear that the righteous and jealous God shall punish us, till he make his fury towards us to rest, that all lands may be taught, not to do after our lewdness: and because we have forgotten him, and cast him behind our back, make us bear our lewdness and our whoredoms? Can this wickedness be paralleled in any history, divine or human? Where shall we read that the same individual persons who had so solemnly (what solemnity could be imagined to contribute to give a deeper impression of the weight and worth of the matter?) sworn and covenanted with God, upon no temptation, have so resolutely, deliberately, and wickedly, not only renounced the same, but also done it with such circumstances of solemnity as might bear a declaration to all the world, that this was no rash or inconsiderate deed, but deliberate rather, and such as they would own, avow, and stand to? What more could be devised to declare our open doing despite unto the Lord, and putting him, who is blessed for ever, to open shame? And where shall we find, that a people so solemnly engaged to God, have so quickly, so solemnly, and so formally renounced their interest in, and relation to Jehovah; and not only so, but also in their public and authoritative capacities compelled by laws, declarations, and penalties, all under them, to run with them to the same excess of perjury and wickedness; and not only materially break their vows, oaths, and covenants made to and with the living God, but even formally to renounce and abjure the same;—that so the whole land, from the highest to the lowest, may come under this formal guilt of whoredom and apostasy, and lie under all the curses, plagues, and judgments denounced in the word against revolvers from God, covenant-breakers, inquirers after vows, oath-violaters, treacherous dealers, perfidious backsliders, and forsakers of God? Should not this so heinous iniquity be testified against by all, who would not be charged with the guilt thereof, in the day of their appearance before the tribunal of Jesus Christ? And should not all, who have not utterly sinned away all the faith and fear of God, mourn, because of this abomination, and because of all the acts, declarations, or proclamations made by parliaments or councils to this end, and for carrying on of this design, lest they be charged with the guilt, and partake of the plagues that will undoubtedly fall upon the lands, because of this iniquity?—of which, if any doubt, let them weigh in the balance of judgment and of the sanctuary, these few of

many passages, pointing forth both the heinousness of the sin, and the dreadfulness of the judgments attending it:—Deut. iv. 23—28. Ezek. xvi. throughout. Ezek. xvii. 11—22. Deut. xxix. throughout. 1 Kings xix. 10, 14—17. Psal. lv. 19, 20, 23. and lxxviii. 37, 56—64. Jer. xi. 2—4, 8—12. Jer. xxii. 5—12. and xxxiv. 8. to the end. Hos. iv. 2, 3. and x. 4. Zech. v. 3, 4. Rom. i. 31. 1 Kings xi. 11. Josh. ix. 15, 19. compared with 2 Sam. xxi. 1—10. 2 Kings xvii. 14—18, &c. Judg. ii. 20, 21. Amos i. 9, 10. Josh. xxiii. 16. Hos. vi. 7—10. and viii. 1. Deut. xxiii. 21, 23. Prov. xx. 25. Eccles. v. 4. Levit. xxvi. 25.

II. “Next,—That work of reformation, public and private, in church and in state, which was intended by the covenant obligation, and in the same sworn to be endeavoured by all ranks of people, in their several places and capacities, was, so long as we remained faithful and single-hearted in prosecuting the ends of the covenant, owned and countenanced of the Lord;—endeavours to promote it were blessed, and the work was carried on with signal demonstrations and appearances of the Lord from heaven, to the comfort and establishment of his people, and to the conviction and terror of enemies. The Lord was with us and for us, fighting our battles, so long as we were with him, and abode faithful in our engagement. And this work, thus owned, countenanced, and carried on by the signal hand of divine providence with remarkable success and great glory, did lift us up in the eyes of the nations, who looked upon us with amazement, wondering at the great things the Lord was pleased to do for us and among us, and drew all their eyes upon us, when they observed such an extraordinary dispensation of divine power, love, and grace among us. And as we were thus looked upon by other reformed churches, as a pattern worthy to be imitated, and as the measure of their desires and wishes; so, we became the greater terror unto the kingdom of antichrist, and all the followers of the beast and of the false prophets; being so closely knit and united in such a sure bond and covenant, and obliged by sacred oaths to extirpate that abomination, root and branch; and against every thing that might countenance the same, or contribute the least to its approbation or establishment. But, oh! now how are the tables turned, all of a sudden! How is this whole work overthrown! How are the bulwarks of our defence against popery removed! And how is the work of reformation, that had cost no small expense of blood, watchings, tears, prayers, and fastings, overturned in a moment, yea, and razed to the very foundations! How are we now become a laughing stock, the reformed churches wondering and amazed at our inconstancy; and papists rejoicing in the hope of reducing again under the yoke of the Roman antichrist, all these lands, once sworn away and solemnly devoted unto the Lord! How are these locusts now, finding this advantage, strenuously playing their game, and diligently plying their time, and that with such success, that, if the Lord prevent it not, they cannot miss their end, and fail of their intentions, and so at length come again unto their wonted cruelty and bloody practices, even to imbrue their hands in the blood of protestants, and re-act their former bloody tragical massacres, to the establishing of the

abominations of that abominable whore, which hath been long drunk with the blood of the saints! That matters now are already at this pass, and running in this cursed channel, who cannot see that have eyes in their head, and see about them? Since our covenant-obligations (our strongest bulwark against prelacy, papacy, superstition, will-worship, error, and idolatry) were shamefully taken away, and this first stone of Babel was laid, hath it not been obvious to all that would not wilfully shut their eyes, what a tendency all acts, conclusions, consultations, ways, and courses taken, have had hereunto? To speak nothing of public and authoritative acts and actings, giving countenance and encouragement to Jesuits, mass-priests, popish assemblies, and open masses, and suppressing, persecuting, and bearing down the lovers of truth and zealous owners of the reformed religion, and other things of that nature, that clearly demonstrate the genius of this raging spirit, and the native tendency of this course of apostasy and defection which hath been and is thus violently carried on;—the inundation of irreligion, profanity, blasphemy, atheism, and all sort of wickedness that attended this woful catastrophe, and came in, as a flood, overrunning the whole land, carrying multitudes away who formerly seemed at least outwardly religious and sober, and wheeling many into that woful and destructive gulf of indifferency and neutrality in all matters of religion, yea, and blunting the edge of not a few who formerly seemed zealous for religion and the cause of Christ,—is a direful but too evident and plain demonstration of a spirit prone and strongly inclining to a returning unto Egypt: and this quickly appeared in the kindly reception and setting up of those abjured prelatical captains, the first foundation of the Romish apostolical hierarchy, and is a presage of blackness of Egyptian darkness at hand. ‘A man *was* famous, according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees, but *now* they break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers!’ Who knoweth not, that as, such a profane and godless frame that is now the epidemic temper, or *distemper* rather, of this generation hath a thorough compliance with, and encouragement, by that gaudy, superstitious, and idolatrous vanity and abomination of popery,—so it maketh way for it, and prepareth unto a kindly reception thereof, and submission thereto, as being a device so well suited every way to carnal humours, and no way contrived to the restraining from whatsoever wickedness the debauched heart delighteth in, and would run after, but rather to the encouraging thereunto. And, oh! to this pass is all our reformation now come, through our profane casting off the Lord, and renouncing our obligations to him, as our God,—laying aside all sense and consideration of our vows, promises, oaths, declarations, protestations, solemn engagements, and covenants. And where can such fix a stand who have thus shamelessly and with a high hand revolted from God? What wicked course will not such willingly comply with, who have thus audaciously and effrontedly banished Christ, his rights, power, authority, work, ordinances, interest, and all, so far as they can, out of the land? ‘Behold, O Lord, and see, and plead thine own cause. O spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage

to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them. Wherefore should they say among the people, Where is their God? How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth.'

III. " Thirdly,—I must in the next place take notice, that as it was the great honour and advantage of the church of Scotland, acknowledged by such abroad as had any Christian concernment in these matters,—so it was a signal evidence of the special favour of God unto, and blessing upon her, that, together with purity of doctrine, and renouncing of antichristian and heretical error, he granted unto her reformation in worship, discipline, and government, so that she had purity of gospel-worship, according to the pattern of the New Testament; and also, according to the same pattern, gospel-discipline, and government: and the Lord set the beauty of his ornament in majesty among us. Hence at the very beginning of reformation in doctrine and worship, we had the gospel-discipline of the house of God duly exercised, and presbyterial government, in its principal part set up, in general assemblies, held twice a year: and, as truth did spread through the land, popish abominations were abandoned, and faithful reformed ministers planted and settled,—the same government and discipline was carried on, and more and more confirmed, as the difficulties and injuries of these times would suffer; so that with much travail, pains, labour, fastings, and wrestlings in prayer, it was established in all its parts, at length, through the whole land, in kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and national assemblies, in that comely order and subordination that the house of God requireth: and together with this, the nature, end, and extent of church discipline and power was, after no small pains, fully cleared in the second book of discipline, which, after free disputes and debates, was unanimously agreed upon and established; and all this was sweetly carried on and put in exercise without trouble or opposition, until licentious court parasites, in love with papists, and not loving the wholesome and gentle yoke of Jesus Christ, but desiring rather to follow their lusts without any curb or control, did bring the king first into a dislike thereof, and thereafter unto a manifest opposition thereunto. So that by tyranny, force, and fraud of the court, the free exercise of this useful and necessary ordinance of Jesus Christ was much obstructed, weakened, and resisted; and at length, when this could not fully effectuate the end intended, a way was devised to ruin both discipline and government, by churchmen influenced of the court; who, not only suffered corruption to enter into the church, but piece and piece carried it on by treachery, falsehood, double-dealing, indirect courses, and manifest perjury;—during all which time, the faithful and zealous servants of the Lord opposed this wicked course of defection, and stood stedfastly, so long as they were able, to the maintenance of the discipline and government which Christ had appointed, and which, through God's great mercy, had been established by acts of parliament, and confirmed by a solemn oath and covenant; and in defence thereof, endured much tossing, hardship, and persecution, and many affronts, injuries, and indignities. And after that course of defection had been in the ascendant for

a considerable time, and had at length come to the height of tyranny,—after all the gospel-discipline and government had been subverted and ejected, and gospel worship begun to be corrupted with popish-English ceremonies and men's inventions; it pleased the Lord, in his rich mercy, to visit our church, that had been long oppressed and borne down with hollow-hearted, treacherous church-men, who, for their own ambitious ends, and lustful, covetous designs, complied with all court projects, to destroy all the gospel liberty and privileges which our church had enjoyed, and to bring about, in an unexpected and wonderful manner, our deliverance from that yoke of bondage, in the year 1638, and to re-establish our former church-government and discipline with purity of worship, in glory and splendour, bringing the whole land again into the bond of the covenant for the asserting, vindicating, and maintaining of the same; whereby, at length, the church of Christ became, with us, terrible unto evil-doers, as an army with banners, and was preserved from error, heresy, and other evils, which prove noxious and destructive to churches. Now was this government and discipline, in the maintenance and vindication whereof after that it had been by the treachery of perfidious apostates overturned, the Lord had so wonderfully appeared;—so countenanced and blessed of the Lord, that it could not but be manifest to all, that it was the true appointment and institution of Jesus Christ; which afterward, in the assembly of divines at Westminster (called together by the parliament of England, to search after a government and discipline most agreeable to the primitive pattern, in prosecution of the ends of the solemn league and covenant) was found to be the only government and discipline that came nearest to the primitive pattern, instituted by Christ and his apostles, of all that offered any pretence thereunto. But now, notwithstanding all this, this government and discipline of the house of God, instituted by Jesus Christ, countenanced and confirmed by his signal appearances in the behalf thereof, and against its enemies and opposers,—blessed with much saving fruits and effects on church members,—confirmed and ratified by all acts requisite, whether in church or state,—and received with an universal approbation and satisfaction, is now again with wicked hands overturned and razed to the very foundations, contrary to all acts, vows, covenants, solemn promises, and engagements;—the precious institutions of Jesus Christ are irreligiously and profanely hated, condemned, destroyed, and shamefully thrust away;—the authority of Christ maligned and rejected;—his laws despised and trampled under foot;—his wisdom undervalued;—his fidelity and faithfulness called into question;—his ordinances vilipended and contemptuously slighted;—his sceptre despitefully thrown out of his hand;—his crown pulled from his head;—his church robbed of her privileges, and exposed to all the wild beasts of the forest;—his ministers shamefully misused, and thrust from their pastoral work and government;—his kingdom invaded, plundered, and pillaged;—and his assemblies, that once looked forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as with banners, now changed into despicable and disorderly routs!!

‘O Lord God of hosts, thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou

hast cast out the heathen, and planted it; thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it take deep root, and it filled the land; the hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like goodly cedars: she sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. Why hast thou then broken down her hedges, so that all they, which pass by the way, do pluck her? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it. Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts, look down from heaven and behold; and visit this vine, and the vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the branch thou madest strong for thyself."

IV. "Fourthly,—As for *prelacy*, which is now again re-introduced, all, who would be found faithful to Christ, and to his interests, must bear witness against it;—being a plant which our heavenly Father never planted;—a stirrup to the man of sin;—a foundation to his antichristian hierarchy;—a dominion in the church, not only destitute of all warrant from the laws of Christ, but expressly prohibited by Christ and his apostles, and repugnant to the government instituted by our Lord;—a power deriving no authority from, and having no dependance upon Christ, the head of the church, and sole fountain of all legitimate church power and authority;—the mere result of pride, ambition, and affectation of worldly pomp and greatness, calculated not to the edification of the church, which this product of pride and vanity is utterly inept for, yea, and destructive of; but to the fostering of carnal ease, luxury, ambition, profanity, and secular dominion, framed wholly to promote Satan's and antichrist's design: and, as our church hath always experienced, they have been the fittest instruments of the devil for ruining of souls, destroying of the church, and of all her just interests, and for opposing all that is really good, and for subordinating of religion and all the interests of souls unto polite ends and court designs,—being base flattering sycophants and make-baits;—the pests and constant troublers of our church;—the sworn slaves of the court, by which only they stood, and prostituting faith, conscience, religion, and all honesty to their ambitious and avaricious lusts;—a weed that our church, from the very beginning, hath laboured to be delivered from, and an enemy that she hath opposed and fought against by prayers, tears, covenants, and church censures; and in faithful and stedfast adhering to and maintaining of the true gospel-government of the church, against all the subtle insinuations, deceitful practices, false calumnies, clancular underminings, tyrannical usurpations, and open treachery of these base, perfidious selfseekers, belly-gods, sons of Luciferian ambition, luxurious petulants, and church-destroyers, hath suffered and undergone much trouble, vexation, threatening, displeasure of king and court, temptation, hardship, journeyings, tossings, harassings, confinements, imprisonments, relegations, and banishments;—an evil, which our church, and state too, at length, through the good hand of God upon them, did spue out, as an abominable, loathsome burden, and cast over the hedge, with all imaginable detestation and abhorrence, and with universal acclamations of joy, throughout the whole land, and did bar the door against their re-entry by renewed cove-

nants, vows, and engagements, and all other ways imaginable. Yet now is this same abjured prelacy re-established, in all its former antichristian grandeur and tyrannical usurpation, neither out of love to the government itself, which is with us accompanied with so much power in state matters, and intolerable ambition in the persons, and insolent tyranny over all ranks of people, that it is sufficiently hateful; nor out of love to the persons installed, being deservedly contemptible to all, in whom is any measure of true ingenuity, for their treachery, perfidy, avarice, and pride; but merely to please the king, and out of pure enmity to the reformation, and to the gospel-government of Christ's house, and a desire after fleshly liberty and carnal licentiousness. Thus, contrary to all engagements, vows, covenants, solemn promises, and oaths, is this vomit and abominable crudity licked up again, and that cursed antichristian plant replanted, to our perpetual shame and infamy,—to the scandal of Christianity,—to the ruin of piety and of true religion,—to the introduction of popery and of all abomination,—to the dishonour of God, and contempt of Christ, of his laws and institutions,—yea, to the despite of the Holy Spirit, who witnessed his displeasure against the former prelates, the troublers of our Israel, by manifest plagues and judgments upon them and theirs; and his approbation of our reformation in discipline and government, as well as in doctrine and worship, by his signal owning thereof, and his blessing thereupon; and thereby commending it to every honest and serious conscience, beside the express declaration of the mind of God thereanent, in the written word. Now is a part of Eli's doom come upon us, for we see an enemy in the habitation of the Lord. Behold, the righteous Lord hath profaned his sanctuary, the excellency of our strength, the desire of our eyes, and the pity of our soul. 'O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever? Why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture? Remember thy congregation, which thou hast purchased of old, the rod of thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed, this Mount Zion, wherein thou hast dwelt. Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual desolations, even all that the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary. Thine enemies roar in the midst of thy congregation: they set up their ensigns for signs.'

V. "Fifthly,—That which I shall mention in the next place is, that which was laid as the ground of the preceding evil, and of all the concomitant and consequent corruptions in the church, and which will necessarily perpetuate the same, and reduce the church and all her interests to nothing, viz. the *supremacy* in ecclesiastical matters, assumed by, and granted to the king, as head of the church, no less than of the commonwealth; and this now screwed up to a supra-papal height, whereby Christ is dethroned and spoiled of his Royal prerogative and glory, as only Head and King to and over his visible church and kingdom; for he will not admit of a co-rival or competitor, nor suffer any to share of that glory which is due to him alone; and yet by this supremacy, a power in church matters is granted to the king, and that as his essential right, and inherent in the crown, equal to that which Christ himself assumeth and exerciseth in such things, as belong to the external reglement of church administrations; yea, this

power granted to the king is made superior to that which Christ exerciseth : for the king in all his injunctions and impositions must be obeyed, though he command in and about the worship of God, as such, what Christ hath not commanded, and consequently hath prohibited ; as also though he inhibit and discharge what Christ hath expressly enacted and enjoined. Is not this an image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy ? What is this, but to make the king, with Lucifer, the son of the morning, say, ‘ I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God ; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north : I will ascend above the heights of the clouds ; I will be like the most High,’ Isaiah xiv. 13, 14. But we well remember that word, 1 Sam. ii. 10. ‘ The adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces ; out of heaven shall he thunder upon them : the Lord shall judge the ends of the earth ; and he shall give strength unto his King, and exalt the horn of his Anointed ;’ and advise all to read, believe, and obey what is written, Psal. ii. and to consider what is said, Ezek. xxviii. 6, 8, 9, 10. But to proceed :—By this supremacy the church is bereaved of the liberty and privileges granted to, and purchased for her Lord, Redeemer, and King : the officers of the church are made to renounce their immediate allegiance unto, and dependance upon their only Lord and Head, Jesus Christ, and to derive their power and authority from another fountain, and act in subordination to, and by influences received from, another head. The nature of church government and discipline is utterly perverted, and church administrations are made to run in another channel ;—the church, as to her ecclesiastical being is annihilated ;—and there is no more a church, as such ; for, that company is now metamorphosed into a formal part of the civil polity, and is like unto any other company or society of merchants, tradesmen, or the like ;—all her courts and judicatories are perverted, as to the rise of their power, the nature of their actings, the authority by which they rule, and the end of their administrations ; yea, they are utterly made void and null, having nothing left to them but a precarious power to advise and consult about what is proposed, and to make chimerical acts and conclusions, whether touching the exercise of church censures, for removing of scandal, or the making of church canons and constitutions for the orderly regulating the affairs of the church, in alterable things, according to the general rules and laws of Christ in the gospel, which are wholly but ciphers, until confirmed, ratified, and authorized by the king or his delegate : thus, also, the natural and essential difference betwixt the church and the commonwealth, church officers and civil officers, church power and politic power, arising from their different originals, natures, work, manner of acting, and ends, is removed and quite destroyed ;—the power and saving ends of all church discipline and administrations are taken away ;—power is hereby granted to the king, to introduce all the external part of the Jewish and Romish religion, and an hundred times more, for there is no restraint or limitation annexed : hereby, a confusion is brought in, destructive of all that comely and edifying order, appointed and established by the God of order, as if we were wiser than God : hereby,

Christ's kingdom is made a kingdom of this world,—expressly contrary to his own plain denial, or else—*he* declared to be no more a king,—contrary to that faithful witness he did bear hereunto, while challenged by men; whereby, the very point of truth is denied, for which he died a martyr, as to men. Thus, all the laws, institutions, commands, ordinances, and appointments of Jesus Christ, in his spiritual kingdom, are made to avail unto a heterogeneous power, and to run in a civil channel; and consequently are made null and of no effect, as to their own proper and spiritual ends: the civil magistrate, as such, (and, consequently, though a pagan, an apostate, or a persecuting Julian,) is made a church-member, yea, a church-officer, and that of the highest degree; yea, the very fountain of all church-power and authority, contrary to all the laws of Christ, the nature of the church, and of church-power, and to the ground of church-privileges, and of right to them: hereby, the practice of the primitive and apostolic church, though influenced and regulated by the apostles, actuated by an infallible Spirit, in settling and appointing of gospel order, ordinances, and government, is rejected;—though appointed for a perpetual pattern to all gospel-churches, to the end of the world; yea, Christ and his apostles are hereby condemned, for erecting a kingdom within a kingdom, or a kingdom different and distinct from the temporal or political kingdom headed by Cæsar. This is an usurpation and encroachment, no way warranted by the word, but everywhere, both in the Old and New Testament, condemned; an evil having sad and direful effects, as to the doctrine, piety, worship, discipline, government, and all the concerns of the church;—suggested and contrived by licentious sycophants and base flatterers, who love not the yoke of Christ's discipline, nor to be under his laws and government, and therefore cry up the supreme magistrate, as supreme also in God's house and in Christ's kingdom, that they may state them with themselves, as the butt of the indignation of the King of Zion, who is a jealous God, and will not give his glory to another;—an evil repugnant and contradictory to, and destructive of all the proper ends of the institution of the church, and of church-ordinances, condemned by all the reformed in the Arminians and Erastians, and assented to by prelates and others, only for their own base ends, that they may thereby be advanced to, and settled in their antichristian usurpations and dominion over the church, according to that, *tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit ille Deum*;—an evil against which our worthy predecessors laboured with much faithfulness and zeal, constantly opposing all those encroachments, and legally, to their power, defending the just rights of Christ as King, and the privileges of his church and kingdom, by testimonies, protestations, declinations, and sad sufferings;—an evil against which we stand solemnly engaged, from the king upon the throne, to the meanest subject, both by the national covenant and by the solemn league and covenant;—an evil, finally, wherein we have exceeded and far outstripped those of England, and so have more than justified them in what they have done of this kind. 'Have respect unto the covenant: for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty. Arise, O God, plead thine own cause: remember how the

foolish man reproacheth thee daily. Forget not the voice of thine enemies: the tumult of those that rise up against thee increaseth continually.' Ps. lxxiv. 20, 22, 23.

VI. "Sixthly,—The next thing which I shall mention is that *Act of council* at Glasgow, whereby so many faithful and honest labourers in the Lord's vineyard, to the number of three hundred and above more than the third part of the whole ministry of *Scotland*, were at once thrust out from their work, banished from their flocks, made to wander with their families, they knew not whither; and the sentence was so framed, as that it was hardly conceivable where they could fix their abode. I shall not altogether justify the too ready submission that was given unto this tyrannical act, whether by myself, or others, supposing that (though I will not in *these*, deny the magistrate's power to dispose of the persons of ministers, as well as of other subjects, as he will answer to the supreme God, of whom he hath the power; nor question his authority to banish whether out of his whole dominions, or out of a part thereof, for civil crimes, knowing that in this he transgresseth not the lines of his jurisdiction, howbeit, as to the cause it may be an act of iniquity and oppression; yet) as matters then were stated, we were called of the Lord to stand to our post, until we had been personally and particularly thrust from our charges: yea, I conceive, hereby we gave too great encouragement to the enemy, to proceed in their intended work, to which this was an open door: the consideration of which with other circumstances, and sad consequences of this too ready yielding, (too many here to be mentioned) should have moved us to have fed our flocks, until personal force had particularly enforced our departure. But not to exaggerate this, further—that act of persecution, more suitable for Turks, or antichristian enemies, than for professors of the reformed truth—considering how all that was laid down for the ground thereof, was so insufficient, in point of reason or equity, to have founded such a sentence so tragical in itself, as circumstantiated; so insupportable and grievous to the persons and families of so many called and authorized ministers of Jesus Christ; and so destructive to the church and flock of God, cannot but be looked on as a crying sin of the land; and for which, all that would find mercy, in the day of God's anger, and be preserved from the destroying weapon, should sigh and cry: for what was this else, than a laying the church of God desolate, banishing away the means of knowledge, and with that, all piety, faith, fear, and religion;—an exposing of the flock of God to wolves, false teachers, and soul-murderers; or a giving of them up to perfect atheism, and barbarity: not to mention the iniquitous ground thereof, nor the wicked design, that was promoted and carried on thereby; nor the many lamentable and deplorable effects and consequences that followed thereupon;—all which are on record in heaven, and will be brought forth in judgment, in the day that the Lord of hosts, who is jealous for *Jerusalem* and for *Zion* with a great jealousy, shall return to *Jerusalem* with mercies, and build his house in it, and stretch forth a line upon it, and raise up carpenters that shall fray and cast out these horns of the Gentiles, which have scattered Judah, Israel, and *Jerusalem*. 'O Lord, behold and see how thy flock was scattered,

because there was no shepherd, and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered. O Lord God, according to thy word, both search thy sheep and seek them out; and feed them upon the mountains of Israel, by the rivers. Seek that which was lost; bring again that which was driven away; bind up that which is broken, and strengthen that which is sick. Set up one shepherd over them, that he may feed them, even thy servant David; let him feed them, and be their shepherd: and be thou the Lord their God, and thy servant David, a prince: away then, and make with them a covenant of peace, and cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land, that they may dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the woods.' Ezek. xxxiv. 23—25.

VII. "Seventhly,—Who can mention or recall to mind, without lamentation and wo, the inhumanity and cruelty, which is exercised to this day, to the end this defection from and rebellion against the Lord may be fixed, established, and perpetuated to after generations?—I mean the barbarous and cruel persecution of all ranks of persons, by chasing, harassing, fining, confining, imprisoning, deportation to American plantations, Highland outlaws, letters of intercommuning, &c. against all such as cannot and will not in all points comply with this course of apostasy from the truth, once delivered, received, professed, owned, and sworn to by all ranks of people. What a strange and wonderful matter is this, that non-compliers, or non-conformists must be so used, because they cannot turn so quickly as others do, who seem to have shaken off all the faith, and all the fear of God, nor turn so prodigiously profane and irreligious, as to shake off so easily all the bonds and obligations of oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, and whatever can either bind persons, as men, or as Christians, to stedfastness and constancy? How irrational is this, thus to vex and persecute them, because they will not in a moment change their judgments, thoughts, and apprehensions of these matters in question, when it is not in their power; and they dare not cudgel conscience to a corner, nor can they enjoin it to be silent, or to stand out of the way, as it is like some do? What then can all this cruel and barbarous persecution tend to, but to drive persons either to manifest and open atheism, or to avowed rebellion against God, in practising contrary to conscience, which always giveth forth its mandates and prohibitions in the name and authority of God? Particularly, how is it to be regretted and amented, that the faithful ministers of Jesus Christ are thus hunted, harassed, searched for, and drawn into prisons, for preaching the kingdom of Christ, and the poor people in the like manner troubled for hearing of them;—when the ministers are under a severe injunction of their Lord and Master, to preach in season, and out of season; and under a pressing necessity, yea under a wo and curse if they preach not the gospel;—and therefore *must* hazard the displeasure of men, before they run the risk of encountering with the wrath and anger of the great God, and by all lawful means possible endeavour faithfully and strenuously, upon the old score of dependance upon Christ, their only head and Lord, without acknowledgment of or subordination to that sinful and detestable corruption of abjured prelacy, to keep up the interest and kingdom of Jesus Christ; that by their means and ministry,

poor souls may be converted from nature to grace, others confirmed in the truth, and such as are seduced and led away from the truth, in this day of defection and apostasy, may be rightly informed, and brought into the way again; that thus Jesus Christ may be kept in possession of the land, and that ignorance, atheism, profanity, and wicked apostasy from the living God, may not continue thus to overspread all, and to infect the posterity, as an epidemic and hereditary plague; and thereby the Lord be provoked to give out an irrevocable sentence of non-churching us, and of removing the candlestick wholly, and so give us up either to popery or paganism:—on the other hand, when people are under the peremptory commands of the Lord, to hear such, as he hath sent, to own them, as his ambassadors, and to receive his word from their mouths, (whom he hath authorized and sent to speak to them in his name, and in his stead, and whom no civil power or authority can degrade or remove from this function, or from the exercise thereof, when they please;)—and dare not neglect their souls' welfare, by shunning to hear such as God hath sent, blesseth and countenanceth, whether in the open fields, or in private houses, howbeit contrary to the wicked laws of men; nor dare own and countenance those intruded and intruding hirelings and thieves, who have no lawful call from God, or man, conform to the gospel order and institutions; (who for the most part are persons manifestly given up to all wickedness, and become the very reproach and shame of moral men, let be of the holy ordinance of the ministry; and cannot but feed people with wind and lies, and drive on to, and confirm in a course of apostasy from, and rebellion against the true and living God; and who carry upon them all the marks of men disowned of God, which are given in Scripture;)—and when neither pastors nor people dare possibly comply with, or give any formal countenance unto this stated and continued course of opposition to the concerns and interests of Jesus Christ, the covenanted head and husband of the church of Scotland! 'Lord, for thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? arise, cast us not off for ever. Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest our affliction and our oppression? Arise for our help, and redeem us, for thy mercies' sake.' 'When wilt thou take out of our hand the cup of trembling, *even* the dregs of the cup of thy fury; that we no more may drink it again: when wilt thou put it into the hand of them that afflict us; which have said to our souls, Bow down, that we may go over?' Ps. xlv. 22—26. Isa. li. 22, 23.

VIII. "Eighthly,—I cannot but declare my dissent from, and dissatisfaction with *all compliances* with this course of defection and apostasy from the Lord, and opposition to, and manifest war waged against the Lord and his anointed; against his truth, his cause, his ordinances, his work, and his interest, first and last, whether by seeking or accepting of presentations and collations, by being present at bishops' meetings, and the like; or by bords, subscriptions, promises,—yea or by silence,—as being contrary to our solemn oaths and vows, made to the most High, and to our covenants, sworn with hands lifted up to the most high God, and a partaking of the sin of these open enemies to Christ and his cause; and a confirming of them, in their wicked courses of opposition to all

the concerns of our Lord. Especially and particularly, I must bear witness against the accepting of the Indulgence, (as it was called,) which I cannot but look upon, (whatever circumstances may, as to some, help to alleviate the matter,) considered in itself, as a provoking sin before the Lord; whether I notice the rise, fountain, and spring of this hell hatched device, founded upon, and directly and expressly rising out of the sinful and usurped supremacy; or notice the end, design, and native tendency thereof,—*to wit*, to break the suffering party; that being divided and broken, they may become the more weak, and so the more easily suppressed and triumphed over; to confirm the standing defection from the covenanted cause and truth; and the usurpation of Christ's crown; and spoiling the church of her just and lawful privileges; and to lull people asleep in blindness, security, and unconcernedness, in the trite and dreadful controversy which the Lord hath with the land this day; and in the principal duties called for at the hands of all who would be approven of God, as stedfast and faithful, in this day of trial:—or notice the sad and native effects and consequences thereof, whether in and upon themselves and ministry, or upon the people to whom they preach, or upon their brethren, or upon the faithful owners of and sufferers for the truth and for following their duty, or upon the stated enemies to Christ's concerns. When, I say, I take notice of these things considerable in it, and with all, call to mind its relation to, dependance upon, and confirmation of that horrid usurpation of the supremacy, screwed up to such a height, in the explicatory, or rather amplicatory act made thereanent, which some, who had a chief hand in the contrivance and carrying on of the Indulgence, have openly confessed, and confidently declared, when they affirmed, that the one was done to make way for the other; and consider moreover, how in itself it is a tacit and virtual (at least, if not more formal and direct) renouncing of the former *ground* ministers stood upon, and *call* by which they acted, and *authority* with which they were clothed: a consenting unto and confirming of the usurped supremacy: a subordinating of the ministry and of ministers, in their most spiritual and ministerial acts, in dispensing word, sacraments, and church censures, unto the magistrate: an overturning of our former orthodox and presbyterian grounds: a wronging of the churches and the lawful pastors, in their just liberties and privileges: a condemning of all our former contendings and pleadings for, and laudable assertings of the true prerogative of Christ, as king of his church, and the just privileges of the church, his kingdom: a wreathing an Erastian yoke upon the neck of the church and her ministers, under which she and they may be made to groan long enough: and consequently a violating of our sacred bonds and obligations: considering, I say, these things, I cannot but look upon the *Indulgence* itself, (abstracting always from the intentions of the persons, who have accepted the same, as being confident, that such of them, as I know, and hopeful that others, have not had any corrupt or sinister design in the matter as accepted and established,) as the greatest wound our cause hath got since this lamentable change began, and as a stab given to it under the fifth rib. Wherein, I am confirmed not only by the present too visible and sad effects thereof, formerly in part hinted; but

also, by the sad fears and apprehensions I have of the sad consequences of this preparative, in time coming,—too frequent experience teaching, that magistrates are loath to part with what power in church matters they have once been in possession of. It cannot with colour be pretended, as ground of excuse, that there was a necessity to preach the gospel, to which this was a necessary *medium*; for as this had not the least consideration, in the designs and intentions of the contrivers of, and actors in this affair; so the door to preach the gospel stood open for them, as well as for others, who to this day continue to preach the gospel, upon their old call and commission, though with hazard, and without man's countenance and authority: and if zeal for the kingdom and house of Christ had made a thorough reconciliation with the cross, and eaten up all sinful love to ease, peace, and quiet, all apprehended difficulties might easily have been overcome,—they might have stood in their integrity, and remained united with their brethren:—so, many had not been made to stumble and offend, the hearts of the godly had not been so grieved, nor the enemy made to rejoice, and the church had been much more edified. And though they have no dependance upon, nor relation to prelates, yet experience proveth, that this way hath not a little contributed to their peaceable and quiet possession of their unlawful places, and usurped authority. ‘Should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations? wouldest not thou be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping? O Lord God of Israel, thou art righteous; for we remain yet escaped, as it is this day: behold, we are before thee in our trespasses; for we cannot stand before thee because of this,’ Ezra ix. 14, 15.

IX. “Ninthly,—It cannot but be sad and afflicting to consider, that there hath been so little zeal and courage, in this generation, to withstand and oppose this course of dreadful and shameful defection, by faithful and open witnessing for the truth;—notwithstanding that the truth and glory of that cause and work, which is now overturned, was so manifest and conspicuous, that none, before this catastrophe, had a face to deny it, yea or to make the least doubt thereof; and notwithstanding we were all from the highest to the lowest, so solemnly and so frequently engaged by covenants, by vows, by oaths, and by promises, to own it, and avow it upon all hazards;—and notwithstanding we had the same work and cause, many times and many ways owned and asserted by the God of heaven, and confirmed by his visible appearances, in the behalf thereof, in the wonderful works of judgment against the enemies, and in his wonderful works of mercy for the favourers and maintainers thereof;—and notwithstanding we had the example of our noble and magnanimous predecessors before us, who did not quit their post so basely, as we have done, but did bear plain and faithful witness, both more publicly, and more privately, against all encroachments made upon, or injuries done unto the work of God, and the liberties of the church, and ordinances of Christ; and stood to their rights, maintaining the cause of Jesus Christ, so long as they could stand, by protestations, petitions, declinatures, declarations, and faithful ministerial witnessing to and pleading for the truth, both in public and in private. How may our faces be filled with shame, when we call to

mind and remember, how those, who were under more disadvantages than we were, did carry themselves valiantly, considering their circumstances, and acted their part like men, from year to year, without wearying or giving over the cause, under continued and growing troubles and difficulties, tossings, harassings, citations before the council, and high-commission courts, letters of horning, confinement, imprisonment, sentences to death, banishment, relegations, and what not, that malice and wickedness could invent; and notwithstanding all this lasting and growing persecution, did faithfully, so far as lay in their power, endeavour by witnessings, sufferings, and all legal courses imaginable, to transmit the truth to us their posterity, pure and entire: and when upon the other hand, we look back and consider, how we have appeared so little, in the defence of and witnessings for these truths and interests of Christ, which our forefathers accounted more dear and precious, than their goods, liberties, blood, and lives, when the opposition made, and the destruction and overthrow intended against them, was so manifest, clear, and undeniable to all? How must it be a lamentation, and for a lamentation, in all time coming, that there is not this day a standing testimony, from any church-judicatory, higher or lower, against this unparalleled defection? How may the posterity curse our carriage and cowardice, who by our fainting and fearfulness have betrayed the cause, and them, into the hands of these enemies? This maketh me imagine, that when our Lord shall come again to vindicate and assume his own rights, and to plead his own cause, he shall not possibly follow such a legal and formal like course, as formerly; but shall appear, as a jealous king, in wrath and great fury, to assert immediately, and recover by sore judgments, his own prerogative and interests; and all flesh shall be afraid, and even such, as have through his grace and goodness, been preserved from siding with those workers of iniquity, and from running with them to the same excess of opposition to, and rebellion against the Lord, shall cover their faces with shame, and cry out, 'We have sinned, we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags.' And at present, we may with Daniel pray, and say, 'We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts, and from thy judgments. O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off. O Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee. Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice: therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against Him. —We have sinned, we have done wickedly. O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, let thine anger be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us. Now therefore, O our God, cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate.' Isa. lxiv. 6. Dan. ix. 5, 7, 8, 11, 15—17.

X. "Tenthly,—I shall not much take notice of the screwing up of

the prerogative, in civil matters, many pegs above whatever was formerly; nor of (which is but a native consequent of this) the many iniquitous acts and actings, tending to the prejudice of the subjects as to their civil rights and privileges, and to the hurt and detriment of the common good, which rulers should by all lawful means seek to promote, and not seek their own greatness and establishment: for, when rulers have shaken off all the fear of God, and have destroyed the spiritual rights and privileges of their subjects, as Christians, it is but a small matter to rob them also of what is their due, as men, and as members of the civil society: where soul interests are taken away, the loss of bodily interests is not much to be regretted, or bewailed. Only, it is to be observed, as a righteous act in the just and holy God, that the land should be made to groan, under a yoke of tyranny and bondage, in their civil concerns, which did not groan under, nor lament for their bondage and slavery in spiritual matters; but out of sinful and excessive love to their temporal trifles, and out of a vain hope and expectation of great advancements therein, and increases thereof, did too willingly follow after the command, and not only yield to, but also concur in, the overthrow of all the precious interests of Jesus, which as Christians, we were obliged to prefer to all our particular, civil, and temporal concernments whatsoever. Thus the Lord hath, in a manner, made good what was threatened by Moses, ‘Because thou servedst not the Lord thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things; therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies, which the Lord shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things: and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck, until he have destroyed thee.’ And whether the Lord shall not pursue us further, as is thereby threatened, in the following verses, who can tell? We have reason, sure, to be afraid; and in the meantime, may with Nehemiah say, ‘Howbeit thou art just in all that is brought upon us; for thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly: neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers, kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments, and thy testimonies, wherewith thou didst testify against them. For they have not served thee in their kingdom, and in the large and fat land which thou gavest before them, neither turned they from their wicked works. Behold, we are servants this day; and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers, to eat the fruit thereof, and the good thereof, behold, we are servants in it; and it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins: also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure; and we are in great distress.’ Deut. xxviii. 47, 48. Neh. ix. 33—37.

XI. “Eleventhly,—The prodigious growth and abounding of profanity, atheism, unparalleled blasphemy, and impudent wickedness of all sorts, that now swarmeth over the whole land, and that among all ranks of persons, should be witnessed against. This spirit of wickedness and all ungodliness, that now carrieth away even many, that formerly seemed at least outwardly religious and civil persons, as it is the constant concomitant of this course of defection prevailing, and an evident demonstration of the Lord’s departure from the land, and of his

withdrawing his restraining influences ; so it prognosticateth sore and dreadful plagues, and wrathful judgments to be coming on the land. To which may be added, the falling away of so many to popery and quakerism ; a clear evidence it is, that the love of the truth hath not been received, when so many are given up to strong delusions, to believe a lie. And howbeit many may think this little concerneth them, so being, they be not themselves chargeable with these evils ; yet all these evils bring guilt upon the land ; and for them the land will be made to mourn, and every one that dwelleth therein be made to languish. These are (to speak so) *debitum fundi* ; and as they are the native consequences and fruit of our departing from God, and breaking wedlock ; so because of both, we may look for terrible destructions and judgments making desolate, when the sword of the Lord,—with which he shall avenge the quarrel of his covenant, and which is sharpened to make a sore slaughter, and furbished that it may glitter, and to consume because of the glittering,—shall be drawn, and put into the hand of the slayer,—then shall it devour flesh : and when the Lord shall draw forth his sword out of his sheath, and cut off from the land the righteous and the wicked, and stretch out his hand against us to destroy us, as being weary with repenting, because we have forsaken the Lord, and are gone backward ; then shall we reap the fruit of our doings, and our own wickedness shall correct us, and our backslidings shall reprove us ; and we shall know and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that we have forsaken the Lord our God, and that his fear is not in us. “ How long, Lord ? wilt thou be angry for ever ? shall thy jealousy burn like fire ? O remember not against us former iniquities : let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us ; for we are brought very low. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name ; and deliver us, and purge away our sins.’ Ps. lxxix. 5, 8, 9.

XII. “ Twelfthly,—I must not forget to bear witness unto that loyal and magnanimous attempt to set the crown again upon the head of our Lord ; to deliver the whole land from the insupportable yoke of tyranny, and unjust and illegal oppression both of soul and body ; to recover the rights and privileges of the church, which by wicked hands had been robbed and taken away ; to vindicate, according to the covenants of the Lord, the just and lawful rights and liberties of the subject ; to re-establish, according to solemn oaths and vows, the true and only lawful government of the house of God ; to put a stop to the further progress of that defection and apostasy from God which had been for several years carried on with great madness and fury ; and consequently to prevent the dreadful and terrible judgments of God, which our wicked and woful backslidings from the living God, and our covenanted Lord and husband, could not but procure at the hands of the jealous and righteous Lord Jehovah :—I mean that laudable enterprise and adventure, in the year 1666, undertaken in such singleness and simplicity of heart, followed and managed with such integrity and freedom from self-seeking designs, desire of private revenge, or the like corrupt principles and intentions ; as that all, not maliciously pre-occupied in their judgments, and blinded with prejudice, could not but be convinced of the innocency of the whole design ; and approve

of the same, as a truly commendable and praiseworthy undertaking. It is true, it seemed not good in the eyes of the Lord, to countenance the same, and to make it prosperous: but that is so far from laying the ground of its condemnation to me (for I dare not look upon Jehovah, with such eyes of flesh, and to such as would make such inferences, I shall only say,—

————— careat successibus opto,
Quisquis, ab eventu facta notanda putet,)

that I look upon the dispensation, as saying upon the one hand, that the cordial appearance for Christ and his interest, was too late, and should have been in the year 1660, (and not first in the year 1666,) when the enemies of the Lord first appeared with their design to overthrow the whole work of the Lord, and to bring us back into Egypt, and the defection was breaking in as a flood. Had the faithful of the land then appeared for the Lord and his cause, and resolved to have Christ and his interests secured, cost what it would, the Lord had probably appeared on their head, and given success to the work; but when instead thereof, there was such a willing going after the command, and such an universal and formal joining with the wicked, and conspiring against the Lord; and such as should have been valiant for the truth, were so couching under the burden and loving rest, as that virtually at least, and interpretatively by their silence, they consented to all that was enacted and concluded against the Lord, and against his Anointed, what could now have been expected? And may not righteousness be ascribed unto the Lord, in this disappointment, upon this very account? Again, I look upon the dispensation, as saying, upon the other hand, that this appearance was too early,—I mean, that the time of our delivery was not yet near at hand, it being equitable and just, that we should first drink deeper of the cup, which we had mingled for ourselves; and should find by more bitter experience, the difference betwixt the service of the Lord, and the service of enemies; and should be made to serve the enemies of the Lord, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things, and have a yoke of iron upon our necks, until we be destroyed; because we would not serve the Lord our God, with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things. Of this, I shall say no more, (though it is to be feared, that their mentioning the king's interest together with Christ's, where the king was, as such, so formally and directly stated against Christ and his cause, that they were incompatible and inconsistent, might have been a provocation in the eyes of His jealousy;) nor need I adduce reasons to justify the same, in itself, upon the part of the undertakers, seeing the Lord from heaven did give such a proof of his approbation thereof, as to their single end, in causing such as were called to suffer at the hands of man for the same, ride so triumphantly in the chariot of heavenly joy and consolation, through all the terrors and fears of the king of terrors, and through the malice and rage of imbittered enemies, who thirsted for blood, and executed their cruelty with fury; and in helping them so wonderfully and undauntedly to speak in the defence thereof, and to seal the same most cheer-

fully and courageously with their blood and lives ; and others to suffer upon the account thereof, loss of their estates, and long imprisonment, and other hardships, not only without the least regret, but even with joy and gladness of heart. ‘ O God, thou hast cast us off, thou hast scattered us, thou hast been displeased ; O turn thyself to us again. Thou hast made the earth to tremble ; thou hast broken it ; heal the breaches thereof ; for it shaketh. Thou hast showed thy people hard things ; thou hast made us to drink the wine of astonishment. Thou hast cast us off, and put us to shame ; and goest not forth with our armies. Thou makest us to turn back from the enemy ; and they which hate us spoil for themselves. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem ; and there was none to bury them. We are become a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and derision to them that are round about us. How long, Lord ? wilt thou be angry for ever ? shall thy jealousy burn like fire ?’ Ps. lx. 1—3. xlv. 9—12. lxxix. 2—5.

XIII. “ Lastly,—I must also give testimony against that yearly abomination, and renewed declaration of the land’s apostasy and defection from God :—I mean, the celebration and solemn observation of the *twenty-ninth of May*, yearly ; not only upon the account, that it is called an *holyday*, (though in mere mockery both to God and man so called, being indeed a day rather set apart to Bacchus, than sanctified to the Lord, and like that day mentioned Hosea vii. 5.) as if man could sanctify and set apart to the Lord, any part of time, in any revolution of weeks, months, or years ; which is the Lord’s prerogative alone ; and therefore cannot be observed, even by preaching, without homologating this usurped power ; and a professed declaration of our superstitious mind, besides the prostitution of the holy ordinance of preaching to usher in a feast for *Bacchus* and *Venus* ; and to begin and make a part of the solemnity of such a profane day. Nor yet, only upon the account that it is the celebration of the king’s birthday ; for which we have no warrant either by command, or approved example ; and which is a practice savouring more of paganism than of Christianity, both as to its original, and as to its observation ; and hath been attended with snares, superstition, and several other vanities. But mainly, upon the account of the ground and fundamental reason of the institution and observation, set down in the narrative of the act, made thereanent ; whereby the proper genius of the day, and the native tendency of the work thereof, is manifestly declared, to be a solemn declaration before angels and men, of our condemning the whole work of reformation, blaspheming the name and work of the Lord, fathering the same upon the devil, (as the wicked Pharisees did father the wonderful works of our Lord and Saviour on Beelzebub, the prince of devils ; a great ingredient in, if not the greatest part, or whole, of the unpardonable sin, the sin against the Holy Ghost,) by calling and accounting it a work of rebellion ;—a rejoicing in this overthrow and shameful catastrophe ;—profanely offering and presuming to give thanks to the Lord, for the cause of all our sin and shame :—an hardening of

our hearts, after a high manner of presumption, in this our rebellion against the Lord:—a bringing of the guilt of all this apostasy upon our heads; and that yearly, with a piece of profane (yet very suitable) solemnity:—a yearly solemn dedication of ourselves and posterity to the principal author of this wickedness, for the carrying on of all the ends thereof:—and a plain and solemn obliging of ourselves to perpetuate this defection and apostasy; so that, the least countenance given unto the observation of this day, under whatsoever colour or pretext, doth manifestly homologate this stated opposition to the prince of the kings of the earth; bring on the guilt of all this evil, and expose the observer to all those judgments, with which the righteous Lord shall punish this defection and apostasy. ‘Thus have we corrupted ourselves; our spot is not the spot of his children: we are a perverse and crooked generation. Do we thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? is not he our Father that hath bought us? hath he not made us, and established us? Did not the Lord find us in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness? he led us about, he instructed us, he kept us as the apple of his eye. As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings; so the Lord alone did lead us, and there was no strange god with us. But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: we forsook God which made us, and lightly esteemed the Rock of our salvation. We provoked him to jealousy with strange gods, with abominations provoked we him to anger. Of the Rock that begat us we are unmindful, and have forgotten God that formed us.’ May we not fear that ‘the Lord hath abhorred us, because of the provoking of his sons and of his daughters;’—And hath said,—‘I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be: for they have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God; they have provoked me to anger with their vanities: and I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; and I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation!—For a fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains. I will heap mischiefs upon them; I will spend mine arrows upon them. They shall be burnt with hunger, and devoured with burning heat, and with bitter destruction. The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling also, with the man of gray hairs.’ Deut. xxxii. 5, 6, 10—12, 15—25.*

* The preceding Testimony has been copied expressly for the present work from one of the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates’ Library. It has never before been published, so far as the Editor is aware; and he cannot but regard it as forming a very valuable addition to the previously printed Testimonies of the Scots Worthies. Indeed, whether we think of the high degree of respectability which attaches to the name of its Author, or look to its own intrinsic merits, it cannot but be viewed as an interesting relic, of the zeal, fidelity, and public spirit,—in the cause of civil and religious liberty—by which our covenanting forefathers were so eminently distinguished. It is entitled, “Orig. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. 4to. M. S. xcvi. Rob. III. 5, 8. art. 23.”

XXIII. JAMES MITCHEL.

[Mr. Mitchel, having finished his studies, and obtained the degree of Master of Arts, at the university of Edinburgh, was licensed to preach the gospel about the year 1661. How he employed himself during the interval is unknown; but in 1666, having joined the insurgents in their progress to Pentland, though not present at the battle, he was induced to go abroad, and remained in Flanders till the beginning of 1668. It was on the 11th of July, that year, he made the attempt on the life of Archbishop Sharp, for which he was condemned. Having escaped till the year 1674, he was then discovered, and taken by the Archbishop's brother. He was shortly after tried; but the diet being deserted for want of proof, he was remanded to prison, and continued till January 1676, when he was put to the torture. He was, after this, detained for another year in prison, and then sent to the Bass, till 1678, when he was again tried, and being condemned on a confession which he had judicially retracted, suffered death, on the 18th of January that year.* Of these latter particulars, the reader will find very ample information in the following authentic documents, which, with his Testimony and Last words, he left behind him.]

1. ACCOUNT OF HIS TRIAL.

“Edinburgh, January 18th, 1678.—My accusation before the Justices was, that I shot a pistol at the archbishop of St. Andrews, in

* His execution was at last most cruelly hurried forward, contrary to the following very moving petition of his wife; a petition, to accede to which, it seems, was too much for the wisdom and humanity of the Commissioners even after detaining him in prison for four long years.

“The humble supplication of Elizabeth Somervill, the poor wife of the sentenced Mr. James Mitchel, unto the right honourable the lords of his majesty's privy council,

“Humbly sheweth;

“That whereas your supplicant's husband was upon Thursday last, by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Justiciary, sentenced to die upon Friday next, the 18th day of January instant, and that it cannot be otherways conceived, but in nature and humanity, your supplicant hath an ardent desire to see her husband, and to take her long farewell of him before he die, which at present she cannot do, nor will she be able to do betwixt and the said day, in respect of her present case and condition, it not being above twelve days since she was brought to bed of a child, and presently affected with a fever, and where through she will be disappointed and frustrate of that her only worldly desire, and thereby may be brought to the grave as soon as her husband, unless your lordships graciously prevent the same.

“May it therefore please your lordships, for the love of Christ, mercifully to consider the premises, and be graciously pleased to reprieve the foresaid sentence for such a time, as your gracious lordships shall think expedient, that your poor indigent supplicant may be in that space capable to see her said husband, and take her last farewell of him, and your supplicant shall ever pray.

ELIZABETH SOMERVILL.”*

* Naphtali, p. 411.

July 1668, whereby the bishop of Orkney was wounded in the arm, and that I did confess the same before my lord chancellor and the council. But my defence amongst others was, that my confession I made was upon oath and promise made to me, upon life and safety; and indeed the promise made to me by my lord chancellor, was in these words, ‘ Upon my great oath and reputation, if I be chancellor, I shall save your life. And if ye will not confess, the council will take another way to make it out,’ which I took for the boots, which afterwards I found: and the justices did indeed find my confession to be a judicial one, although I did refuse to own it before the court, but did expressly retract it, unless that the abovementioned promise were made good to me: it was likewise true, that they did also sustain my defence upon the said oath and promise made to me. And when the indictment came to be proven by the lords, viz. my lord chancellor and other lords of council witnessed against me, because at the said time they also denied the making, or any knowledge of the making any such oath or promise to me; but it having pleased the lord to provide me the copy of an act of council, which was made by the said lords, and subscribed (as I believe) by my lord chancellor, wherein the same oath and promised assurance, is expressly granted to have been given to me by warrant of the lord commissioner, for the time in council; albeit it be by the same act revoked, for the reasons therein mentioned;—the lords who had witnessed against me, were greatly moved, and did with great vehemency press the justices, that no such act should be received, to prove for me, since it did so directly contradict what they had sworn; which, though it was no ways reasonable, that the oaths of any should prejudice me, contrary to the truths and proofs adduced by me; yet the justices were necessitate, without hearing my advocate upon the matter, to reject the foresaid act, and put me off from so clear a probation of my defence; whereupon, I was found guilty by the assizers, upon the ground of my said confession; albeit, in all likelihood the assizers would not have found me guilty, if the act of council had been received, seeing the lord-justice had declared, that the foresaid truth being proven, it should take off my confession.* However it is most certain, that the indictment against

* There can be no doubt whatever as to the truth and accuracy of the statement here given. In proof of it we subjoin the copy of the act here referred to, which was left by Mr. Mitchel among the rest of his papers. It will be found to agree throughout with that preserved by Wodrow in the first volume of his history; and, notwithstanding the oaths of several of the commissioners, and among the rest, of the Primate, to the contrary; it proves most decidedly that the confession on which they condemned him was made under promise of indemnity, and could therefore afford no valid ground for the sentence which was passed upon him.

‘ Act of Council anent the Chancellor’s promise.

“ Edinburgh, March 12th, 1674. —The lord commissioner his grace, and lords of his majesty’s privy council, having appointed a committee to examine Mr. James Mitchel, prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the said Mr. James being brought before the said committee, he did make a free and voluntary confession of his accession to the said rebellion and rising in arms in the west, and

me was carried on against both right and truth : but remitting this unto the Lord, who one day will clear both me and all his servants in his most righteous judgment, I have here subjoined myself, principles, and foresaid practices, as they were set down in a letter to a friend, and another declaration written by me, when first convened before the lord justices in the year 1674.

“ Edinburgh Tolbooth, February — 1674,—Sir, Me who may justly call myself ‘ less than the least of all saints, and the chiefest of all sinners,’ yet, Christ Jesus calleth to be a witness for his despised truth, and trampled-on interests and cause, by the wicked, blasphemous, and God-contemning generation, and against all their perfidious wickedness. Sir, I say, the confidence I have in your real friendship, and love to Christ’s truth, people, interest, and cause, has encouraged me to write to you at this time, hoping ye will not misconstruct me, nor take advantage of my infirmity and weakness. You have heard of my indictment, which I take up in these two particulars : *First*, As

that after he had notice of the same, he went from Edinburgh with colonel Wallace and others, and was with the rebels there, and from thence came alongst and was with them until the night before the fight at Pentland hills, and that at the desire of captain Arnot he came then to Edinburgh, to speak to some persons concerning them ; and being examined upon the attempt made upon the person of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and *who* shot the pistol at the said archbishop, when the bishop of Orkney was hurt, in the month of January, 1668,—he did declare that the time, and the day that the said attempt was made, he was in the town of Edinburgh, and that he had bought the pistol, which was about him charged with three balls, when he was apprehended, about the time when the bishop was shot, from Alexander Logan, dag-maker in Leith Wynd, but refused he was the person that made the attempt, until having retired apart with one of the said committee, he did confess, upon his knees, that he was the person, *upon assurance given him by one of the committee, as to his life, who had warrant from the commissioner and council to give the same*, and did thereafter confess freely before all that were at the said committee, that he shot the said pistol at the said archbishop, and did subscribe his confession in presence of the said committee, which is also subscribed by them. And thereafter, the said Mr. James in presence of the said commissioner his grace, and council, did renew and adhere to the said confession, as to his accession to the rebellion and attempt aforesaid, and acknowledged he made the said attempt, because that the said archbishop had a hand in troubling and persecuting those that were in the rebellion ; and nevertheless, being brought before the lords commissioners of the justiciary, and asked, if he owned the said confession, he did altogether refuse to answer and adhere to the said confessions, notwithstanding he was told by the said commissioners of the justiciary, and his majesty’s advocate, that if he would adhere to his said confessions, he should have the benefit of the said assurance, and if otherwise, he should lose the same. The lord commissioner his grace, and the lords of his majesty’s privy council, do declare, that they are free ; and that the said Mr. James ought not to have the benefit of any such promise or assurance, and that the same is altogether void, and that the lords of the justiciary and assizers ought to proceed without any respect to the same : and further do declare, that the said Mr. James Mitchel is that person intended and mentioned in the proclamation in the years 1668 and 1669, discharging any intercommuning with the rebels therein mentioned, and excepting the said Mr. James, and other persons therein mentioned, from his majesty’s favour and indemnity, and no other name of Mr. James Mitchel, though there had been any other of that name involved in the said rebellion.”—*Naphtali*, pp. 408, 409.

they term it, rebellion and treason;—‘ anent which I answered to my lord chancellor in committee, that it was no rebellion, but a duty which every one was bound to have performed in joining with that party.’ And in the year 1656, Mr. Robert Leighton being then primar in the college of Edinburgh, before our laureation, tendered to us the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant. Upon mature deliberation, I found nothing in them but a short compend of the moral law, only binding us to our duty towards God and towards men in their several stations; and I finding that our banished king’s interest lay wholly included therein, and both coronation and allegiance oaths, &c. and they being the substance of all loyalty; and, my lord, it was well known, that then many were taking the tender, and forswearing Charles Stuart, parliament, and house of lords, I then subscribed both, the doing of which my lord chancellor would have stood at no less rate, if as well known, than, this my present adhering and prosecuting the ends thereof doth now. And when I was questioned what then I called rebellion; I answered, it is in Ezra vii. 26. ‘ And whosoever will not do the law of thy God and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.’ But being questioned before the commissioner and the council thereanent, I answered as I said to my lord chancellor before, in the year 1656, ‘ Mr. Robert Leighton being then primar in the college of Edinburgh, before our laureation, he tendered to us the national and solemn league and covenant:’ he stopt me, saying, ‘ I’ll wad ye are come here to give a testimony:’ and then being demanded what I called rebellion, if it was not rebellion to oppose his majesty’s forces in the face?—to which I answered, viz. ‘ My lord chancellor, if it please your grace, I humbly conceive they should have been with us,’ meaning, that it was the duty of these forces to have joined *with* us, according to the national and solemn league and covenant, at which answer I perceived him to storm. ‘ But,’ saith he, ‘ I heard ye have been over seas, with whom did ye converse there?’ *Ans.* ‘ With my merchant.’ ‘ But,’ saith he, ‘ With whom in particular?’ *Ans.* ‘ With one John Mitchel a cousin of mine own.’ Saith he, ‘ I have heard of him, he is a factor in Rotterdam,’ to which I conceded. ‘ But,’ saith he, ‘ Did ye not converse with Mr. Livingston, and such as he?’ To which I answered, ‘ I conversed with all our banished ministers:’ To which he replied, ‘ Banished *traitors*, ye will speak treason at the bar.’ Then he answered himself, saying, ‘ But they would call the shooting at the bishop an heroic act.’ To which I answered, ‘ That I never told them any such thing.’ ‘ But where did you see James Wallace last?’ *Ans.* ‘ Towards the borders of Germany, some years ago.’ ‘ But what ailed you at my lord St. Andrews?’ (pointing at him with his finger) *Ans.* ‘ My lord commissioner, the grievous oppression and horrid bloodshed of my brethren, and the eager pursuit after my own, as it appeareth this day to your grace, and to all his majesty’s honourable privy council.’ After which he commanded to take me away, that they might see what to do next with me.

“ The *Second* is the shooting of the shot intended against the bishop of St Andrews, whereby the bishop of Orkney was hurt : to which I answered my lord chancellor in private, viz. ‘ That I looked on him to be the main instigator of all the oppression and bloodshed of my brethren that followed thereupon, and the continual pursuing after my own ; and, my lord, as it was creditably reported to us (the truth of which your lordship knows better than we) that he kept up his majesty’s letter inhibiting any more blood upon that account, until the last six were executed ; and I being a soldier not having laid down arms, but being still upon my own defence, and having no other end nor quarrel at any man (but according to my apprehension of him) that as I hope in sincerity, without fixing either my sense or action upon the covenant itself, as it may be understood by the many thousands of the faithful, besides the prosecution of the ends of the same covenant which was, and in that point the overthrow of prelates and prelacy, and I being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to me in like manner : so, I never found myself obliged, either by the law of God, or nature, to set a sentry at his door for his safety ; but as he was always to take his advantage, as it appeareth ; so I of him, to take any opportunity offered. Moreover, we being in no terms of capitulation, but on the contrary, I by his instigation being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to pursue him at all occasions. Also, my lord, Sir William Sharp making his apology, anent his unhandsome and cheating way taken, (for he took me under the pretence to have spoken with me about other matters, I not knowing him until five or six of his servants were laying fast hold of me, they being armed of purpose,) desired I would excuse him, seeing what he had done was on his brother’s account ; which excuse I easily admitted, seeing that he thought himself obliged to do what he did to me, without law or order in the behalf of his brother ; much more was I obliged to do what I did in the behalf of many brethren, whose oppression was so great, and whose blood he caused to be shed in such abundance. Moreover, he persisted in his bloody murders, as witnesseth the wounding of Mr. Bruce, at his taking, by his emissaries, some few days before that fell out concerning himself. Now, if by any means, in taking him away, I could have put a stop to the then current persecution, I esteemed it my duty.’ Thus far I have truly resumed what passed.

“ But this answer to the second part of the indictment may be thought by some to be a step out of my ordinary way ; wherefore I shall offer to your consideration that passage, Deut. xiii. 9.* wherein it

* The reader will perhaps be pleased by having the remarkable passage here alluded to, quoted in full. It is as follows :—Deut. xiii. 6—11. “ If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers ; namely, of the gods of the people which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth ; thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him ; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal

is manifest, that the seducer, or enticer to worship a false god, is to be put to death, by the hand of those whom he seeks to turn away from the Lord; especially by the hand of the witnesses, whereof I am one, as appeareth, in Deut. xiii. chap. Which precept, I humbly take to be moral, and not merely judicial, and that it is not at all ceremonial or Levitical: and as every moral precept is universal, as to the extent of place, so also as to the extent of time and persons. Upon which command, Sir, I think that Phinehas acted in taking away the Midianitish whore, and killed him whom she had seduced, Num. xxv. 8. Also Elijah, by virtue of that precept, gave commandment to the people to destroy Baal's priests, contrary to the command of the seducing magistrate, who was not only remiss and negligent in executing justice, but became a protector and defender of the seducers. Then, and in that case, I suppose the Christian's duty not to be very dark. Moreover, we see that the people of Israel, 2 Chron. xxxi. 1. destroyed idolatry not only in Judah, wherein the king concurred, but in Israel and in Manasseh, where the king himself was an idolater. And surely what all the people were bound to do by the law of God, every one was bound to do it, to the uttermost of their power and capacity. And so it was in Zech. xiii. 3.;—there, the seducer's father and mother shall put him to death. I take this to be meant of the Christian magistrate; but when he is withdrawn by the seducer from the exercise of his office and duty, and is become utterly remiss and negligent in putting the seducer to death, according to God's express law, (which is not to be expected of him, since then he should do justice upon himself,) but is become a protector and defender of the idolater; then, I doubt not, but that it doth become the duty of every Christian, to the uttermost of his power and capacity, to destroy and cut off both idolatry and idolaters. Yea, these presumptuously murdering prelates, ought to be called so by the avenger of blood, when he meeteth them, by the express commandment of God, seeing the thing is manifestly true, and not to have liberty to flee to such cities of refuge, as the vain pretext of lawful authority: but they should be taken from the horns of such altars, and be put to death. Moreover, what is spoken concerning Amalek, upon the account he designed and resolved the extirpation of the Lord's people and truth, (which are his throne,) upon which he put forth his hand, and because he took occasion against them. Exod. xvii. 14. Num. xxiv. 20. He endeavoured that God should not have a people to serve him according to his revealed will upon earth; and if he could have effectuated his design, there should none have lived, who would not have served and worshipped him, and his idol gods. And for the better effectuating his design, he took occasion against them, when they were wearied coming out of Egypt, Deut. xxv. 17, 18. and the reason there annexed is, 'he feared

him; but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people. And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die; because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and from the house of bondage. And all Israel shall hear, and fear, and shall do no more any such wickedness as this is among you."

not God.' And because I know that the bishops both will and do say, that what they did against the Lord's people, whom they murdered, they did it by law and authority, but what I did was contrary to both;—I answer, The king himself, and all the estates of the land, and every individual person in the land, both were, and are obliged by the oath of God upon them, to have, by force of arms, extirpated the perjured prelates and prelacy; and in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes. The covenants being engaged to on these terms, viz. 'After supplications, remonstrances, protestations, and all other lawful means have been used now for that effect;'—as the last remedy we took up arms; upon which condition, our nobility, and all the representatives of the nation, according to the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, gave to the king both the sword and sceptre, and set the crown upon his head; and he accordingly received them, and promised and swore by the ever living God, to use and improve them for the use forsaid: and especially in order to the performing this article, viz. 'the extirpation and overthrow of prelacy.' And now they vaunt of authority; of what authority they do mean to speak of, truly I know not, except it be the authority of their aggregated gods, new gods, gods of whom they have their gain, life, and standing;—Chemosh or Bacchus, which drunken Moab delighted to dwell with in dark cells;—Ashtaroth or Venus, whom they worship of the female kind, because of their adulteries and whoredoms;—as also Malcom or Moloch, which signifies tyrannical king, or a devil, (if they will have it so), in whose arms and power they put their poor infants and posterity to be burnt according to his lust and pleasure. Amos v. 26. Psal. cvi. 37.:—and their Mammon, which they delight to worship daily, together with their own bellies; 'whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things, whose end will be destruction,' except they repent, which there is little probability of, Phil. iii. 19. to which we may add their abominable pride, and blasphemous perjuries, then their gods will be equal in number to the Whore their mother's sacraments, from whom they have their being, strength, and standing, and from the devil their father, who was a deceiver and murderer from the beginning. And now, seeing the prelates possess whatever their god Chemosh giveth them to possess, then should we not possess what the Lord our God giveth us to possess, viz. the eternal truths manifested to us in his revealed will, and keep and defend the same from all innovations and traditions of his and our adversaries, defend our lives and liberties out of the hands of our usurping enemies, Judges xi. 29. For, sure I am, that God once dispossessed the prelates and malignants of all these; and should they again possess them through our defect? God forbid; but the like of this work, our murdering prelates like not, who plead like the Whore their mother for passive obedience, and that all the Lord's people, who may not comply with their idolatries and perfidies, should lay down their bloody axe, with whom too many of our hypocritical time-serving and perfidious professors do agree, who had rather abide with Reuben among the sheep-folds, than jeopard life and fortune in the help of the Lord against the mighty; but do not consider the bitter

curse pronounced by the angel of the Lord against Meroz, to which immediately he subjoins a blessing on Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite. Others excuse themselves thus, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay it;' but so the throne of judgment is the Lord's, and by this they will take away the use and office of magistracy; which erroneous principles I detest: for, God even in the working of miracles, in dividing the Red Sea, Exod. xiv. 16, commanded Moses to stretch forth his rod; and Christ, when he opened the blind man's eyes, maketh use of clay and spittle; though indeed, I mean not of any who were willing to have helped, but wanted opportunity; yet, there are many peevish, timeserving professors, who resolve they shall never suffer, so long as they have either soul or conscience to mortgage, providing that they may keep them from suffering. And if it will not do their business, it seemeth before they suffer, they resolve to sell all out at the ground.

"Now, Sir, I have neither misinterpreted scripture, nor misapplied it, in regard to the persons here hinted at, nor have I been wrong in the end, which ought to be, the glory of God and the good of his church and people. Then, I think that some persons ought to forbear to scourge me so sore with their tongues, while I am not yet condemned by the common enemy. And my hearing of some things reported by some behind my back, hath occasioned my writing to you at this time. O, Sir, be entreated to pray to the Lord in my behalf, that he would be pleased, out of his mercy and goodness, to save me from sinning under suffering, in this hour and power of darkness: for, my soul is pressed within me in the search betwixt sin and duty, viz. lest I should be niggard and too sparing of my life, when God calleth for it: and on the other hand, too prodigal and lavish of it, in not using all legal defences in preserving of it, and in any of the like nature. I am in a strait; O Lord, undertake for me!—Sir, I hope ye will excuse me in sending you these indistinct and irregular lines, when you consider my present condition. Sir, believe me, I would many times, when I am before them, think a scaffold a sweet retirement, lest they should cheat and deceive me, in making me either to stain the declarative glory of God, my own conscience, or his people and interests, and wronging of them, either by opening the enemy's mouth against them, or letting loose their hands upon them; henceforth, let the adversaries both say and do what they can, yet 'the righteous shall hold on in his way, and he who hath clean hands will be stronger and stronger.' Job xvii. 9. 'But he that saith unto the wicked, thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him.' Prov. xxiv. 24. Farewell in the Lord."

Postscript.—"It is acknowledged by all rational royalists, that it is lawful for any private person to kill an usurper, or a tyrant, *sine titulo*, and to kill Irish rebels, and tories, or the like, and to kill bears and wolves, and catch devouring beasts, because the good of his action doth not only redound to the person himself, but to the whole commonwealth, and the person acting incurs the danger himself alone. In the second part of the Cloud of Witnesses, p. 60, Mr. Knox hath these express words: 'For God (said he) had not only given me know-

ledge, and a tongue to make known the impiety of the idol, but had given me credit with many, who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have consented thereto; but so careful was I of the common tranquillity, and loath was I to offend some, that in secret conference with zealous men, I travelled rather to slacken that fervency God had kindled in them, than to animate and encourage them to put their hands to God's work; wherein I acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart I do ask God pardon, that I did not what in me lay to have suppressed that idol in the beginning.'

"But Oh! how far are the men in our time from such convictions, whose work it is to put out any spunk of life and zeal, which appeareth to be in any person against the idolatry and idols in our time! Let men, whether foes or friends, carry or quarrel never so much, yet the purpose and determinations of God will not be disappointed, in leaving a witness against this misbelieving generation: and that he is both as powerful and willing to deliver one or more of his people trusting in him, yea, and that there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or few, 1 Sam. xiv. 6.—if any be obedient to the voice of his commands; though success doth not always follow thereupon, more than it did to Israel, Josh. vii. 12. against the city of Ai, because there was an Achan in the camp. And alas! there are many Achans in the camp of our Israel, which causeth the Lord's people to fall daily before their enemies, and which makes all their endeavours unsuccessful; I mean the hidden time-serving hypocrites and murmurers, who have preferred their backs and their bellies to the interest of God, and their hearts still desirous to return to Egypt: I say, until such rebels be purged out and die, we can have little expectation to prosper in any enterprise or undertaking: for they have both belied and misbelieved God, notwithstanding of all his miracles, which he did of old, and which he hath done in our days for his people, and before their eyes, that they are so far gone back in a course of apostasy and compliance with the Canaanites of our time, and are become so brutish and ignorant of the express law of God, and are such enemies thereto, that they rather concur with the Canaanites, Judg. vi. 30. to have Gideon put to death, for performing his duty according to the express command of God, than either to study the knowledge thereof themselves, or give obedience thereto. But if it be objected, that Gideon had an express command from God for his encouragement; yet he had no *new* command from God, save that which was expressly enjoined upon all the Israelites, by virtue of which every one was obliged to have done what he did, without any such message from God, Deut. vii. 2. and xiii. 15. but who were readier than Judah (before they would incur any danger or loss) to send three thousand men to bring Samson bound to the Philistines, rather than to send him ten for his assistance against the common enemy; concerning the truth of which we have gotten many sad experiments. However, I hope, that which hath been said shall occasion a further cognition, and more serious search into these forementioned truths, than hath been for a long time bypast.

"That albeit I have singly declared mine own motives and reasons for that attempt and shooting, wherein I had, and now have peace, and I hope to find acceptance of God, according to the multitude of his mercies to such as seek him in truth and sincerity; yet, I will not take it on me absolutely, and in every respect to justify, or assert it. *That* is my own deliberate and fixed principle, albeit, that it is justified by, and is the principle of the non-conformist presbyterian party of the church of Scotland, of which I have the honour and happiness to be one, though the unworthiest of any. If I would say, it is *of them*, I should be found a liar against the truth, for I adventured on it from my own pure and proper motion, without the instigation of any, yea, without so much as the privity of any of that party, whom therefore I earnestly desire, that none may charge with it: and if any shall, I do with confidence aver, that they deal with them most unjustly. I have, I say again, in the simplicity of my heart with candour and ingenuity, being a dying man and a Christian, believing that I must be made manifest before the tribunal of Christ, and there receive according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil,—given an account of the reasons and motives putting and pressing me on to it, wherein I had quietness of mind in the time, and have still at this present hour; hoping, that as He is sovereign Lord over all creatures, and moves any of them as instruments to whatsoever his pleasure is, and that as I say, I did take, and do still look upon the motion, as from himself,—so, he will accept of my sincerity in it, and one day bring forth his own and my righteousness, as the light!

Sic Sub.—JAMES MITCHEL."

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"Now in this place I leave my testimony against and abhorrence of balls, bordel houses, mountebanks, acts of comedies, festival days, viz. at Yule and Pentecost, &c. which are all the product of a profane and perfidious clergy, all of them being instigated by Satan, as fitted instruments for exciting and stirring up of lust to this apostate and rebellious generation, against God, his truth, covenant, people, and cause; and for the further increase of Satan's dominion in such as are rebellious against God.

"I suppose, some will be desirous to know what hath brought me to this place of suffering, to which I give no other answer than that which Elijah gave when threatened with death by Jezebel, 1 Kings xix. 14. 'I have been very zealous for the Lord God of Hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and true worship, and slain thy prophets and ministers, and they seek my life to take it away, this day.' I know no other reason why I am brought to this place, but because I have lifted up my hand to the most high God, and sworn in judgment and in righteousness, from which I cannot go back, Jer. iv. 2. viz. from prosecuting the ends of these blessed covenants, which are the very basis, and the fundamental rights and constitution of the kingdom, which all ranks and stations were and are equally obliged and engaged to main-

tain to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes, and from which obligation and holy covenants, no power on earth is capable to loose any man's conscience.

“ With all my heart and soul I own and adhere to the work of reformation, as it was begun and carried on in this kingdom, according to the word of God, and to the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, and as it was settled amongst us in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, kirk-sessions, and the people's just power to choose and call their own lawful pastors; and I do declare, that I judge patronages to be a popish rite, and an usurpation in the house of God.

“ I homologate and approve of ‘ *Lex Rex*,’ ‘ *The Causes of God's Wrath*,’ (to which there be many since that time to be added,) ‘ *The Apologetical Relation*,’ ‘ *Naphtali*,’ ‘ *Jus Populi*,’ &c.—as orthodox and consonant to the received principles and doctrine of the church of Scotland.*

“ I believe that magistracy is an ordinance appointed of God, as well under the New Testament, as it was under the Old, and that whosoever resisteth the lawful magistrate in the exercise of his lawful

* It may be interesting to the reader, and it is in some degree necessary towards the illustration of the text, that something should be said in reference to the various treatises here referred to. *Lex Rex*, it is well known, was written by Rutherford, and has in view to assert the sovereignty of the law, in opposition to the despotism of the reigning prince. *The Causes of God's Wrath against Scotland, manifested in his late sad dispensations*, was written by Mr. James Guthrie. Its object is sufficiently explained by the title. Both of these treatises were by an act of council, dated September 19th, 1660, denounced as treasonable, and ordered to be suppressed. And on the 17th of October thereafter, they were publicly burnt by the hands of the hangman.—But it was much easier, as the judicious Wodrow remarks, thus to destroy the books, than to answer the reasonings contained in the one, or the facts stated in the other.

With respect to the others,—*The Apologetical Relation of the particular Sufferings of Faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland, since August, 1660*, was written by Mr. Brown of Wamphray, and printed in 1665. It is a work which, though somewhat prolix, displays much vigour of mind and force of reasoning.

Naphtali, or a true and short Deduction of the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ, from the beginning of the Reformation to the year 1667:—This book consists of an argumentative and a narrative part; the first of which was executed by Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Stuart of Good-Trees, advocate; the second, by Mr. John Stirling, minister of Paisley. It was published about 1667, and therefore originally contained only the last speeches and testimonies which were emitted previous to that date; Mr. Mitchell's, with those which follow, having been added in future editions. A proclamation was emitted against it on the 12th December, 1667. It was ordered to be publicly burnt, and thereafter suppressed. It has, nevertheless, gone through many editions—that from which the above text is taken, bears date, *Edin.* 1761.

It was attempted to be answered by bishop Honeyman, but he weakened the cause which he meant to defend; and he was taken up with great strength of reasoning by Mr. Stuart in the *Jus Populi Vindicatum, or, the People's right to Defend themselves, and their Covenanted Religion, Vindicated*. This treatise was published in Holland, whither its author had fled for safety. It experienced the fate of its predecessors, being condemned as seditious, by a proclamation, dated February 16th, 1671, and all the copies of it ordered into custody.

power, resisteth the ordinance and appointment of God, Rom. xiii. 1—8. ‘for he is God’s minister to thee for thy good,’ and in doing good thou needs not be afraid of him. 1 Pet. ii. 13. ‘We must obey the magistrate for conscience’ sake.’ Deut. xvii. 15, 16, 17, &c. the lawful magistrate must be a man qualified according to God’s appointment, and not according to the people’s lust and pleasure, lest in the end he should prove to them ‘a prince of Sodom,’ and ‘governor of Gomorrah,’ whom God in his righteousness should appoint for their judgment, and establish for their correction, &c.; he must be ‘one of thy brethren,’ and not the son of a stranger; he must not ‘make himself strong by multiplying of horses,’ to the end he may compel the Lord’s people to rebel against God’s express command, and Jeroboam-like, compel the people to any course of apostasy; ‘he must not multiply wives to himself,’ much less whores, nor marry an idolatrous wife like Jezebel, 1 Kings xvi. 31. nor covetous, ‘in multiplying to himself silver or gold:’ he must be ‘a diligent student of the law of the Lord all the days of his life, that he turn neither to the right hand, nor to the left therefrom,’ but must judge the people accordingly; otherwise, neither he nor his children can expect to prolong their days in Israel, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. ‘He must not be a son of Belial,’ without or above law and order, whom a man cannot touch except he be fenced with iron; for such shall be ‘thrust away; for,’ saith David, ‘he that ruleth over men must be just, walking in the fear of God,’ &c. But, if a man simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter, when he hath strengthened himself upon his throne, shall abjure and falsify his oath and covenant both to God and his subjects, and shall transgress the law and commandment of the Lord, which have given the magistrate only an accumulative power to promote, protect, and defend God’s laws, truth, and people, from being corrupted, violated, or any ways damnified, and for that end he hath received both his place and power from God and men; (for, he hath not received of the Lord an absolute, an obstructive, destructive, and privative power, but as hath been said, the people can give no right nor power to any man, but what is according to God’s appointment, lest they should incur that sad challenge from God, Hos. viii. 4. ‘They have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, but I knew it not,’ for in chap. x. 3. Israel confesseth their fault, and they denied that they had a king, because he was not such as God had appointed; and saith, ‘What should a king do to them,’ seeing he had partly by force, and partly by fraud withdrawn them from the fear and obedience which they owed to God and his law; and had seduced and compelled them to idolatry and worshipping of false gods,)—and if the magistrate, being in power, shall overturn the covenanted work of God, his truth, and interest, the fundamental and municipal laws of the land; and, moreover, a parliament selected according to his own mind, and for his own use and ends, shall, as the people’s representatives, by acts rescissory, rescind all acts of laudable parliaments, committees of estates, or counsellors, wherein were contained and comprehended a mutual bond, obligation, covenant, or contract betwixt the prince and people,—he having divested himself of

any legal right to rule over such a people, and they being *in statu quo prius*, none having right to rule over them without their own consent:—if the foresaid magistrate shall then again injure and invade the people's lives, religion, liberties, and laws, and make even a simple supplicating of him a crime of treason, contrary to the dictates of nature; and by his armed emissaries, and his arbitrary power, carried on by the sword in their hands, compel the Lord's people to relinquish and forsake the true religion and worship of God, and make a surrender of both their souls, consciences, lives, lands, and liberties, and embrace a false religion, and will-worship, and engage to serve and worship false and idol gods at his pleasure; (for this is all that is near and dear to a people being in extremity of hazard,)—*then*, it necessarily followeth to be the duty of such a people, or any part of them, to take up arms in defence of their lives, laws, liberties, and religion, and of their posterity, that they may not be left in such intolerable bondage, and as they would not be accounted guilty of bringing God's wrath upon the whole land; Jer. xxii. 2, 3. 'Hear ye the word of the Lord, O king of Judah, thou and thy servants, and thy people that enter in by these gates, execute ye justice, and judgment, and righteousness, and deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor;' Jer. xxxvii. 2. 'But neither he, nor his servants, nor the people of the land, hearkened unto the prophet Jeremiah, till wrath from the Lord consumed them all.'—And now, if it had not been the people's duty to have executed judgment and righteousness, and to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor Zedekiah and his servants, (which I think was meant by the nobility or princes proving deficient, in order to the performing of their duty;)—it had not been their sin to have omitted it; but here we see it is as well charged home to be the sin of the people, as the sin of the king, or of the nobles, &c. But say some, Who shall be judge in such cases? for what other judge is there, when two kings or monarchies fall out in war, neither of them being subject to any judge? But, some profane, brutish, ignorant malignant says, Shall this or that ignorant fellow, or hussy, take upon them to determine what the law of God says in such cases? I answer, that neither this nor that ignorant fellow nor hussy, nor yet this or that profane, wicked, or perfidious prince or princes, are capable to be judge, Deut. xxx. 11. 'For the commandment which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off.' Ver. 12. 'It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go for us to heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear it, and do it?' Ver. 13, 14. 'Neither is it in the sea; but the word is near unto thee, even in the mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it;' and in this case I do appeal to every man of sober wit or judgment, seeing 'the secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him,' Psal. xxv. 14. and seeing 'evil men understand not judgment, but they that seek the Lord understand all things,' Prov. xxv. 5. for, they know not how to do right, 'they store up robbery in their palaces,' Amos iii. 10. Who is then most capable to judge what the law of God determineth, in all such matters? Artaxerxes, a great monarch, commanded, 'that whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, it should be dili-

gently done for the house of the God of heaven ; for why should there be wrath upon the realm of the king and of his sons ?' Ezra vii. 23. But oh ! how many at this time of the sons of Belial, contrary to what is here spoken, screw up those that are above themselves, to such a pinnacle of unlimited and arbitrary power, far above either what the law of God, or the law of nature will admit of, for this very end and purpose, that they may glory in the work of their hands ; and he whom they have thus set up, and to whom they have made a surrender of both credit, conscience, and common honesty, may return to them a power over others who are under them, by putting a sword in the hands of bloody cut-throats, who are raised and kept up for that effect, to bring and keep into an Egypt-bondage their persons, lives, laws, and liberties ; yea, even the souls and consciences of the Lord's people ! This power, I declare to be diabolical, profane, and blasphemous ; and Pharaoh-like to say, ' Who is the Lord that I should obey him,' Exod. v. 2. Now, seeing both the throne and judgment is the Lord's, then blessed and happy magistrate, who ruleth and governeth his subjects, keeping a straight line of subordination to God's law and statutes ; for in so doing none may say to him, What doest thou ? And happy and blessed people thus governed, Deut. iv. 7. ' And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as this law, which I set before you this day ?' But O the blasphemous perjuries of this wicked and apostate generation, whom no bonds, obligations, nor covenants can bind, except these spoken of in Psal. cxlix. 8. ' But shall they thus break the covenant and prosper ?' escape and be delivered ? Ezek. xvii. 15. and 18. as if the Lord's hand could not reach them to inflict due and just punishment upon them who commit such things.

" I do detest and abhor that woful *indulgence*, and encroachment, and usurpation on the crown and prerogative royal of our Lord Jesus Christ, (both in the givers and receivers thereof) howbeit I have very much charity, love, and affection to many of the ministers who have embraced the same ; for I do really think that they have been outwitted in that matter, and have not wickedly departed from following the Lord ; yea, I hope, they shall get their souls for a prey, in the day of the Lord ; although, they may suffer loss in building such hay and stubble upon the rock Jesus Christ, when their work shall be burnt by the fire of the Lord's jealousy. I approve of Mr. Burnet's letter sent to the commissioner thereanent.*

" I protest before God, angels, and men, against all these acts of parliament and council, which are against, or derogative to the work of God and reformation, and carrying on of the same, according as we are engaged and sworn to, in these holy bonds of the national and solemn league and covenant. I abhor the shedding of the blood of the Lord's people, for their adhering to the same, and the people's guarding such in prison-houses and scaffolds unto their death ; whom

* This was Mr. John Burnet, minister of Kilbride, near Glasgow, who refused, with many others of the outed ministers, the indulgence offered them in 1673.—See his Testimony, p. 128.

both by the oath of God upon them, and by the ancient and laudable laws of the land, and by the law of nature, they were obliged to have defended to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes. It being well known, that such as were put to death had committed no crime; but on the contrary had performed the duty, which the guarders were as much obliged to have performed as the pannels, if they had been as faithful to God and men, as they were.

“ Likewise I protest against their banishment, their imprisonment, their finings, and confinements, and against all the hardships and perplexities of whatsoever kind they have been put to, through the iniquities of the times, so that we may justly (with our predecessors) say, that our persecutors have devoured us, and have crushed us, swallowed us up like dragons, and have filled their bellies with our delicates, and have cast us out, Jer. li. 34. for which cause God gave a charge to prepare instruments for the overthrow and destruction of such persecutors, ver. 11. ‘ Because it was the vengeance of the Lord, and the vengeance of his temple, and so shall our remnant who outlive the persecution say, ver. 35. ‘ The violence done to me and my flesh be upon Babylon, and my blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea;’ let the wrath of the Lord pursue them, for their blood and violence in their persons and estates, and their strength wherein they confide, and their friends and favourites, who have consulted and continued with them in their wicked courses. I hope the time is drawing near, and the joints of their loins are loosening, their knees are beginning to smite one against another, Dan. v. 6. and the handwriting beginning to be pourtrayed upon the wall, because they have not considered what God did to their predecessors for their idolatrous pride and wickedness, although they know it, yet they are become more insolent in idolatry and wickedness, and daring against God than ever their forefathers presumed to be, meddling with the vessels and materials of the Lord’s house, and with the crown and kingly office of Christ Jesus, and have appropriated them for their own idolatrous ends and uses, ver. 23. therefore when the furbished sword of the Lord’s indignation and justice shall break forth to devour, which it may do before the dark night of these dreadful dispensations quite pass over; then shall the time-serving hypocrites of this generation begin to their untimely prayers, viz. ‘ for hills and mountains to fall upon them, to hide them from the face of the righteous Judge; for who may abide the day of his coming,’ for executing vengeance on his adversaries. In that day the man shall be accursed that ‘ keepeth back his sword from blood, and who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully,’ Jer. xlviii. 10. Yea, happy shall he be, that taketh this cursed malignant and prelatie brood, and dasheth them against the stones; yea, happy shall he be that rewardeth them as they have served us, Psal. cxxxvii. ‘ For this honour have all the saints, the high praises of God in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute vengeance on the heathen,’ Psal. cxlix. 9.

“ Having thus delivered myself in the point that I have mentioned, I only add to what I have said, that I own these things, as my own judgment allenarly, (what may seem to be singular in those great and

important matters,) not willing that any thing, wherein others may differ from me, should be looked upon as the principles, or persuasion of the party whereto I adhere. I obtest that no man be so diabolical and profane, as to charge this upon any of my persuasion, it being but my own, which I hope God hath approved in me; and whom God justifieth, who dare condemn?

“ Now, if the Lord in his wise and overruling providence bring me to the close of my pilgrimage, to the full enjoyment of my long looked for and desired happiness, let him take his own way, and time, in bringing me to it. And in the mean while, O my soul, sing thou this song, Spring thou up, O well of thy happiness and salvation, of thy eternal hope and consolation, and whilst thou art burdened with this clog of clay and tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by faith, hope, and charity, and with all the instruments that God has given thee; dig in it by precepts and promises, dig carefully and dig continually, aye and while thou comest to the source and head of the fountain himself, from whence the water of life flows; dig until thou come unto the assembly of the first-born, where this song is most suitably sung to the praise and glory of the rich grace and mercy of this fountain of life. O my soul, follow thou in all thy diggings the direction of the great Lawgiver, so shalt thou prosper in all thy taking of pains. O happy nobles and princes of Israel, who were admitted to the sight and to the song, to the pains, and to the profit, which none of the mixed murmurers were admitted to, because of their unbelief! Num. xxi. 17. And O, Father of mercies, (whilst I am tossed upon the turbulent seas of manifold troubles) grant that thy presence may be with me, and that thy everlasting arms may be underneath me to support me; for sure I am, Moses thy servant had good reason to be important in his suit, Exod. xxxiii. 12. compared with verses 14, 15. and chap. xxxiv. 9. seeing no less could furnish him with fresh support in the work he was about. O let thy presence be with me, and then my soul shall dig and sing, and sing and dig through times of trouble unto eternal rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the rock Christ, out of whom floweth the pure river, and fountain of life and happiness, where I may drink, and not be damnified through the assaults of Satan, and the invasions of Satan, or of a wicked world any more. Now, according to the promise, Matth. x. 19. out of thy fatherly mercy grant present help, supply, and direction in this time of trouble, seeing ‘ that it is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps,’ Jer. x. 23. And although it be a hard thing to distinguish betwixt sin and duty, yet thy ‘ law,’ thy ‘ word,’ and ‘ truth, which are quick and powerful, dividing asunder the soul and spirit, and is a discerners of the thoughts; thy law giveth light,’ Psal. cxix. 105. ‘ And thy testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making wise the simple,’ Psal. xix. 7. For they alone, O Lord, can make all the dispensations profitable, in order to ‘ the purging away of sin,’ even when they seem to be ‘ destructive,’ Isa. xxvii. 9. Especially when thou intendest them ‘ not for destruction, but for trial,’ and further ‘ humiliation,’ Deut. viii. 2, 16. for thou, O Lord, hast led me for many years through a barren and wearisome wilderness, to the end that thou mightest work this work of mortifi-

cation in me ; although had it seemed good unto thee, thou wouldst have brought me into the land of promise and rest another nearer way, *Exod. xiii. 16.* For, by hardships, many a time ‘ thou hidest pride from men, and sealest up their instruction, that thou mayest deliver his soul from the pit, and his life may see the light,’ *Job xxxiii. 17, 18.* And although, O Lord, thou shouldest send me the back track and tenor of my life, to seek my soul’s comforts and encouragements from them, yet, I have no cause of complaining of hard dealing from thy hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy people, *Psal. xlii. 6.* ‘ O God, my soul is cast down in me, therefore I will remember thee from the land of Jordan and from the hill Hermon,’ &c. Yea, the last time he brought me to the banqueting-house, and made love his banner over me, among the cold Highland hills beside Kippen, November, 1673, he remembered his former loving-kindness towards me. But withal he spoke in mine ear, that there was a tempestuous storm to meet me in the face, which I behoved to go through in the strength of that provision, *1 Kings xix. 7.* And now, O my soul, seeing the ordinary method and way with the Lord is to send a shower, and a sun-blink, and again a sun-blink and a shower, therefore keep thou silent unto God, murmur not, fret not, be not disquieted, be still and be content, seeing that all my persecutors can do, either by fraud or force, can neither alter the nature, or kind of my sufferings, nor add so much as one degree thereto, neither lengthen out the time of them one moment, *Micah vii. 10. Exod. xii. 41.* All Pharaoh’s power could not keep Israel one moment longer in Egypt, therefore it is my duty to study with Paul, *Phil. iv. 12.* ‘ In whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.’ And say, ‘ Should the earth be forsaken, and the rocks removed for me?’ *Job xviii. 4.* Should God alter the course of providence for me, in which there is such efficacy, as to carry all things to their proper and appointed end, with a most stable power? ‘ And that I may be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith,’ *Philip. iii. 9, 10.* And to resign up to God my will and affections to be disposed of as he pleaseth ; and to say with fear, humility, and reverence, ‘ O, Father, not my will, but thy will be done,’ and whether I live or die, I may be the Lord’s, that through his mercy and grace I may attain to his approbation, viz. that, ‘ Well done good and faithful servant ;’ who hath hitherto ‘ shut the lions’ mouths by his angel, that they have not hurt me,’ *Dan. vi. 22.* And who hath so shut the eyes of my persecutors with a Sodomitish blindness, that hitherto they could not find out the way to break in upon me ; and it may be in due time he will bring me out of the furnace, and will, through his grace, not suffer the smell thereof to be found upon me ; and if not, yet I never held it to be my duty to worship this rotten and stinking idol of jealousy, which these nations have set up, ‘ Who have both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us,’ *1 Thess. ii. 15.* For thou, Lord, hast not despised nor abhorred my afflictions when I was afflicted, neither hast thou hid thy face from me : ‘ When I cried unto thee thou heardst

me, Psal. xxii. 24. 'O Lord God, thou hast made the heavens and the earth by thy great power and outstretched arm,' Jer. xxxii. 17. Bring thou me at length to a happy arrival within the gates of the new Jerusalem, where no unclean thing can come, 'that my praise may be of thee in the great congregation.' And although, as Job saith, chap. x. 17. that thou, O Lord, hast delivered me over into the hand of the wicked, yet 'by this, O Lord, I know that thou favourest me, because mine enemies shall not triumph over me,' Psal. xli. 11. And when I stood in judgment, thou, O Lord, didst not condemn me. And if it please thee, 'thou wilt not leave me in their hand,' Psal. xxxvii. 33. 'But canst bring up my life from the pit of corruption,' Jonah ii. 6. And seeing I have not preferred, nor sought after mine own things, but thy honour and glory, the good, liberty, and safety of thy church and people, although it be now misconstrued by many, yet I hope at length thou, Lord, wilt make 'my light to break forth as the morning, and my righteousness as the noonday,' and that shame and darkness shall cover all who are adversaries to my righteous cause, for thou, O Lord, art the shield of my head, and the sword of my excellency, and mine enemies shall be found liars, and shall be subdued. Amen, yea and Amen.

Sic Sub.—JAMES MITCHEL.

3. ACCOUNT OF HIS EXAMINATION BY TORTURE.

A RELATION of what passed betwixt the Committee, consisting of COUNCILLORS,—Lords Linlithgow, Hatton, Dundonald, Ross, and Murray: JUSTICIARIES,—Lords Craigy, Collington, &c.; and Mr. James Mitchel, whom they intended to have surprised after two years' imprisonment, by calling him before them unawares, at six o'clock of the night, about the enclosing of the wards, upon the 18th of January, 1676:—

"At my appearance before the said committee, the lords justiciaries obscuring themselves, by putting their hands upon their faces and leaning upon their elbows upon the table; my lord preses said, 'Sir, ye are brought here before the Committee, to see if you will adhere to your former confession, or not.' To which I answered, 'My lord, it is not unknown to your lordship, and others here present, that by the Council's order I was remitted to the lords justiciaries, before whom I received an indictment, at my lord advocate's instance, wherein I was indicted both of life and fortune, although, my lord, fortune have I none; to which indictment I answered at three several diets. Being deserted by my lord advocate, I humbly conceive that both by the law of the nation, and the practice of the house, at that time I ought to have been set at liberty, yet notwithstanding, I was, contrary both to law, justice, and equity, returned to prison. And upon what account I am brought this night before your lordships, I know not.' To which my lord preses answered, 'Ye are not accused here, neither upon life nor fortune, but to see whether you will adhere to your former confession.' To which I answered, 'I am not convinced of any crime, therefore I know not any such confession, as your lordship alleges.' To which my lord treasurer-de-

pute replied, 'He is one of the most arrogant rogues, cheats, liars, and what not.' To which I replied, 'My lord if there were fewer of such persons of whom your lordship have been speaking, in the nation, I would not be standing this night at your bar: but my lord advocate knows, that what hath been alleged against me, is not my confession.' To which he replied, 'Do you not remember, that before the lord commissioner and the council, you said such and such things.' To which I replied, 'That my lord commissioner never inquired about any such thing. Only he said, he heard that I had been abroad, and over seas, and inquired with whom I did converse there?' To which I replied, 'With my merchant, my lord;' 'But with whom in particular?' To which I answered, 'With one John Mitchel, a cousin of mine own, so that there was no such discourse before the council:' but says my lord preses, 'We will make a sharper thing make you to confess.' To which it was replied by the pannel, 'I hope your lordships are Christians and not pagans.' To which the treasurer-depute added, saying, 'That the pannel was no Christian;' to which the pannel replied, 'My lord, you know the old proverb *turpe est doctori*,' &c. and so I was returned to prison for that night, to wit, to close prison, being the 18th day of January.

"Upon the 22d day, being called before the said committee, who sat in the Town's council-house, at which time my lord preses said to me,* 'Sir, ye are called here again, to see if ye will adhere to your former confession, opening a large paper to the pannel, and alleged it to be subscribed by me?' To which I answered, 'My lord, I acknowledge no such thing. Then he replied, 'Sir, you see what is upon the table before you, I shall see if that can cause you do it.' To which I answered, 'By that torture you may cause me to blaspheme God, as Saul did compel the saints; you may by that torture cause me to speak amiss of your lordship, to call myself a thief, a murderer, or warlock, and what not, and then pannel me upon it: but if ye shall, my lords, put me to it, I here protest before God and your lordships, that nothing extorted from me by torture shall be made use of against me in judgment, nor have any force against me in law, or any other person whatsoever; but to be plain with your lordship, I am so much a Christian, that whatever your lordship shall legally prove against me, if it be a truth, I will not deny it. But, my lord, on the contrary, I am so much a man, yea, and a Scotsman, that I never held myself obliged, either by the law of God or nature, or by the law of nations, to become my own accuser.' Then said my lord depute-treasurer to the preses, 'He hath the devil's logic, and sophisticates like him. Ask him whether or not that be his subscription?' To which I answered, 'I acknowledged no such thing.' To which Hatton answered, 'Bid him say yea or not.' Then my lord preses said, pointing his hand to the boot, 'you see what is before

* In this and other instances throughout this document, the Editor has taken upon him to alter the language, so as to preserve an uniformity in the narrative, by making it in every case to run in Mr. Mitchel's own name, as its author evidently intended.

you, say either yea, or not,' I answered, ' I say not ;' and so I was returned to close prison as before.

" Upon the 24th day, they solemnly assembled, to wit, *with their robes*, in the parliament-house, where the lords of the session sit, at which time the executioner was present with the boots, and I the pannel being brought as before to the bar ; the lord preses said : ' You are now brought here, to see if you will yet confess, before you be put to torture ?' But I the pannel knowing, according to the rate of the Spanish inquisition, that always the more I confessed, either concerning myself or any other person, the more severely the torture would be made use of, to make me confess more ; therefore I answered after this manner : ' My lord, I shall study brevity by speaking in a few words what I have to say, viz. that I have been now these two full years in prison, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, and upward of thirty weeks in *close* prison. My imprisonment hath been more intolerable to me than the pains of many deaths, if I had been capable thereof : yea, and it is well known, that within a shorter time, in regard of my imprisonment, severals have made away with themselves rather than endure the affliction of a prison. But, my lord, an obedience to the express commandment of God hath made me to undergo all the hardships I have hitherto met with, and to undergo this present torture, (to wit, the preservation of my life, and the lives of others, as far as it is in my power,) and to keep off innocent blood from your lordships, and your families and relations, for by shedding of mine, doubtless you would bring upon yourselves, posterity, and relations,—wrath from the Lord, to the consuming thereof, until there should be no remnant nor escaping. And now, my lords, I do again protest before God and your lordships, that whatever may be extorted from me by torture, may not be made use of against me, nor any other person in judgment, nor have any force in law. And so, my lords, I have done : you may call the men whom you have appointed to your work.' After which, they called the macer to call upon the executioner, and two officers appointed for that effect, who tied me in an armed chair, and brought the boots, and inquired which of my legs they should take, but they, after speaking amongst themselves, commanded the executioner to take any of them ; upon which he laid my left leg upon the boot, but I, the pannel, lifted it out again, saying, ' Seeing the judges have not determined it, take the best of the two, for I freely bestow it in the cause, and laid my right leg into the torture ;' after which, the king's advocate said, ' I shall speak but one word or two,' but notwithstanding, continued his discourse for a considerable time ; so, when he had made an end, I answered thus, ' My lord preses, the advocate's one word or two hath multiplied to so many, that my memory cannot serve me in the condition wherein I am, to resume them, so as to answer them in particular ; but I shall answer to the scope of his discourse. 1st, Whereas he hath been speaking to the sovereignty of the magistrate, I shall say somewhat more than he hath said, to wit, that the magistrate whom God hath appointed, is God's deputy, and that both the throne and the judgment is the Lord's, while he judgeth for God, and according to the law

of God; and that a great part of his office is to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, and to shed no innocent blood, according to the commandment of God to Zedekiah, by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xxii. 3. And, my lords, disobedience to this commandment brought the wrath of God upon him, his princes, and the whole nation of the Jews, chap. xxxvii. 2dly, My lord advocate hath been hinting at the sinfulness of lying upon any account: it is answered, my lords, that not only lying is sinful, but also a pernicious speaking of the truth, is a horrid sin before God, while it tendeth to the shedding of innocent blood, as witness that of Doeg, Psal. lii. compared with 1 Sam. xxii. 29. But what my lord advocate hath forged against me is false; so that I am standing upon my former ground, viz. the preservation of my life, and the lives of others, as far as it lies in my power, the which I am expressly commanded to do by the Lord of hosts.' After which, the clerk's servant being called by the advocate, they interrogated me in many questions, (upwards of the number of thirty,) only to see if they could catch me in a contradiction; or to see, if they could find out any person to witness against me; but I understanding their drift, answered as followeth. 'My lords, not knowing that I shall escape this torture with my life, therefore, I beseech you to remember what Solomon says, *He who showeth no mercy, shall have judgment without mercy.* And, if there be any here present, as I hope there are few or none, yet if there be any such here, whose disposition is so eager in pursuing after innocent blood, that nothing less than a full draught will satisfy them, I say, let such remember what is spoken,' Rev. xvi. 5, 6. *Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast thus judged: for they have shed the blood of the saints, and prophets; and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy,* &c. And now, my lords, I do freely from my heart forgive you who are judges sitting upon the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrid work; and also these who are vitiating their eyes in beholding the same. And I do entreat, that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg God may be pleased, for his Son Christ's sake, to blot out my sins and iniquities, and never lay them to my charge here or hereafter:—

" Q. 'Are you that Mr. James Mitchel, who was excepted out of the king's act of grace and favour, or not?' A. 'I never committed any crime deserving me to be excluded, but rather to be included, protected, and defended.' Q. 'Know you any more of that name?' A. 'Yes, there are two within Mid Lothian, and what know I, but there may be more elsewhere?' Q. 'When knew you of the rising in arms, anno 1666?' A. 'My lords, I knew of it when the rest of the citizens knew of it.' Q. 'When was that?' A. 'When there came a messenger to the council to that effect, and when Dalziel and his soldiers marched out at the West Port in order thereto.' Q. 'Went you not out of town with captain Arnot?' A. 'No.' Q. 'Where did you meet with James Wallace?' A. 'I did not know him at that time.' Q. 'Was you at Ayr? or did you join with the rebels there, or any where else?' A. 'I never joined with

any such:—To which my lord Hatton, treasurer-depute, replied, saying, ‘My lord, he never acknowledges these men to be rebels.’ To which, I answered,—‘My lord, I shall in answer to what is spoken follow Solomon’s advice in that he says, that sometimes even a fool by holding his peace will be reputed wise;’—whether or not Hatton took it to be spoken of him, I cannot tell, but there was nothing replied thereto by any of them. Q. ‘Where was you at the time of Pentland?’ A. ‘In Edinburgh.’ Q. ‘Where was you before it?’ A. ‘In Edinburgh.’ Q. ‘Where was you after it?’ A. ‘In Edinburgh.’ Q. ‘Where did you lodge before that time?’ A. ‘In one Grizel Whiteford’s.’ Q. ‘Where did you stay at that time, and was you still in the town, or not?’ A. ‘My lord advocate, I do not know what you mean by being still in the town, for you may call it out of the town, if I was at the Windmill, or at Leith.’ Q. ‘What, was you nowhere further abroad, than at such places?’ A. ‘My memory cannot serve me now after ten years’ space, to determine where I was, neither do I keep a journal of times past, nor is it my duty so to do; neither do I think any man’s memory here present can serve him for so long a time: but this I judge, that it is my duty every day to be about my lawful employment and calling, according as God hath commanded, and therewith to rest satisfied.’ Q. ‘What took you out of the town at that time?’ A. ‘I was making myself ready to go over to Flanders.’ Q. ‘With whom went you?’ A. ‘With one John Forrester, an Ostender.’ Q. ‘How long was it after Pentland before you went?’ A. ‘I cannot tell.’ Q. ‘Can you not give a guess?’ A. ‘About a month or six weeks.’ Q. ‘What was you doing all that time?’ A. ‘I was making myself ready, and thereafter there came a contrary wind.’ Q. ‘Who was merchant in the ship?’ A. ‘I inquired not.’ Q. ‘But went not the merchant alongst with you?’ A. ‘No.’ Q. ‘What was the reason of that?’ A. ‘It was the time of the Dutch war against the English, and at such times merchants of ships do not hazard their persons with their goods, but commit their affairs to factors abroad.’ Q. ‘How long stayed you there?’ A. ‘About three quarters of a year.’ Q. ‘Why stayed you so long there?’ A. ‘It was a space before I was ready to return, and thereafter, the report of peace came, which thereafter followed, and I thought it better to wait a little time than hazard in war.’ Q. ‘With whom came you home again?’ A. ‘With Dutchmen who were Amsterdammers.’ Q. ‘Was there no Scotsmen with you?’ A. ‘I have told you, my lords, I came home with Dutchmen.’ Q. ‘Who was the skipper of the ship?’ A. ‘I cannot remember, but he came to Limekilns for a loading of coals from Sir James Hacket.’ Q. ‘What goods fetched you home?’ A. ‘I cannot now remember the particulars.’ Q. ‘Where did you enter them?’ A. ‘I made the best shift I could to shun the Customers:—At which Sir William Parvas riseth, to cause call the excisemen. To which I replied, ‘O, Sir William, it was out of your time and theirs.’ Q. ‘Did you know Peniry?’ A. ‘Yes.’ Q. ‘Is he living?’ A. ‘No.’ Q. ‘Did you know Sir James Stirling, and Mr. Robert Ferguson?’ A. ‘They are both dead, the one in this town,

and the other in the Indies, being called by the Indian merchants to be a minister in one of their plantations.' Q. 'Knew you William Young, and whose tenant he was?' A. 'Yes; I both knew him, and that he was a tenant of Sir John Gibson's.' Q. 'Bought you a horse from him at that time?' A. 'I never bought a horse from him.' Q. 'From whom had you a horse, when you went out of town?' A. 'There was none in the city who had a horse to lend for hire, who would have refused me for my money.' Q. 'But of whom had you a horse?' A. 'Where I could have none, I took me to my feet.'

"These are the questions, so far as my memory can reach, which being ended, the executioner being commanded thereto, took down my leg from off a chest upon which it had been lying the whole time in the boot, and it being set upon the ground, he began to thrust in the shafts, and drive the wedge. And at every stroke they inquired, if I had any more to say? To which I answered, 'No more, my lords;' and thus it continued to the number of nine strokes upon the head of the wedge: at the end of which I fell into a little swarf* through the extremity of pain; at which the executioner cried out, 'Alas, my lords, he is gone, he is gone.' Then they commanded to leave off the torture, and rising from their seats went away. After which, I was returned to the tolbooth, being carried by my friends in the chair, in which I was tied during the time of my torture.

"But for obviating and removing any scruple, which may be objected against what is formerly rehearsed, I offer these things to your consideration:—

1st, Where there is an antecedent upon oath, or promise, upon confessing or acknowledging a duty performed, the one depending illatively upon the other: and when the antecedent, viz. the oath or promise is judicially rescinded, made null and void, in order to all force and effect whatsoever; I hope then, and in that case, no man upon legal or rational grounds will deny but the consequent, by the same act rescissory, which relatively depends thereupon, is as freely and fully made null and void, as to any force and effect, which either in law, or reason, or conscience, can be pretended to the contrary; and so both parties, by mutual consent, are put *in statu quo prius*. But it is true concerning the antecedent, which is clear from Joshua ii. 4.

"2d, Consider, that when a bloody and persecuting enemy, regarding neither law, conscience, nor reason, and having the power of life and death in their hands, rules over the people of God;—*in that case*, the obscuring and concealing of a necessary and commanded duty, and to divert them by some other thing for a time, is warrantable. I hope this is manifest from 1 Sam. xvi. 26. 'And Samuel said, how can I go, if Saul hear of it, he will kill me; and the Lord said, take an heifer with thee, and say, I am come to sacrifice,' &c. As also, ye may see it, 1 Sam. xx. 6. 'If thy Father at all miss me, then say

* The reader will no doubt conclude from the scope of the passage, that by a *swarf* Mr. Mitchell means a *swoon* or *fainting fit*.

David earnestly,' &c. As also from Jer. xxxviii. 24, 26. so it is evident, that it had been the practice of the most eminent of the Lord's people to take that way to shift the hellish fury of adversaries.

" 3d, Consider, that when an adversary having power in his hand, doth subvert and overturn the very nature and truth of a discourse; for example,—if it were of a minister's sermon, by leaving out the most material truths, and putting in circumstances and untruths in the room thereof; then, and in that case, I hope, it is not *that* sermon, speech, or declaration, or testimony, or call it what you will, but it becometh another thing. Now this toucheth the case in hand.

" 4th, Consider, that a person being brought before a judicatory, having power to judge and determine anent what is confessed and proven before them, yet out of mere malice and envy, finding the extent of their power not great enough to satisfy their lust, malice, and envy, doth wrest, lie, malign, add, and diminish from what hath been spoken before them, to make up a ground of judgment before another judicatory, before any thing was confest or proven, whose power is both distinct from, and of greater extent than theirs, viz. the one having power both of life and limb, and the other having power of neither.

" 5th, Consider, how difficult the case is:—Godless and inhuman adversaries study to make a man's principles and conscience to be the ground of his indictment, while both are regulate by the law, and the revealed will of God; and by this means they endeavour to make a man his own accuser, contrary both to the law of God, the law of nature, and the law of nations; and by this means cause a man to concur with them in calling his duty a sin, as they do contrary both to equity and justice;—whereas, they ought to prove what they allege in such cases, where penury of witnesses cannot be instructed. Acts xxiv. 13. 'Neither can they prove the things whereof they now accuse me.' As also our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, putteth his accusers to prove what they alleged against him, Matth. xxvii. 11. And thus by a non-confession he puts them to a probation, which appears verse 13.

" 6th, Giving and not granting, that it were true which they allege, viz. a legal denying upon the grounds and reasons aforesaid, which they call a lie, and a sin of such a high nature: yet this may stop their mouths, seeing they are the men, whom neither subscription, promises, nor oaths made and granted before God, angels, and men, can bind and oblige, to the performance thereof, but have both subscribed and sworn the contrary. O how can such a generation of hypocrites escape the damnation of hell fire! who would snatch at so small a mote alleged by them to be in their neighbour's eye, and will not see nor cast out so big a beam out of their own eyes, which is so visible to the whole Christian world!

4. HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.*

" Christian people:—It being rumoured abroad immediately after I had received my sentence, that I would not get liberty to speak in

* This speech he had prepared beforehand, under the apprehension that he would not be allowed to deliver it distinctly, from the barbarous practice then

this place; therefore, I have not prepared a formal discourse, and account of the pretended crimes, for which I was accused and sentenced; neither did I think it very necessary,—the fame of my process having gone so much abroad,—and that, by a former indictment given me near four years since, the diet whereof was suffered to desert, in respect the late advocate could not find a just way to reach me, with that extrajudicial confession they opposed unto me. All know he was zealous in it; yet my charity is such unto him, that he would not suffer unwarrantable zeal so far to blind him, as to over-stretch all laws of the land beyond their due limits, in prejudice of the life of any natural subject. Next, by an extreme inquiry of torture; and then by exiling me to the Bass; and after all, giving me a new indictment, at the instance of the advocate, who formerly was one of mine, when I received the first indictment; to which new indictment and debate in that process I remit you;—and particularly, to these two defences of extrajudicial confession, and to the promise of life given to me thereupon by my lord chancellor, upon his own, and the public faith of the kingdom; upon the verity whereof I am ready to die, and consent to lay down my life. And I hope, your charity will be such to me (a dying man) as not to misconstrue me herein;—especially, when it is so notourly adminicular by an act of the Secret Council, and yet denied upon oath by the principal officers of state present in council at the making of the said act, and which the act bears to have been present thereat; (the duke of Lauderdale being then his majesty's commissioner:) which act of council was by the Lords of Justiciary's Interloquitor, most illegally repelled; but I shall have charity to some of these lords, whom I knew would have given law and justice place, even as to my just absolution, if they had not been overpowered by the plurality of votes of them who were overawed and dared by the lords of the Secret Council.—But that will not absolve their consciences at the last day!

As to my advocates, and lawyers:—I ingenuously acknowledge their care, fidelity, and zeal in my defence; which, I hope, shall be some standing fame to them for this, and all future generations. So,—thus much, as a short account of the affair, for which I am brought unjustly to this place. But, I acknowledge my particular and private sins have been such, as have merited a worse death unto me; but, I die in the hope of the merits of Jesus Christ, to be freed from these eternal punishments due to me for sin; yet, I am confident, God doth not plead with me in this for my private and particular sins; but I am brought here, that the work of God may be made manifest, and for the trial of faith, John ix. 3. and 1 Pet. i. 7. and, that I may be a witness for his despised truth and interest in his land,—who am called to seal the same with my blood. And I wish heartily, that thus my poor life may put an end to the persecution of the true members of

introduced of beating drums, so as to drown the voice of the suffering martyrs. It appears that this was accordingly the case, and that being interrupted, he threw it, in manuscript, over the scaffold,—having previously intrusted copies of it to some of his friends.

Christ in this kingdom,—so much cheated by these perfidious prelates ; and in opposition to whom, and in testimony of the cause of Christ, I at this time willingly lay down my life. And I thank God, that he hath thought me so worthy as to do the same for his glory and interest. Finally,—conceiving it a Christian duty in a singular and extraordinary case anent my particular judgment concerning both church and state, it is evidently declared and manifested more fully elsewhere ;* so farewell all earthly enjoyments, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into whose hands I commit my spirit."

Sic Sub.—JAMES MITCHEL."†

"Edinburgh Tolbooth,
Jan. 18th, 1678."

XXIV. JAMES LEARMONTH.

[Perhaps there are few cases of more lawless oppression, and more wanton cruelty, than that exhibited in the death of this good man. He was by trade a Chapman, and probably belonged to East Lothian. At all events, being present at a conventicle which met in that district, just over against the Bass, in May, 1678, when a soldier of the party sent to attack them was killed ;—he was apprehended, and along with another individual, called William Temple, indicted upon this charge. Both of them were freed by the verdict of the assize, of any actual participation in the death ; but it being proved that Temple had a sword, (though not drawn,) and that Learmonth, (though unarmed,) had exhorted his fellow worshippers to make resistance ; an order of council was procured, authorizing the court to sentence them : upon which, Temple was condemned to perpetual banishment, and Learmonth to be beheaded as a traitor, and to have his property confiscated for his majesty's use. This sentence he accordingly underwent on the 27th September, 1678. He prepared and left behind him the following documents.]

1. HIS TESTIMONY.

"Men and Brethren,—I am come here this day to lay down my life, and I bless the Lord I die with a willing heart, and a cheerful mind, as being conscious to myself before God, angels, and men, that I am most innocent of that man's blood, for which I am condemned to die, that I am as free as the child new born, and that I had neither art nor part in taking of his life, as was proven before the justice court, and the assize declared me not guilty of the foresaid blood ; but after the assizers' declaration, some of the lords thirsting after my blood, unjustly passed sentence to take my life. It was also proved before the justiciary court, that all the weapons I had, was only a wand in

* Here he refers to the foregoing Testimony, in which his sentiments on the points alluded to are declared most fully.

† Naphtali, pp. 412—414.

my hand. And also it was proved, that when the man was killed, I was at a great distance from the place; only this is all they charge on me, that I should have spoken such words as to provoke the meeting, to fall upon the party that came to interrupt the worship of God, and to scatter the meeting; yet, God is my witness, before whom I must shortly appear, that I had no intention for blood, but only for our own defence, being violently pursued, to hinder us in following the service of God upon his own day, and being upon our own just self-defence, and the defence of the gospel. I hope none can deny, much less Christians, that it was not out of contempt of lawful authority; but that it was grievous to me to see the work of the Lord hindered, and his day profaned. Therefore, my dear friends, I do here declare to you all, as the words of a dying man, that I desire to bless the Lord, although I be but a poor wretched sinner of myself, by reason of my original and actual transgressions, yet I have reason again and again to bless and magnify the Lord, that it hath pleased his gracious Majesty so far to condescend to manifest himself to me, as not only to show me my misery, but also to call me, and reveal Christ by his grace in me; also, I bless the Lord, that hitherto he hath kept me from all scandalous sins that are reigning and raging in these times, and the Lord hath made out that word to my experience:—2 Pet. i. 3—8. ‘According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain to life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue, whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be made partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust; and besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly-kindness; and to brotherly-kindness, charity; for if these things be in you and abound, they make you, that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.’

My friends, I earnestly desire you, that you would not stumble at the cross of Christ, and his despised gospel, because of my sufferings, and especially ye that are dear to me in East Lothian; for since I have received this sentence of death, I have found his gracious presence and love manifested to my soul, in sustaining both me and my cross; for he hath made out that to me, that he sends none a warfare upon their own charges. Ye may also call to mind that scripture, Philip. i. 27—30. ‘Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel, that whether I come and see you, or be absent, I may hear of your affairs; that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel, and in nothing be terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but unto you of salvation, and that of God. For unto you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to *suffer* for his sake, having the same conflict ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me.’—I also bless the Lord, that I am a member of the church of Scotland, which was once one of the purest and best reformed

churches for doctrine, government, discipline, and worship, according to the word of God, as it is expressed in the national covenant, the solemn league and covenant, the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and that blessed work of reformation so far once advanced, though now brought low, by the usurpation of the crown which belongs only to Jesus Christ, as head of his church; to all which truths, I adhere, and resolve through the Lord's grace and strength to seal the same with my blood. Particularly,—I adhere to the national covenant and solemn league and covenant, as we are all sworn therein, against all popery, prelacy, and all the corruptions thereon depending. As also, I adhere to the solemn league and covenant, as a holy contrivance of the holy Lord for the three kingdoms in a holy harmony and union, for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world; and I die in the faith of it, that however this blessed work of reformation be brought low, yet the Lord in his own time, who is king and captain of salvation, shall make it glorious and renowned in the eyes of the world, in despite of all adversaries whatsoever. Though it please the Lord to let them triumph and insult for a time, yet he will defend and revive his own work, and the spirits of his own oppressed remnant also, in these barren places; the seed of the gospel that hath been sown in East Lothian, shall have a spring season and a harvest in despite of devils and men, to the glory of God, and the comfort of his own people. Therefore, I do here give my testimony against all persecutors of the Lord's people and interest, in this sad time of defection; I also testify against all these that have intruded themselves into the calling of the ministry,* and upon the labours of his faithful sent servants. And I give my testimony against all apostates and indifferent lukewarm professors, who only follow Christ as the times make for them. Likewise, I give my testimony against all profane, profligate, wicked livers, who carry themselves so as if there were not a God, all whose damnation slumbers not, except it please the Lord to give them repentance and mercy. I also desire the Lord to make Alexander Maitland sensible,—who first apprehended me, and who promised upon his faith and conscience, that he would not see me wronged,—at whose door and his brother's, lies immediately my innocent blood, and that they may repent for the same. I desire the Lord to show them mercy, and freely forgive them. And as for the magistrates of Haddington,—they are not free of my blood; I wish the Lord may make them sensible thereof, and give them repentance. Also, I declare my blood lieth at the bishop of St. Andrews' door, to stand against

* The reader, it is presumed, need scarcely be told, that Mr. Learmonth here refers to the Episcopal curates, by whom the places of the presbyterian clergy, who were outed by the Glasgow act of 1662, were supplied. These were men of whom it might well be alleged, that they sought to be "put into the priest's office for a bit of bread;" whose characters and conduct must have rendered them contemptible, even if their principles, and the system under which they served, had been less obnoxious to the people; and who therefore might well be viewed as "intruders into the ministry," when compared with the able, zealous, and conscientious pastors, "the faithful sent servants," by whom they were preceded.

him; for, since I received this sentence of death, it hath been frequently brought to my ears, that he pressed the king's advocate to take my life, although *he* needed not for want of malice:—Isa. xxvi. 11. 'Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at thy people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them.' Rev. vi. 10. 'And they cried with a loud voice, and said, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?'—And I hope my blood shall still cry to the Lord against them, with all the innocent blood that hath been shed for the truth. I here most freely, before I go hence (without desire of revenge upon the fore-named persons, or any other, who have been the occasion of my blood shedding, now in my last words, after the example of my Lord and Master,) say, as is mentioned in that Scripture, Luke xxiii. 34. 'And Jesus said, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do, and they parted his garments, and cast lots,' &c.

"My dear friends, I give my testimony against that calumny cast upon presbyterians, that they are seditious and disloyal persons; the which aspersion I do abhor. Therefore, I exhort all people, that they will show loyalty to the king, and all lawful magistrates, and all their just and lawful commands, in so far as their commands agree with the word of God. I also desire all the Lord's people to continue faithful, and persevere to the end; for only such shall be saved. I also request you for the Lord's sake, to be straight in the matters of God, which are of so high concernment, as the glory of our dearest Lord and Master, for God will not be mocked, Isa. xxviii. 22. 'Now therefore be ye not mockers, lest your bands be made strong; for I have heard from the Lord God of hosts, even a consumption determined upon the whole earth.' And do not halt between two opinions; and let that scripture be always before you, and lay it to mind, Rev. xix. 4. 'These are they that have not been defiled with women, for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth; these were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.' Likewise, take notice of the word, 'All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.' But again, precious Christ comforteth his followers with these words, John xvi. last verse, 'These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace; in the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.' And this I must say

* Here there are two persons named by this martyr as accessory to his death. With regard to the first,—it is probable that the name should have been printed Charles instead of Alexander Maitland, as that was the name of the ensign, by whose party the conventicle was attacked: or, it is possible he might refer to some one of the countrymen, whom it appears the ensign had compelled to accompany and assist him, on that occasion.—With regard to the other person named,—Archbishop Sharp, we quote the following statement of the circumstance referred to, from Wodrow. After saying that Learmonth's "trial and sentence were mightily cried out upon," he continues:—"Some papers before me say, he was assoilized by the jury, but Bishop Sharp being peremptory that he must die, moved the advocate to threaten them with the utmost severity, and at length they were prevailed with, to bring him in guilty."—History, vol. i.

to the commendation of our blessed Lord, that in my experience I have found that scripture verified to me, Prov. iii. 17. 'Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.' Although to flesh and blood the cross of Christ be irksome, yet to the renewed part, Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden light; as it is Mat. xi. 28—30. 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.' My brethren, but especially of East Lothian, do not scare at the precious cross of Christ Jesus for my suffering, for I can assure you, Christ's cross is beautiful, and fruitful, and not to be stumbled at, as it is Isa. xxvii. 8. If ye take it on you willingly, and draw kindly in it, it shall be the heartsomest work in the world, to work and the cross upon your back; for, he will bear you and it both, as I have found it in my experience, ever since I began to seek his face, but especially, since he called me to the hardest task; but no task is hard that he hath called me unto: but I may say, what am I, or my Father's house, or any of the lost posterity of Adam, Psal. viii. 2—4. 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength, because of the enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and avenger. When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained:—What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?' That such a holy one as He, should have singled out such a poor silly man as I, out of that country-side wherein I lived, and that he should have honoured me, by calling me to lay down my life for adhering and following of him in the way of duty,—in countenancing his despised gospel and persecuted cause, now preached in the fields, by his lawfully called servants,—whereby he hath sealed to my soul, that he owns these field meetings, and doth tryst with his friends there, as I have found in a singular manner both in word and sacraments,—as I have found it to my comfort at East Nisbet in the Merse, 1 Cor. i. 13. 'For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness; but unto them that are saved, it is the power of God:—and there he dealt bountifully with his friends, as in Isa. xxvii. 7. I hope ere long the following words of the fore-named chapter shall be made out to me, and I shall enjoy him to all eternity. Be exhorted, to follow this way of the Lord, though unjustly reproached in that calumny of sedition and rebellion. And again, I exhort you to follow Christ in the use of all his commanded services both in public and private, cost what it will:—As Mat. x. 37—39. 'He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it.' As for my part, now in my last words, I declare, if all the hairs of my head were men, I would willingly lay them down with my life, for owning my Master Jesus Christ, and his cause, in the field meetings, when you cannot get the liberty of a house as formerly,—where his goings hath been seen in

the sanctuary to his people in their wilderness condition these sixteen years and upwards, as he hath promised to his people, Ezek. xi. 16. 'Yet will I be to them a little sanctuary in the countries where they shall come.' And I die in the faith of it, that God will come, and countenance and own those, who venture most for him. Therefore, my beloved, let not the fear of man prevail, but fear him who can kill both soul and body:—Luke xii. 4, 5. 'Fear not him that can kill the body, but fear him that after he hath killed the body, hath power to cast into hell.' Isa. li. 12, 13. 'Shouldest thou be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man which shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day, because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy; and where is the fury of the oppressor?' Consider for your encouragement what our Lord hath suffered for his elect:—Isa. liii. throughout. —Also, Luke xxii. 44. 'And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood;' and mind what will follow, Rev. ii. 4. 'Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.' Luke xxii. 28. 'Ye are they which have continued with me in my tentations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom.' As that chapter hath been oft sweet to me, press towards the mark; and sink not; as it is, Psal. lxxiii. 1. 'Truly God is good to Israel;' and Isa. xl. 29—31. 'He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint.' John xiv. 1—3. 'Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.' All the eighth chapter to the Romans hath oft comforted me; yea, the Lord who hath the tongue of the learned, hath spoke a word in due season to me, which words have been as apples of gold in pictures of silver. There is not a moment of our time, but we must depend on him, and to all such needy dependants he will make out that word, 2 Cor. xii. 9. 'My grace is sufficient for thee.' John xvi. 13. 'When the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself: but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come.' And at the close of the warfare, God will make out these sweet words, 1 Cor. xv. 54. 'So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.' Job xix. 25, 26. 'I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.' Psal. xvii. 15. 'As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be

satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness.' Psal. xvi. 8—11. 'I have set the Lord always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth; my flesh also shall rest in hope: for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.' Psal. xxx. 5. 'In his favour is life; weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning;' ver. 11, 12. 'Thou hast turned my mourning into dancing, to the end that my glory may sing praise unto thee.' Rev. iii. 12. 'Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God;' chap. vii. 10. 'And they cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, and to the Lamb;' chap. xix. 7. 'For the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.' Isa. xxxiii. 24. 'And the inhabitants shall not say, I am sick.' I shall end here with these words, Rom. viii. 17, 18. 'If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together: for I reckon, that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.' 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith,—henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness.' Rev. xxii. 20. 'Surely I come quickly. Amen, even so come Lord Jesus.'

Sic Sub.—JAMES LEARMONTH."

" At Edinburgh,
27th September, 1678."

2. HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

" Men and Brethren:—I am called here this day to lay down my life,—I hope as one whom the Lord will own as a witness to the born-down cause and truth, that now in this hour and power of darkness is unjustly oppressed, although one of the least and unworthiest of all that the Lord hath called to seal his truth with blood,—yet I am called and honoured here in your audience to declare, before I die, that I adhere to that work of reformation from popery, prelacy and profanity, heresy, and all manner of ungodliness abounding in these loose times,—as the fruit of breaking down of the hedge of government, occasioned by the coming in of that unjust usurpation of the crown of Jesus Christ, and putting it upon the head of a mortal man, whose breath is in his nostrils. I also adhere to the church of Scotland,—as it was governed by a general assembly lawfully constitute, by synods, presbyteries, and kirk sessions,—as the only hedge appointed of God, if well approven, to hold out the wild beasts out of his vineyard. I adhere also to the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, to the solemn acknowledgment of sins, the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, to the despised way of preaching of the gospel, the receiving of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, from the lawfully ordained and called ministers of the gospel, who are forced to the fields, because of persecution from those who were never friends to the church of Christ, or his church in this na-

tion;—I mean these lord prelates, who, contrary to the rule, lord it over the consciences of the inheritance of the Lord. Also I declare, I die free of the blood of all men, especially the blood of that man, for which I am unjustly condemned to die this day, as the assize did find me not guilty of his blood, whatever seemed to be alleged to the contrary, to the lords who passed sentence against me, without any just ground as from them; and there is a day, wherein the righteous Judge will judge again, when he makes inquisition for blood, and will call to account all the bloodshed of the saints, that is dear in his sight. As for Alexander Maitland who apprehended me, my blood lies directly at his door, who promised me then, that nothing should reach my life, as he swore by faith and conscience; and his brother is also guilty of my blood, who hath much pursued after my blood. I desire the Lord to give them repentance, and mercy, if it be possible. And as for the Archbishops, I charge my blood upon them, with all the blood of the innocent sufferers in this cause, which by their means and their associates has been shed, and all the other sufferings the covenanted people of the Lord has been put to, all which cry for just revenge from the righteous Lord and Judge of all. I have my mind more fully expressed in another paper, that is more large, all which I subscribe as a dying man, who am to appear immediately before the righteous Judge,—I hope to receive the sentence, ‘Well done faithful servant, enter into your Master’s joy;’—though not by my merit, but through the merits and purchase of Christ. So farewell all enjoyments in time,—farewell sun, moon, and stars,—farewell all ordinances, and welcome precious Christ!

Sic Sub.—JAMES LEARMONTH.”

“Being to die this day,
the 27th Sep. 1676.”

XXV. JOHN KID.

[To all who are in the least acquainted with the history of the period, it is well known that the persecuted presbyterians, again stimulated to insurrection by the oppressions of the government, were opposed and defeated by the king’s troops at Bothwell bridge, on the 22d of June, 1679. Of the prisoners who were taken on this memorable occasion, Mr. Kid was one, and was with his brother, Mr. King, shortly after doomed to an ignominious death. Whether he had ever been ordained, or was only a probationer, we have not discovered. If he was, it must have been shortly previous to the engagement at which he was taken, and his presence at which was deemed sufficient to infer the highest penalty. He was strictly examined as to the origin of the rising, and his answers not being satisfactory, he was questioned by torture. He was thereafter indicted, along with Mr. King, for having been in the rebellion, and for having preached at field conventicles. And notwithstanding

their offering to adduce an exculpatory proof, which was refused, and there being no other evidence but their own declarations, partly gained by promises, and partly extorted by the Boot,—they were condemned and executed on the 14th of August, 1679. Here follows Mr. Kid's Testimony.]

“ Right worthy and well beloved Spectators and Auditors :—Considering the bodily distempers I have been exercised under since I came out of the torture, viz. scarce two hours out of my naked bed in one day,—it cannot be expected I should be in case for saying any thing to purpose, in such a juncture ; especially, seeing I am not as yet free of it ; however, I cannot but reverence the good hand of God upon me for good, and desire with all my soul to bless him for this present lot.

“ It may be, there are a great many here, that judge my lot very sad and deplorable :—I must confess death in itself is very terrible to flesh and blood, but as it is an outlet to sin, and an inlet to righteousness, it is the Christian's great and inexpressible privilege. And give me leave to say this :—

“ I. That there is something in a Christian's condition, that can never put him without the reach of unsufferableness,—even shame, death, and the cross being included.* And then if there be peace betwixt God and the soul, nothing can damp peace through our Lord Jesus Christ ; it is a supporting ingredient in the bitterest cup, and under the sharpest and fieriest trial he can be exposed unto. This is my mercy, I have somewhat of this to lay claim unto, viz. The intimations of pardon betwixt God and my soul. And as concerning that for which I am condemned, I magnify his grace, that I never had the least challenge for it, but on the contrary, judge it my honour that ever I was counted worthy to be staged upon such a consideration.

“ II. Another thing that renders the most despicable sufferings of Christians and mine sufferable, and that is a felt and sensible presence from the Lord, strengthening the soul, when most put to it. And if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to say, ‘ O death, where is thy sting ? ’ and would but cry out, welcome to it, and all that follows upon it. I grant, the Lord from an act of sovereignty may come and go as he pleases, but yet he will never forsake his people, and this is a cordial to me in the case I am now exposed unto.

“ III. The exercising and putting forth of his glorious power, is able to transport the soul of the believer and mine, above the reach of all sublunary difficulties ; and therefore, seeing I have hope to be kept by this power, I would not have you to look upon my lot, or any other that is, or may be in my case, in the least deplorable ;—seeing

* This is a statement which, from the manner in which it is expressed, the reader may find it difficult to comprehend. The meaning seems to be, that there are sources of peace, and joy, and comfort, in the Christian's condition, such as may render tolerable the severest troubles and trials of life, or at least prevent them being intolerable.

we have ground to believe, that in more or less he will perfect his power and strength in weakness.

“ IV. That I may come a little nearer to the purpose in hand, I declare before you all, in the sight of God, angels, and men, and in the sight of that sun, and all that he has created, that I am a most miserable sinner, in regard of my original and actual transgressions: I must confess they are more than the hairs upon my head, and altogether past reckoning: I cannot but say, as Jacob said, ‘ I am less than the least of all God’s mercies,’ yet I must declare to the commendation of the freedom of his grace made known, and that by a strong hand, and dare not but say, ‘ He has loved me, and washed me in his own blood from mine iniquity;’ and well is it with me this day, that ever I heard or read that faithful saying, ‘ Jesus Christ came into the world, to save sinners, of whom I am chief.’

“ V. I must also declare in his sight, I am the most unworthy that ever opened the mouth to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in the gospel; yea, the sense of this made me altogether unwilling to fall about so great a work, until by the importunity of some, whose names are precious and savoury to me, and to many others, I was prevailed with, to fall about it: and howbeit out of great weakness I went about it; yet I am hopeful not altogether without some fruit: and if I durst say it without vanity, I never found so much of the presence of God upon my spirit, as I have found in exercises of that nature, though I must still confess, attended with inexpressible weakness. And this is the main thing for which I must lay down my tabernacle this day, to wit, That I did preach Christ and the gospel in several places; for which I bless him, as I can, that ever such a poor obscure person as I am, have been thus privileged by him, for making mention of his grace, as I was able.

“ VI. Give me leave to add this word, that though there be great appearance for the spreading and preaching this glorious gospel, yet I fear there be a snare at the bottom, and poison in the dish, which may gender and be productive of, not only greater scarcity of honest preaching and preachers, but a real famine of the word. This, I say, is my fear; and I hope God will keep his servants from fomenting any thing to the detriment of the gospel.

“ VII. I am also afraid, the Lord is intending to multiply his strokes upon the land. We have walked seven times contrary to him, and therefore we may lay our account (unless repentance prevent it) that he will walk seven times contrary to us: there is more than ground to fear, that a sword is bathed in heaven, a glittering sword, sharpened and furbished against thee, O guilty and harlot Scotland!

“ VIII. For that other clause in mine indictment, upon which my sentence of death is formed, viz. personal presence twice or thrice with that party, whom they called the rebels—for my own part, I never judged them, nor called them such. I acknowledge, and do believe, there were a great many there, that came in the simplicity of their own hearts, like those that followed Absalom long ago. I am as sure on the other hand, that there was a great party there, that had nothing before them, but the repairing of the Lord’s fallen work, and the re-

storing of the breach, which is wide as the sea; and I am apt to think, that such of these, who were most branded with mistakes, will be found to have been most single: but for rebellion against his majesty's person, or lawful authority, the Lord knows my soul abhorreth it, name and thing: loyal I have been, and will every Christian to be so; and I was ever of this judgment, to 'give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.

"IX. Since I came to prison I have been much branded with many things, which I must call aspersions, whereof Jesuitism is one. I am hopeful, there were never any that did converse with me that had the least ground for laying this to my charge: and I know not how it is come to pass, to cast it upon me, except for implacable prejudice, that some have been prepossessed with, against me. I am not ignorant that near two years ago, a person of some note in this church, while living, was pleased to say, That I had died in that judgment; after he was better informed, he changed his note, and said, it was misinformation. But now the Lord, before whom I must stand and be judged by and by, knows, I have a perfect abhorrence of that thing, and that was never my temptation, directly nor indirectly; though I must confess, some few years ago some were very pressing with me, that I might conform and embrace prelacy; but for popery, and that trash, it came never nearer my heart, than the pope's conclave, and the Alcoran, which my soul abhors.

"X. I have been also branded with factiousness, divisive and seditious preaching and practices. I must confess, if it be so, it was more than ever I was aware of. According to the measure God has given me, it was my endeavour to commend Christ to the hearts and souls of the people, even repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the word of God, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms Larger and Shorter. Yea, I did press them also, when God did cast it into my way, to remember their sworn covenant, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; and that they would make it their work to stand to it in substance and circumstance, seeing it is so cried down in this day, and if this be divisive preaching, I cannot deny it.

"XI. I am pressed in conscience to bear my testimony and abhorrence of every invasion, usurpation, and encroachment that is made, or has been made against Christ's royal prerogative, crown, and kingdom, originate upon, and derivate from that which they call the supremacy. I was never free to say a confederacy with those, who, I judge, have in a great part said a confederacy with that thing. And the Lord is my record, I was never free in my conscience for that, that is called the Indulgence, neither first nor second, as it was tendered by the council, and as it was embraced by a great many godly and pious men in this land. Yea, it was never lawful nor expedient to me: and in effect, this is one of the main grounds, why I am rendered obnoxious to so many imputations, that I have been all alongst contrary to that Indulgence in my judgment. I confess, I have been of that judgment, and I die in my judgment contrary to it: and this I crave

leave to say, without any offence given to the many godly and learned that are of another judgment.*

“ XII. I judge it fit likewise in this case to leave my testimony against that stent, taxation, and cess, that has been so unjustly imposed, so irrelevantly founded, and vigorously carried on by the abettors of that convention, and merely upon no other account imaginable, but to a final extirpation of Christ and his gospel ordinances out of these lands: and how lamentable is it to consider, how many professors did willingly pay it, and were most for inciting others to do the same.†

“ In the next place, though to many I die desired, yet I know to not a few my death is not desired; and it is the rejoicing of my heart, that I die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath loved me, and given himself for me, and in the faith of the prophets and apostles, and in this faith—that there is not a name under heaven by which men shall be saved, but the name of Jesus,—and in the faith of the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the kirk of Scotland, as it is now established according to the word of God, Confessions of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, &c. Likeas, I join my testimony against popery and perjury, profanity, prelacy, heresy, supremacy, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine.

“ In the close, as a dying person, and as one who has obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, I would humbly leave it upon godly ministers, to be faithful for their Lord and Master, and not to hold their peace in such a day, when so many ways are taken for the injuring of him, his name, way, sanctuary, ordinances, crown, and kingdom.

* It is obvious from this, that Mr. Kid was opposed to the reception of an Indulgence at the hands of government; but it is likewise obvious, that he could agree to differ with these “godly and pious men” by whom it had been embraced. And though it has been insinuated by those authors who are favourable to the views of what was termed the *high* or *honest* party among the covenanters at Bothwell, i. e. those who thought all union with the Indulged unlawful,—that he was of that opinion—it must be plain, we think, even from the above expressions, that this was not the case. The respect which he avows for the opinions of those who differed from him, and his professed desire to give them no offence, is evidence to the contrary.

† The tax here referred to, and against which Mr. Kid has left his decided testimony, was imposed by an act of the Convention of Estates in 1678. It being thought necessary that an addition should be made to the king's troops, and that requiring money to support it, the sum of 1,800,000 pounds Scots, was voted for that purpose. It now became a question amongst the presbyterians, whether it were lawful to pay the cess which was thus imposed,—some maintaining that the payment of it was an active concurrence with the persecutors in bearing down the Lord's work: others reasoning, that since violence would be used to compel payment, it was better, by a ready compliance with the act, to preserve themselves and their property from the injury they must otherwise, at all events, sustain; and others choosing a middle way, and paying it,—but testifying at the same time, against it.—Having stated these different opinions, in illustration of what is said in the text, we leave the reader to judge for himself which is the right one. It may be added, however, that the question, as anticipated, was after a few months practically solved, every one being compelled to pay it in one form or another.

I hope there will be found a party in the land, that will contend for him, and his matters, upon all hazards. And as faithfulness is called for in ministers, so they should concern themselves, that they countenance not, nor abet any thing that is inconsistent with former principles and practice.

“ 1. Let the land consider how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the matters of God, even like Ephraim long ago, a cake not turned,—which is upon the matter contrary to, and inconsistent with our solemn sworn covenants :—

“ 2. Next, how far we are fallen from our first love, how far we are degenerate from that noble vine into which the Lord did once plant us, how lamentable is it? How far we are gone in the way of Egypt, drinking the waters of Sichar.

“ 3. Again, what a woful cursed spirit of bitterness is predominating in this land and in this age, Ephraim vexing Judah, and Judah Ephraim, Manasseh Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh ;—the growing doggedness of this temper almost amongst us all, portends terrible things from the Lord against Scotland.

“ 4. Reformation according to our sworn covenants, neither designed nor practised,—what means all this deformity, that is come to pass in these days instead of the contrary? how many of us are pulling down that which we have been building up? how many of us calling good evil, and evil good, disowning and disavouching that which sometime we judged our honour to testify for, and to avouch?

“ 5. A public spirit in contending for God in his matters, in substance and circumstance, according to our vows and obligations, is much a missing amongst us this day. Further,

“ I. I am pressed in conscience to make honourable mention of all these great and glorious things that God has done in Scotland, since the year 1638,—the abundant measure of his Spirit that was poured out upon his servants and people at the renewing of the national covenant twice in that year, and once in the year following :—the blessed efficacy that the gospel had at that time in all corners of the land,* and the great things that followed upon it, which while improven, made our land desirable.

* There can be no doubt, that Mr. Kid is in the main correct as to the efficacy of the gospel under the *Second Reformation*. The period here referred to, may well be esteemed as a “ time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.” It is presumed, however, that the most remarkable season during that period, for the success which attended the gospel, was from 1652 to 1660. Such at least is the view which we are led to adopt, from reading the following statement in Law’s Memorials :—

“ It is not to be forgotten,” says he, “ that from the year 1652, to the year 1660, there was great good done by the preaching of the gospel in the west of Scotland, more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years before ; a great many brought in to Christ by a saving work of conversion, which was occasioned through ministers preaching nothing all that time but the gospel, and had left off to preach up parliaments, armies, leagues, resolutions, and remonstrances, which was much in use before, from the year 1638, till that time, 52, which occasioned a great number of hypocrites in the church, who, out of hope of preferment, honour, riches, and worldly credit, took on the form of godliness, but wanted the power of it.”—Law’s Mem. p. 7.

" II. I bear my testimony to the solemn league and covenant, as it was pressed and sworn in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1643; yea, as it was timed and taken by the representatives and body of these three lands;—which tie is binding, and can by no power on earth be infringed, whether secular or ecclesiastic, and that it was our glory to be counted a people married to the Lord, from one generation to another, from henceforth and for ever. So that prelacy, as it is now established by a pretended law, is downright destructive to that sworn covenant; yea, and not only prelacy, popery, malignancy, and heresy, but the supremacy, and every thing originated upon and derived from it.

" III. I cannot but make mention of that honourable and noble practice, that this land was privileged with, viz. after two defections, the Lord put it into the heart of both state and church to renew these covenants once again, viz. both the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, together with an acknowledgment of sins, and engagement to duties, and that in the close of the year;—which performance, was attended with so much of the Lord's power and presence, that it was like a resurrection from the dead to all that were witnesses, yea, to both speakers and hearers, that many were forced to cry out, 'The joy of the Lord is our strength, God, of a truth, is here.'

" IV. I dare not but add this in the case wherein I now stand, viz. I cannot but add my concurrence with, and adherence to all these public testimonies, protestations, and declarations, that have been owned, evinced, and emitted by all the presbyterian ministers and professors of old and of late, since this work began; and particularly, I dare not but join my approbation of, and adherence to the testimony and protestation of those renowned and eminently worthy gentlemen, ministers, and professors, that appeared against the public resolutions, for taking in the malignant party into judicatories and armies;—as also, I join my cordial adherence to and with them, that protested against the two pretended assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, which endeavoured to approve what the commission had done in the year 1650, and 1651, in reference to the intrusting the malignant party;—which, as was said by the protesting worthies, laid the foundation to all that is come, or may come upon us.* I hope this will not offend any.

" V. I am bound in conscience likewise in the next place to testify

* Some account of the measures which divided the church into the two great parties, called *Resolutioners* and *Protesters*, was given in note, p. 56. It is to these that Mr. Kid here refers. And, that they were, as he asserts, the origin of all the cruel and oppressive policy, subsequently exercised against presbyterianism, and in favour of prelacy, cannot be doubted by any candid and discerning mind who duly considers the history of the period. One thing is certain, and cannot fail to be noticed at the very outset—that the Earl of Middleton, under whose government the memorable act of 1662 was adopted, had been one of the most prominent and avowed adherents of the malignant party: that is to say—the party who were opposed to the covenant and its interests, and consequently to the state of matters which had been established in conformity to it, previous to the restoration.

my dislike and abhorrence of that cruel, horrid, and barbarous unheard of, and unparalleled deportment and practice of that Act Rescissory, wherein at one dash, by an act of that precipitant parliament, they endeavoured to rescind, annul, and expel all these great and glorious things, that the strong hand of the Lord had done in Scotland, for more than twenty years bygone, over the belly of so much opposition and standing contradiction of proclaimed and avowed adversaries upon all hands ;—yea, I proclaim my abhorrence of all the confusions, blood and murder, fining, confining, imprisonment, stigmatizings, with all other inexpressible cruelties that have issued from that cursed act these nineteen years bygone. And moreover, I leave my testimony against all other confusions, imprisonment, and blood, that is or may be intended against those of the land that desire to keep their garments clean, whether in prison, or out of prison.

“ VI. As concerning that which is the ground of my death,—viz. preaching here and there in some corners :—I bless my God, I have not the least challenge for it, and though those that condemned me are pleased to call such preachings *rendezvouses of rebellion*, yet I must say this of them, they were so far from being reputed such in my eyes, that if ever Christ had a people, or party, wherein his soul took pleasure, I am bold to say, these meetings were a great part of them : the shining and glory of our God was eminently seen amongst these meetings, the convincing power and authority of our Lord went out with his servants, in these blasphemously nicknamed conventicles. This I say, without reflection upon any. I have a word to add further, That God is calling persons to repentance, and to do their first works. O that Scotland were a mourning land, and that reformation were our practice, according as we are sworn in the covenant.

“ Again, Christians of grace and experience should study more straightness and stability in this day, when so many are turning to the right, and many to the left hand ; ‘ But he that endures to the end shall be saved :’ He hath appointed the crown and kingdom for such as continue with him in his tentations.

“ Next, As ever ye expect to have the form of the house showed you, all the laws thereof, goings out thereof, and comings in thereof, then,—think it no shame to take shame to you, for all that hath been done ; sitting down this side Jordan is like to be our bane ! O when shall we get up and after him with all our heart, and never rest till he return.

“ I recommend my poor wife, and young one, to the care and faithfulness of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ;—the God that hath fed me to this day, and who is the God of my salvation, be their God and my God, their father and my father ! I am hopeful that Christian friends and relations will not be unmindful of them when I am gone.

“ Lastly, I leave my testimony to the cross of Christ, and bless him that ever he counted me worthy to appear for him in such a lot as this : all glory to him that ever I heard tell of him, and that ever he fell upon such a method of dealing with me as this ; and therefore let none that love Christ, and his righteous cause, be offended in me.

And as I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands; so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a resurrection of his name, word, cause, covenants, and of all his interests therein, though I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leave all these things to the infinitely wise God, who hath done, and will do all things well. O that he would return to this land again, repair our breaches, take away our backslidings, and appear for his work! O! that he were pacified towards us. O! that he would pass by Scotland again, and make our time a time of love: come Lord Jesus, come quickly,—himself hasten it in his own time and way. ‘The Lord is my light, and my life; my joy, my song, and my salvation!’ The God of his chosen be my mercy to-day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy Ghost keep me up, and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, to the edification of his people, and to my own eternal advantage! Amen.

Sic Sub.—JOHN KID.*

XXVI. JOHN KING.

[It appears that Mr. King had officiated for some time as chaplain to Lord Cardross, and that in 1674, and the following year, he was apprehended in his lordship’s house. In the former instance he was liberated on a bond of security, and on the latter was rescued by the interference of some country people who had benefited by his ministry. About a month before the battle of Bothwell he was, with seventeen others, again seized in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, and being carried by Claverhouse to Drumclog, was there retaken by the victorious covenanters. Some days after the defeat at Bothwell, he was taken at the Laird of Blairs, in Dalry, Ayrshire, and being forthwith marched to Edinburgh, he was examined and tried, condemned and executed, along with Mr. Kid. They enjoyed much peace and joy in their last moments, and delivered their testimonies with perfect composure and serenity of mind. Their heads and right hands were cut off, and affixed on the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh, beside that of Mr. Guthrie, as new monuments of the injustice of this period.]

“Men and Brethren:—I do not doubt, but many that are spectators here, have some other end than to be edified by what they may see in the behaviour, and hear in the last words of one going into eternity. But if any of you have ears to hear, which I nothing doubt but some of this great gathering have, therefore I desire your ears and attention, if the Lord shall help, and permit, to speak a few things.

“I. I bless the Lord, since infinite wisdom and holy providence hath so carved out my lot to die after this manner, that I die not unwillingly, neither by force. It is true, I could not do this of myself,

* Naphtali, pp. 424—435.

nature having always an inclination to put the evil day far away, but through grace I have been helped, and by his grace hopeful, yet shall; and though possibly I might have shunned such an hard sentence, if I had done things, that, though I could, I durst not do—no not for my soul—yet, I durst not, God knoweth, redeem my life by the loss of my integrity and honesty. I bless the Lord, that since I have been apprehended, and a prisoner, God hath very wonderfully upholden me, and made out that comfortable word, ‘Fear not, be not dismayed, I am with thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness,’ Isa. xliii. 10. I thank the Lord, he never gave me leave so much as to have a thought, much less to seek after any shift that might have been in the least sinful. I *did* always, and yet *do* judge it better to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: therefore I am come hither to suffer, and to lay down my life. I bless the Lord, I die not as a fool: though I acknowledge I have nothing to boast of myself; I acknowledge I am a sinner, and one of the chiefest that have gone under the name of a professor in religion, yea, amongst the unworthiest of those that have preached the gospel; my sins and corruptions have been many, and have defiled me in all things, and even in the doing and following of duty, I have not wanted my own sinful infirmities and weakness: so that I may justly say, I have no righteousness of mine own, all is vile like filthy rags. But blessed be God, that there is a Saviour for sinners,—and an advocate, Jesus Christ the righteous; and I do believe, ‘Jesus Christ is come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief;’ and that through faith in his righteousness I have obtained mercy; and that through him, and him only, I desire to hope for, and have a happy and glorious victory over sin, Satan, hell, and death; and that I shall attain to the righteousness of the just, and be made partaker of eternal life. ‘I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.’ I have in my poor capacity preached salvation in his name, and as I have preached, so do I believe; with all my soul I have commended, and yet I do commend to all of you, the riches of his grace, and faith in his name, as the alone and only way whereby ye can be saved.

“II. It may be, many may think,—but I bless the Lord without any solid ground,—that I suffer as an evil-doer, and as a busybody in other men’s matters, but I reckon not so much on that (having the testimony of my conscience), for it was the lot of our blessed Lord Jesus himself, and also the lot of many of his eminent precious servants and people, to suffer by the world as evil-doers; yea, I think, I have so far ground not to fear at such a lot, that I count it my non-such honour. And oh! what am I, that I should have been honoured so, when so many Worthies have panted after the like, and have not come at it; and my soul rejoiceth in being brought into conformity with my blessed Lord and Head, and such blessed company, in this way and lot; and I desire to pray, that I may be to none of you to-day a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence: and blessed is he

that shall not be offended in Christ and his poor followers and members, because of being condemned by the world as evil-doers.

“As for these things for which sentence of death was passed against me,—I bless the Lord, my heart doth not condemn me. Rebellious I have not been, neither do I judge it to be rebellion, for me to have endeavoured, in my capacity, what possibly I could, for the ruined and borne-down interest of our Lord and Master, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted, not only in their liberties, privileges, and persons, but also in their lives;—therefore it was that I joined with that poor handful.* The Lord knows,—who is the searcher of hearts,—that neither my design nor practice was against his majesty’s person and just government; but I always intended to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord. I thank God, my heart doth not condemn me of any disloyalty: I have been loyal, and do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord. And, that I preached at field meetings, which is the other ground of my sentence;—I am so far from acknowledging that the gospel preached that way, was a rendezvousing in rebellion, as it is termed, that I bless the Lord that ever counted me worthy to be a witness to such meetings, which have been so wonderfully countenanced and owned, not only to the conviction, but even to the conversion of many thousands; yea, I do assert, that if the Lord hath had a purer church and people in this land than another, it hath been in and among these meetings in fields and houses, so much now despised by some, and persecuted by others. That I preached up rebellion and rising in arms against authority,—I bless the Lord, my conscience doth not condemn me in this, it never being my design: If I could have preached Christ and salvation in his name, *that* was my *work*, and herein have I walked according to the light and rule of the word of God, and as it did become, (though one of the meanest,) a minister of the gospel.

“III. I have been looked on by some, and misrepresented by others, as having been of a divisive and factious humour, and one that stirred up division in the church; but I am hopeful, that ye will

* Mr. King here refuses the term *rebellion*, as the proper designation of the rising, in which he had participated, and he assigns to himself, *two* motives, for having joined his persecuted brethren:—namely, the restoration of their *civil*, as well as their *religious* liberty. Whether the latter of these ought ever to be made a ground of war, has by some been questioned; but there can be no hesitation in admitting, as such a ground, the recovery or defence of civil and political freedom. Even, therefore, keeping out of view “the ruined and borne-down interests of his Lord and Master,” which also, Mr. King has mentioned as a reason for the rising, it must be plain, that the state of his brethren, afflicted and persecuted in their liberties, persons, and lives, affords a reason quite sufficient, to justify the conduct of those who engaged in that enterprise. This might be made to appear, even on the general ground of that supposed contract, to which, philosophers have attempted to trace the mutual obligations of sovereign and subject; but allowing the purely fictitious nature of such a contract, it is certainly put beyond all doubt, when we consider the terms of that *real and actual compact* which took place between King Charles and the people of Scotland, when they respectively swore allegiance to the solemn league and covenant.

give me charity, being within a little to stand before my Judge, and I pray the Lord that he will forgive them that did so misrepresent me: and I thank the Lord, whatever men did say of me concerning this, that, upon the contrary, I have often dissuaded from such ways, and of this my conscience bears me witness. But here I would not have any to mistake me, as if I did approve of ways and practices contrary to the word of God, and our covenanted reformed religion. As I ever abhorred division and faction in the church, as that which tends to its utter ruin, if the Lord prevent it not; so I would in the bowels of my Lord and Master (if such a feckless one as I may presume) persuade and exhort both ministers and professors, ‘If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels of mercy;—that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind;—in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than himself,’ Phil. ii. 1—3. Harmoniousness and oneness in the things of God can never enough be sought after, and harmony and unitedness in things that tend to the prejudice and hurt of Christ’s interests, can never enough be fled from and avoided. And, as I am willing to lay down my tabernacle, so also I die in the faith of the holy scriptures, and in the faith of the apostles and primitive Christians, and protestant reformed churches, and particularly of this church of Scotland, whereof I am a poor member, that hath been so powerfully carried on against so much opposition, by the mighty power and goodness of God.

“IV. I bear my witness to the doctrine and worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland, by kirk sessions and presbyteries, synods and general assemblies. As also, I bear my witness and testimony unto our solemn covenants, national and solemn league betwixt the three kingdoms, which sacred and solemn oaths, I believe, cannot be dispensed with, or loosed by any person or party upon the earth, but are still binding upon these nations, and will be so for ever hereafter. Also I bear my witness and testimony unto our public confessions of sins, and engagement to duties, and that either as to what concerns the reformation of our families or persons, or the reformation of the whole land in general; as also the causes of God’s wrath, the rejecting of which is to be feared to be one of the greatest causes of God’s wrath this day against our land. I also do bear witness and testimony to the protestation given in against the controverted assemblies in their public resolutions, for bringing in the malignant party into places of power and trust, contrary to our solemn engagements and obligations to God. I also adhere to our Confessions of Faith, Shorter and Larger Catechisms. I bear witness and testimony against popery, which is so greatly increased; yea, so much countenanced and professed openly by many, and that without the least punishment. I bear witness against that antichristian prelacy, now established by a law, contrary to our vows to the almighty God; and against the rescinding of our solemn engagements and oaths, as a thing that calls for divine vengeance, and against all oaths and bonds contrary to our covenant and engagements, especially the oath of supremacy, the declaration against our covenant, and that bond called

the bond of peace ; and that horrid bond so frequently imposed against the meetings of his people in houses and fields, intended for the down-bearing of the gospel and interest of our Lord and Master, with all these bonds, public and private, contrary to our obligations and oaths to God. Also, against all such as connive at, complies with, or strengthens the hands of the malignant, prelatic, and persecuting party : against all schism and heresy, contrary to our engagements with God, and especially against that ruining and soul-deluding evil, or rather *devilry*,—Quakerism, so much connived at, if not allowed and countenanced by many, whose office it is to restrain it : as also, against all the steps and courses of backsliding and defection, which has been and now is on foot in this land, and against all the branches and parts thereof, under whatsoever name or notion.

“ V. Moreover, I bear my testimony to all the testimonies given both formerly and of late by our suffering and banished witnesses, and to all the testimonies of our first witnesses, noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that have suffered in this city and kingdom, who cheerfully laid down their lives with admirable divine assistance, and to all these who have laid down their lives, either formerly, or of late in the fields. As also, to all these who have sealed their testimonies either with forfeitures, imprisonment, or banishment, on this account, score, and quarrel. And particularly I bear my testimony against that horrid violation done to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that by usurping upon his royal prerogatives, and in spoiling him of his crown, sceptre, sword, and royal robe, by taking the princely ornaments to invest a man, whose breath is in his nostrils, through that woful supremacy so much applauded, and universally owned, even by those, of whom better things might be expected ; I mean the indulged, and such as countenance them in that way, even to the ruining and renting of the church, which is also, too too evident by sad and doleful experience. As also, I leave my testimony against this cess imposed by the late convention of estates, whereby the enemies of Christ and his church are supplied with all necessities, for the utter extirpating of the interest of Christ in this church.

“ VI. There is one thing more I would say, the Lord seems to be very wroth with this land ; the causes are many. 1. The dreadful slights our Lord Jesus has received in the offers of his gospel. 2. The horrid profanity that has overpassed the whole land, that not only religion in its exercise, but even common civility is gone. 3. The horrid perjury in the matters of our vows and engagements ; it is to be feared, the Lord will bring his sword on the land, which shall avenge the quarrel of his covenant. 4. There is a dreadful formality and supineness in the duties of religion, which is introductive to that wo which came upon the careless daughters. 5. Horrid ingratitude ; what do we render to him for his goodness ? Is it not the most of all that we do, to work wickedness, and strengthen our hands to do evil ? 6. The want of humility under all our troubles ; we are brought low, yet we are not low in the sight of God. 7. Dreadful covetousness and minding of our own things, more than the things of God, and this amongst all ranks ; would to God that there were not too much

of this amongst many who are enemies to the cross of Christ, and mind earthly things. And yet, I dare not say, but that there are many faithful and precious to him in Scotland, both of ministers and professors, whom I hope, God will keep stedfast, and who will study to be faithful to their Lord and Master, and whom I hope, he will make as brazen walls, and as iron pillars, and as defenced cities in the following of their duty, in these sad and evil times; but it were to be wished, that there were not too many who strengthen the hands of evil-doers, and making themselves transgressors, by studying to build up again, that which formerly they had destroyed; let such take heed of that flying roll in Zech. v. And let all the Lord's servants and ministers take heed, that they watch and be stedfast in the faith, and 'quit themselves like men, and be strong:' and that they set the trumpets to their mouths, and give a seasonable and faithful warning to all ranks, concerning sin and duty, especially against the sins of this sinful time. It is to be lamented, and is sadly regretted by many of the Lord's people, that there hath been so much silence and fainting, even amongst ministers. Oh! how great a concernment is it now in this sad juncture! Let ministers consider well, what it is that God calleth for at their hands; to be silent now, especially when so horrid and cruel things are acted, when they are so much called, and ought to be concerned to speak, even upon the peril of life, is certainly a dreadful sin in the sight of God. I shall only desire, that God may open the mouths of his faithful servants, that with all boldness they may speak out the mind of their Master, and so the work, interest, crown, and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ may not be destroyed; and that the souls of his poor people, which are precious to God, may not without testimony be ruined. I shall but say two or three words more. 1. All that are profane,—I would seriously exhort you, that ye would return to the Lord by serious repentance, which if ye do, iniquity shall not be your ruin; if not, know, that the day of the Lord's vengeance is near, and it hasteneth on. O know for your comfort, there is a door of mercy yet open, if ye be not despisers of the day of salvation. And ye that have been and yet are reproachers and persecutors of godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed; sad will your day be when God ariseth to scatter his enemies, if ye repent not of all your ungodly deeds. 2. All those that are Gallios,—if their own private interest prosper, and go well, they care the less for the interest of Christ; take heed, be zealous and repent, lest the Lord pass that sentence, 'I will spew you out of my mouth.' 3. For the truly godly, and such as are lamenting after the Lord, and mourning for all the abominations done in the city and in the land, and are taking pleasure in the rubbish and stones of Zion,—be of good courage, and cast not away your confidence. I dare not say any thing to future things, but surely the Lord hath a handful that are precious to him, whom he will be gracious unto. This is a dark night, how long it may last, the Lord knoweth: and let none of the sad disasters his people are trysted with, though very astonishing, terrify you; beware of sin that abounds; cleave fast to your covenanted, reformed religion; do not shift the cross of Christ, if ye be called unto it, it is better to suffer

than sin; account the reproaches of Christ greater riches than the treasures of the world.

“ VII. In the last place, let not my death be grievous to any of you;—I hope it will be more profitable both for you and me, and for the church and interest of God, than my life could have been. I bless the Lord, I can freely and frankly forgive all men the guilt of it, even as I desire to be forgiven of God. ‘ Pray for them that persecute you, and bless them that curse you.’ As to the cross of Jesus Christ the Lord, I never had cause, nor have this day, to rue for any thing I have suffered, or can now suffer for his name. I thank the Lord, who hath showed mercy to such a vile sinner as I am, and that ever he should have advanced me to such a high dignity, as to be made a minister of the blessed and everlasting gospel, or that ever I should have had a seal set to my ministry upon the hearts of some in several places of this land. The Lord visit Scotland with more and more faithful pastors, and send a reviving day to the work and people of God. In the meantime, ‘ Be patient, be stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord;’ and live in love and peace one with another, and the Lord be with his afflicted, groaning people that are behind.

“ Now I bid farewell with all my friends and dear relations; farewell my poor wife and child, whom I leave on the good hand of Him, who is better than seven husbands, and will be ‘ a father to the fatherless.’ Farewell all creature comforts, and welcome everlasting life, everlasting glory, everlasting love, and everlasting praise. ‘ Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me.’

Sic Sub.—JOHN KING.”*

“ Edinburgh,
“ August 14th, 1679.”

* Naphtali, pp. 435—444.—In this and the preceding testimony it will be observed, that whilst the strongest general professions of loyalty to the king are set forth, there is also a firm and faithful vindication, from the charge of *rebellion*—of the rising in arms at Bothwell. Nor can it, in justice, be held as inconsistent with this, that the two martyrs in their petition to the council for the privilege of an exculpatory proof, and also in their judicial confession,—speak of that enterprise under this odious title:—For, in reference to the first of these papers, (which are both to be seen in Wodrow) “ The style,” says he, “ is evidently that of their lawyers, and when people are under their management, it must be expected their petition will run in their phrases, as a patient must follow a physician’s prescription.” And with respect to the other—it would, of course, be written by the clerk of court, and would probably be signed by our Worthies under the excruciating torture of the boot.—Notwithstanding all the abuse that was heaped upon them at the time, and notwithstanding such apparent discrepancies, as may still appear in their testimonies—they seem to have been faithful and enlightened witnesses to the principles of the presbyterian church of Scotland.

XXVII. THOMAS BROWN AND OTHERS.

SECT. I. THEIR JOINT TESTIMONY.

[It may be perceived, that the arrangement of this, and the three succeeding articles, is somewhat peculiar. This is owing to the number and variety of their respective contents.—Thomas Brown was one of Five men, who, on the 25th of November, 1679, were executed and hung in chains, at Magus Muir, in Fifeshire, the scene of the Archbishop's death. This was not because of their having had any hand in that deed, for they were not even charged with it in the indictment; but having refused, when called upon, to declare it *murder*, and being found guilty of the Bothwell insurrection, it was determined they should suffer on that spot, as marking "the king's detestation" of the event which had there taken place.*—The papers containing their views as to the cause in which they suffered, are here arranged under four general heads, and for the sake of distinction, designated as follows:—Their joint or general Testimony; their respective or particular Testimonies; their Dying

* "A letter from the king, dated July 26th, to the Council, bears—'his detestation of the murder of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews; and being desirous to vindicate that innocent blood and show his detestation of the murder, he commands them to cause process criminally, nine of those who were in the late rebellion, with this additional consideration of having owned these murderers—who are hereby excepted from any indemnity; and *that*, besides the persons who are to be excepted therein—those nine being to be executed merely upon that account. They, being convicted, are to be hanged in chains upon the place where the horrid murder was committed.'—No reflections are necessary upon this; *it probably was a proposal sent up from Edinburgh.* At the same time, Lauderdale, in his letter, signifies to the council, 'that the king wonders he hath no account of the trial of the prisoners who were eminently ringleaders and active in the rebellion; and that it is his express pleasure that the justice-court proceed immediately to the trial of them.' The council in answer to both, acquaint the king, 'that the Justiciary had already sentenced Messrs. King and Kid; and had appointed a committee to consider the most proper methods for proceeding against others who have been ringleaders in the rebellion.' Wodrow, vol. ii.—

This committee, it appears, on the 6th of August following, gave in a report, containing the names of about thirty individuals who refused to call the insurrection, *rebellion*, and the Archbishop's death, *murder*,—and in consequence of this, nine individuals, of whom Thomas Brown was one, were impannelled on the 26th of that month. This trial, however, was not proceeded with, and nothing farther was done in the matter till November 10th, when some of the nine with a great many others, including the five persons, whose Testimonies are here given, were indicted for being in the rebellion and owning the Archbishop's murderers. Their indictment was full of the most false and odious misrepresentations, which have been well refuted by Wodrow. It was, nevertheless, read and sustained. All the rest, except the *five* whose death was determined on, were remitted to another diet; but the prosecution against them does not seem to have been resumed. These five were condemned upon their own confession of having been at Bothwell. They were sentenced to be executed on the 18th November. But whether the council respited them till the 25th, or that the Editor of Naphtali has been mistaken as to this date, cannot be ascertained.

Speech ; and their Last Words. The first of these is a paper of considerable length, and constitutes the present Section.]

“ Men and Brethren :—Although the most part of this generation, not only be wicked and declared enemies of our Lord, but also too many professors and ministers* may, and do look upon us as fools, because of our suffering unto death, for that which too many either account not duty, or at least, look upon it as a light and indifferent thing : yet we assure you, it is not so with us, nor can we see how all these cunning and far-fetched distinctions would be able to clear and cover us from a flat denying of our Lord and Master, and a plain going out from under his banner and protection, to make peace with, and seek quiet and safety from those who have lifted themselves up against him and his cause. For Isaiah said, chap. lvii. 21. ‘ No peace unto the wicked, saith my God ;’ how can we expect peace under them, who are in open war with our Lord, and have robbed him of his glory ; and have the ark in captivity, under their hand ? It is vain to think that any can have peace under them, who have God for their party against them, Obad. ver. 6, 7. “ How are the things of Esau searched out ! how are his hid things sought up ! All the men of thy confederacy have brought thee even to the border ; the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee, and prevailed against thee ; they that eat thy bread have laid a wound under thee, there is no understanding in him.” Now, however we be looked upon as fools, both because so many have left us, and so many appear and speak against us ; yet we are confident, it shall be found for Christ’s sake and the gospel’s, and that yet there is a remnant in this land that cordially join and sympathize with us, and will adhere unto that which we are called to seal with our blood. We confess, we are not learned men, and have not that wisdom and policy that is so much approved and followed in the world, yet we shall find it our mercy to follow that wisdom that is from above, which is first pure and then peaceable, and that understanding which is from above, and that to depart from all evil, is and hath been our surest rule,—when the Searcher of all hearts shall bring forth the hidden things of dishonesty, and when that scripture, Luke xvi. 15. by after providence, is applied and seen upon them, and their practices, that now condemn us, “ Ye are they who justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your

* There is here an allusion to what is afterwards discussed more fully, namely, the unlawfulness of accepting their liberty by signing the proposed bond. It would appear from what is here stated, and indeed we know it to be the fact, that many, to whose Christian profession there could be no valid exception, and some even who were invested with the sacred office, and otherwise good and faithful men, were induced to look upon the signing of the bond as *not* inconsistent with their duty to the Saviour, and offered many reasonings to that effect. And perhaps to them, and to many others, the firmness of those who refused it, might seem to be the merest obstinacy ; whilst their death, in such circumstances, might appear to resemble the fool’s. It is enough, however, to say, that the sufferers themselves *thought otherwise*, and surely it must be allowed, that *they* had the deepest interest in deciding aright.

which will be found the idol of jealousy, and that not only by the indulged, but those who are gaping so much after the new indulgence. We are confident, his people's appearing at Bothwell bridge, and our sufferings and blood now, shall be found as a witness against them, and a protestation for, and an indication of the Lord's returning and staying in the land, for the glory of his great name, and the good of the posterity to come; and that he shall deliver his poor remnant, that he may let enemies see, it hath been in vain, and impossible for them always to resist him, and also let ministers and professors see their sin and folly to distrust him, by making peace with them; for truly it is to be feared, that sad things are to come on this generation, that not only do iniquity, but defend it, and hate and censure all that stand fast in the faith, and withstand the defections of the time, as if we were more to fear some men, and please others, than to fear and please the living God; branding us with singularity, and as unstable fools, tending to error and schism, as if it were more to study unity with, and follow ministers, and the bulk of professors, than to study unity in Christ our Lord and Head, and so unity in his truth, and to follow truth, which only can make us free. Let such as so reproach us consider Luke xvi. 15. And as to the rest of the bond, which is, that we shall not lift arms against the king and his authority, without any qualification or condition, this is more than we or our fathers were obliged to by the obligatory oath, sworn by the people at his coronation, which we find was in these words, 'By the eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, we become your liegemen, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you against all manner of folks whatsoever, in your service, according to the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant.' By which we see an express condition and qualification;—so, that seeing we be sworn only to be for him according to the covenant, which must be understood in defence of, and prosecuting the ends of the covenant, then surely we cannot be thought to be obliged to be for him, while he is positively, plainly and declaredly against these covenants, and the ends thereof, and suppressing and persecuting all those that adhere thereunto. Now this we observe from that which is the people's oath to him as their king. But also in his coronation oath he is sworn to maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, and due and right administration of the sacraments then received within this kingdom, which was neither popery, prelacy, nor this erastian government;—but by his oath or taking the covenant, before ever he was received king, or the coronation oath tendered,—how doth he in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, allow and approve, and faithfully oblige himself to maintain the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, and to prosecute the ends thereof; and that he for himself and his successors shall consent and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining these covenants, and fully establishing presbyterian government; and that he shall observe these in his own practice and family; and that he shall never make opposition to any of these acts, or endeavour any change thereof. And further, we see that after these oaths solemnly

sworn in the presence of God and all the people, it is upon these conditions foresaid, that he was set upon the throne; for at his coronation we see and understand, when the sword was given him by the Lyon at arms, the Lyon's words were these, 'Sir, receive this kingly sword for the defence of the faith of Christ, and the protection of this kirk, and the true religion, as it is presently professed within this kingdom, according to the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, and for executing equity and justice, and for the punishment of all iniquity and injustice.' Now, in this flattering, blind, and juggling age, let God arise (by whom kings reign, and for whom kings *should* reign) and judge between him and us, and see who have transgressed most, and forfeited their right before God and men; for which read 1 Kings xviii. 18. where Elijah's answer to Ahab was, 'I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim.' Also, Psal. xciv. 20—23. 'Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law? They gather themselves together against the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood; but the Lord is my defence, and my God is the rock of my refuge: and he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness, yea, the Lord our God shall cut them off.' Read also, Psal. ii. 1—4. 'Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? the kings of the earth set themselves, and the princes take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast their cords from us. He that sits in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision: then shall he speak to them in wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.' Amos viii. 4—8. 'Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat? making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit? that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat? The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely, I will never forget any of their works. Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? and it shall rise up wholly as a flood; and it shall be cast out and drowned, as by the flood of Egypt.' Now, hath not our king, and many of all ranks, not only broken these oaths of the covenants lying upon them, but risen up against all that own and adhere, or contend against them? and the blood of his people is about the throne, and upon their skirts, and an ugly crew of hell-hounds hired and hunted out against his people, and paid by the cess, and all authority extended and bended mainly against such as will not bow unto, that idol of jealousy; for ye see, how all that have said a confederacy with them, (which we cannot do,) get fair quarters for a time; but popery is coming fast on. But take heed, lest these who have fled from suffering to save life, may not lose it then, when they shall not be honoured to give a testimony. Wherefore read Isa. viii. from ver. 6.

‘ Forasmuch as this people refuse the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah’s son. Now therefore, behold the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his glory; and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks. And he shall pass through Judah, he shall overflow, and go over, he shall reach even to the neck, and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel. Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, O ye of far countries, gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand, for God is with us. For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me, that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not, ‘a confederacy’ to all them to whom this people shall say ‘a confederacy;’ neither fear ye them, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence, to both the houses of Israel; for a gin, and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Bind up the testimony, and seal up the law among my disciples. And I will wait upon the Lord, who hideth himself from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him. Behold I, and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel, from the Lord of hosts, who dwelleth in mount Zion. And when they shall say unto thee, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? the living to the dead? To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. And they shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry; and it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward. And they shall look unto the earth, and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish, and they shall be driven to darkness.’ Now, considering all these things, and their circumstances, and what we may see to be the design of the enemies of our Lord on foot, and after God’s contending with us at Bothwell-bridge, and rubbing shame on our faces, in causing us to flee after such a manner, for our unfaithfulness in our declaration, and in not plain acknowledging and mourning for the sins, which are the causes of God’s wrath upon the land. Therefore read Mic. vii. 8—10. ‘Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her, which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God? mine eye shall behold her; now shall she be trodden down as the mire of the streets.’ Should we then yet add iniquity unto our transgressions by taking this woful bond? nay, God forbid we do such a great evil, and sin more against God; for although Peter,

after denying his Master, got repentance, yet we dare not but confess and avouch him to be our *liege Lord* and *Lawgiver*, *Head* and *King* in *Zion*; Isa. ix. 6. 'For unto us a child is born, and unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders,' &c. And Psal. ii. 6, 7. 'But I have set my King upon my holy hill of Zion,' &c.—That he may confess and own us before the Father, when he shall sit and judge, and before whom, and by whom our so unjust sentence, and all such, shall be revised and canvassed again: and then all kings and rulers shall be made to tremble and shake before him; yea, and to cast their crowns under his feet, and to curse them that now flatter them most, whether statesmen or churchmen, whether prelates or papists, or these timeserving, self-seeking, new conformed clergy, that confirm the wicked by their indifferency, unfaithfulness, blunt and ambiguous ways of speaking, and also sadden and break the spirits of the small remnant, that groan to see the neutrality of some, and the joint conspiracy of others against our Lord, and in his matters; for the prelates and curates drive our king and rulers on all their cruel and wicked courses: and the indulged and others that testify not against them, do either concur, comply with, or wink at, the wicked in their wicked rebellions against God, and all for love of peace, unity, quiet and ease! Therefore read Ezek. xiii. 4, 5. 'O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the desarts. Ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel, to stand in the battle in the day of the Lord,' &c. And ver. 19. 'And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley, and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live.' For which, we fear their hands will not be found altogether free of blood, although they would, and do justify them that take this bond. Let none hereafter cry out upon us as erroneous and schismatic, or separatists or dividers, except they can prove that we are to follow ministers whether they follow Christ and his truth fully, or not, which is contrary to Paul's exhortation, Follow me no further than I follow Christ. And we are well advised by Jeremiah, Lam. ii. 14. 'Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee, and they have not discovered thine iniquity, to turn away thy captivity, but have seen for thee false burdens, and causes of banishment.' We therefore, however we be mistaken of men, declare ourselves presbyterians, both in principles, and in this our present suffering, and sealing a testimony against all such, as have been too faint and ashamed of our sworn-to principles, in yielding to Erastianism. As we testify against those who establish it with a high hand; so we own and adhere to the former work of reformation in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, agreed to, summed up, and held forth in the Confession of Faith, Shorter and Larger Catechisms, Directions for Church Government, all according to the word of God, and sworn to in the covenants. We own and adhere to the acknowledgment of sins, and engagement to duties, then also sworn to, and also the Causes of God's Wrath, and all the former testimonies of our worthies;—and in particular do acknowledge and bless God for the faithful warnings and testimonies we have had for the truth from the

banished in Holland, in their faithful adhering to the work for which we now suffer, to the honour of their Master, and comfort of his sufferers.*

And we again declare against all the former and present proceedings of the stated enemies of the Lord, both in their acts and laws made against that which they are solemnly sworn to in the covenants, to defend with us, in the defence of this cause for which they now shed our blood, and persecute all such as will not render up their bodies and souls to the blind obedience of their unreasonable and wicked wills: and also we declare against all the private practices, underhand dealings, and more public appearances of ministers and professors, either for the enemies of our Lord, or compliance with them, or wherein they have not more faithfully appeared with the poor remnant to help the Lord against the mighty. Therefore, in the presence of Almighty God the Searcher of all hearts, we desire as we can, in our own name, and in the names of all those that adhere unto us, and in name, and for account of the posterity to come, and for the glory of God, to take instruments in the sight of angels and men: and hereby protest against all such causes of indifferency and neutrality in the matters of God, as well as a bowing unto, and formal underhand compliance with this idol of jealousy, which, amongst many other sins, these have, and are like to provoke the Lord, yet more to leave the land: and instead of turning unto the Lord, and being confounded and ashamed of former ways, we are still more and more going backward, wherefore read Jer. v. 1. 'Run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgment, and seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it.' Ver. 2. 'Although they say, The Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely.' Ver. 3. 'O Lord, are not thine eyes upon the truth? thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved; thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction; they have made their faces harder than a flint, they refuse to return.' Ver. 4. 'Therefore I said, Surely these are poor, they are foolish; for they know not the way of the Lord, nor the judgment of their God.' Ver. 5. 'I will get me to the great men,

* Whilst there were some among the ministers, who were otherwise the adherents and supporters of the presbyterian government, that advised the acceptance of the proffered bond—this was by no means their sentiment universally, or even generally. Nor is it to be supposed that those of the prisoners who refused, any more than those who complied with it, were destitute of counsel from men of the most respectable character and attainments. On the contrary, their views and conduct were countenanced and defended by the very ablest divines and casuists then alive. Among others—the ministers who had taken refuge in Holland, particularly Messrs. Brown and M'Ward, (than whom, there were none more respectable as authorities on such a subject,) gave their most decided support to the conduct and views of what were reckoned the stricter party among the sufferers. Many of their letters, both in reference to the proffered bond and other points of difference amongst them, are yet extant, both in print and manuscript; and the reader who may wish to peruse their sentiments for himself, is referred to M'Ward's *Earnest Contendings*—a work which was published from his papers about a century ago.

and will speak unto them, for they have known the way of the Lord, and the judgment of their God ; but these have altogether broken the yoke, and burst the bonds.' Ver. 6. ' Therefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evening shall spoil them.' Ver. 9. ' Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord ? and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this ?' Ver. 10. ' Go ye up upon her walls, and destroy : but make not a full end : take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord's.' Ver. 12. ' They have belied the Lord, and said, It is not he, neither shall evil come upon us, neither shall we see sword nor famine.' Ver. 13. ' And the prophets shall become wind, and the word is not in them : thus shall it be done unto them.' Ver. 30. ' A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land.' Ver. 31. ' The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so : and what will ye do in the end thereof ?' Like unto the former courses of our fathers, first departing from the Lord, when the resolution party of the church so far complied with the malignant designs of the court, that they turned persecutors, which now is, and ere it be long, may be more the case of the church than now : but we can assure you it will be in vain ; for his purpose shall stand ; and he hath hitherto, and yet shall keep up a party, and remnant, how small and contemptible soever, that shall declare and protest against all such courses, whether in the enemies, or pretended friends of our Lord, who accepts their will for their deed, and will work his own work in them and for them, to the glory of his great name ; and in the confidence of this, and of his faithfulness, which is engaged, we cast our burden, and the burden of all ours upon him, and the burden of all his work and people upon him ; we being cordially willing and free to leave, quit and forsake, all for the gaining and enjoying of Christ, and therefore shall only entreat, and exhort all that love and desire to see his appearance in peace, and to be made like to him in glory, that they may not now scar so much at his cross ; but in such a sinning and declining time, to be made like him in suffering. Be valiant and steadfast in the faith, cast not out with truth because of our suffering ; for it behoved so to be, that we give seal that with our blood, to obtain which our Lord suffered, and our worthy forefathers before us ; and ye know not how soon any of you, to whom this our testimony may come, may be called, either to suffer for the same truths, or deny them ; therefore seek of him to believe, and also to suffer for his sake : for by what is past, any body may see, it must be given of the Lord : and be sure to consult more the law and the testimony, (Isa. viii. 20.) and your former obligations more than to consult flesh and blood, and not to follow men more than God, which one day will not be approven of God, which if we had done, we had not suffered this day. Mistake us not, we are not against your taking counsel of those that be faithful ministers and professors, that fear God, and seek to please him more than men, Micah-like, as Mic. iii. 8. ' Surely I am full of power by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sins.' Ver. 9. ' Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the

house of Jacob, and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity.' Ver. 10. 'They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity.' Ver. 11. 'The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord amongst us; no evil can come upon us.' Ver. 12. 'Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house, as the high places of the forest.' And these that are like Jeremiah, Lam. iii. 48. 'Mine eyes run down with rivers of water for the destruction of the daughter of my people.' Ver. 49. 'Mine eye trickleth down, and ceaseth not, without any intermission:' ver. 50. 'Till the Lord look down and behold from heaven.' And all such as do like Daniel, chap. vi. 10. and the three children, Dan. iii. 16—18., who said to the king, 'We are not careful to answer thee in this matter: if it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.' And like Nehemiah, chap. i. read it all throughout, and chap. vi. 11. who said, 'Should such a man as I flee? and who is there, that being as I am, would go into the temple to save his life? I will not go in.' And all such as are like Uriah, Job, and Joseph, that was separated from his brethren. And all the other apostles and prophets, who were valiant for the truth. And on the other hand, be always jealous of such as are holden forth. Mal. ii. 8, 9. 'But ye are departed out of the way, ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts; therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law.' As also, all such, as in Ezek. xiii. 10. 'Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace: and one built up a wall, and lo, another daubed it with untempered mortar.' And read also, ver. 18, to 23, yea, the whole chap. Such also, as in Mic. vi. 16.; observe the statutes of Omri, and all the works of the house of Ahab, and walk in their counsels. Yea, in short, beware of every one that is in favour with the wicked, who seek or accept favours from them, not according to his word, and wink at them, and much more those that are approved by them; and any body may see, who are in favour with them, and for that ye may read Lam. ii. 14. and the former scriptures, and that in Neh. vi. 10—15. But the good Lord who hath preserved us poor weak things from fainting; lead and guide all these that look unto him, and keep their feet free from the snares of the time; as he hath done it, he will do it, if ye depend upon him. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Into whose hands we commend our spirits.

Sic Sub:—

THOMAS BROWN, JAMES WOOD, ANDREW SWORD,
JOHN WADDEL, JOHN CLYDE.*

* Naphtali, pp. 444—458.

XXVIII. THOMAS BROWN AND OTHERS.

SECT. II. THEIR RESPECTIVE TESTIMONIES.

[In addition to their general attestation, conveyed in the foregoing paper, to the principles for which they suffered,—these five martyrs seem to have thought it necessary or proper, to leave behind them the following individual Testimonies, in favour of the same cause. These Testimonies, as might be expected, are in substance very nearly the same. That of Thomas Brown, which comes first in order, and that of John Waddel, which is the fourth, are considerably longer than any of the rest; but each of them seems to be characterized by varieties both in the sentiment and expression, corresponding to the character and views of the different individuals by whom they are subscribed. Of each of these individuals we subjoin a few particulars, in the form of a note to their several Testimonies.]

1. THOMAS BROWN.*

“Men and Brethren:—I am come here this day, in your audience, to lay down this life, which God hath given me, for my being in the defence of myself, and in the defence of the gospel of Christ Jesus,—which ye know we are solemnly engaged to defend with our lives and liberty, and all that we have in our station; and being conscious to myself that I was concerned to appear at Bothwell-bridge, and was willing to cast in my poor mite amongst the people of God. And although, I be now called to lay down my life, upon the account of rebellion, as they call it; yet the Lord is my witness, and my conscience bears me witness, that I never intended rebellion against the king at all, but I thought it was grievous to me to see the work of God so trode down by a generation that have been stated enemies to the cross of Christ these many years bygone, by their shutting up his faithful ministers, part of them in tolbooths, and part of them in the rocks of the sea, and part of them banished out of the land, and part expelled to corners, and likewise private persons put out of their families, expelled to the mountains and rocks, dens and caves of the earth, and put out of all capacity to provide for their families and little ones. And I thought it was not a time for me to lie at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountains of Samaria, lest I had brought that curse of Meroz upon me, because I would not go out to ‘help the Lord against the mighty;’ which I hope none will deny, and much

* Of this person, as indeed of all the five, very little information can now be obtained. He is designated in Naphtali, “Thomas Brown, shoemaker in Edinburgh.” It is probable, we think, that he was respectable, in his rank of life; and it is evident from his Testimony that he must have been a man of good sense and considerable decision of character. He was with other eight, as already remarked, first indicted on the 26th of August, but the diet was in that instance adjourned till the 1st of September, and then ultimately deserted. With some more of the eight he was again impannelled on the 10th of November—and being selected from the rest, together with the four persons who were his companions in death, he was condemned and sentenced as we have already stated.

less Christians. Therefore, my friends, let none of you put any reflection upon any that appeared at Bothwell-bridge, lest ye state God an enemy against you, since we are sworn in the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the work of reformation, and the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, against Popery, Prelacy, and Quakerism, and all manner of profanity, which is carried on by all ranks and degrees of people in this land. We are bound to defend our covenanted religion, with our lives and liberties in our station, when 'none calleth for justice, nor any pleads for the truth,' Isa. lix. 4. 'Ye have not gone up into the gaps, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle in the day of the Lord,' Ezek. xiii. 5. And as for my part, I could not take any bond which was presented unto me, when I considered the bonds of the covenants that I was solemnly engaged unto; although I never swore the covenant, yet I am engaged to maintain it, for whose sake it is named the covenant of God, who hath said, Lev. xxvi. 25. 'I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant.' So I desire you, my friends, for the Lord's sake, to mind your vows, ties and engagements, that ye are tied and obliged to perform, so far as in you lies, to the Lord, for ye know what is said, Ezek. xvii. 15. 'Shall he prosper? shall he escape that hath done such things? Shall he break the covenant and be delivered?' Ver. 18. 'Seeing he despised the oath by breaking the covenant, (when lo he had given his hand) and hath done all these things, he shall not escape.' Ver. 19. 'Therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head.' Therefore, my friends, mind your engagements unto him, and mourn for sin, and lie in the dust before him, and give him no rest, until he arise and plead Zion's cause, and that he may restore the waste places of poor Scotland, and take away the deluge of wrath, that is hanging over the heads of these lands, for the breach of covenant in them. And as for my part, I have reason again and again to bless the Lord, that ever he set his love upon me, and hath condescended so far, as to single out the like of me, (who am but a poor wretched sinner of myself, and worthy of nothing but eternal damnation, by reason of original and actual transgressions) as to be a witness of his despised and borne down work in these lands. As ye will find written in 1 Tim. i. 15, 16. 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners of whom I am chief.' And Isa. li. 12. 'I, even I am he that comforteth you; who art thou that shouldest be afraid of man that shall die, and of the son of man which shall be made as grass?' Ver. 13. 'And forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched out the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth, and hast feared continually every day, because of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy; and where is the fury of the oppressor?' Likewise that of Isa. xli. 10. "Fear thou not, for I am with thee, be not dismayed; for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my

righteousness.' Likewise Isa. xlix. 25. 'I will contend with him that contendeth with thee.' Isa. xxvii. 8. 'He stayeth his rough wind in the day of his east wind.' Isa. xxxiii. 16. 'His bread shall be given him, and his water shall be sure.' Ver. 17. 'Thy eyes shall see the King in his beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off.' Psal. cxl. 7. 'Thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.'

These scriptures have been very sweet and refreshful to me in my experience. Therefore, I desire not to scare at the cross of Jesus Christ, because of my suffering, for I can assure you from my experience, that his yoke is easy, and his burden is light, for he hath well made out, that he sends none a warfare upon their own charges. Therefore, my dear friends, give him much credit, and trust much in him, for he is well worth all the pains ye can be at for him. Psal. xxxiv. 8. 'O taste and see that the Lord is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him.' As for my part, I durst not comply with that party in any terms which was sinful in the sight of God, for the saving of my life, since he hath said in his word, 'He that seeks to save his life, shall lose it.' And if I had taken that bond, I would have subscribed that to be a sin, which I acknowledge to be my duty. I am persuaded in my conscience from the word of God, he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much, and he that is not faithful in that which is least, will never be faithful in that which is much; 'and he that denies me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven; and him that confesseth me before men, will I confess before my Father which is in heaven.' I give my testimony to the cross of Christ. Likewise I bless the Lord, that it hath pleased him to fall on such a method with the like of me, as to put it into my heart to appear at Bothwell-bridge for his cause and interest, which was so much trodden under foot by men. And I die in the faith of it, that the seed sown at Bothwell-bridge shall have a glorious spring and harvest, which shall be renowned in the eyes of all the beholders of it. Likewise, *I adhere to the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the work of reformation, &c.* as aforesaid, which was once far advanced in our land against popery, prelacy, quakerism, and all manner of error and profanity, which are now abounding in these loose times, by the usurpation of that to the crown, which belongs only to Jesus Christ, as Head of his church, and not to any mortal man; for all kings and princes are, but in subordination to him, Mat. xxii. 22. 'And he said unto them, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' Therefore, my dear friends, give the king all obedience, in so far as ye are commanded from the word of God, Eccl. viii. 2. 'I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God,'—in so far as ye are engaged solemnly in your covenant; but do not take any evil course to shun the cross of Christ, for the saving of your life, and of your means, lest ye state God an enemy against you; and do not let the fear of men prevail with you, but contend for the faith that was once

delivered to the saints ; for I can assure you from his word, that his grace will be all-sufficient for you. As for my part, I bless the Lord that I am a member of the Church of Scotland, which was one of the most glorious and best reformed churches in the world, for doctrine, discipline, and government, and the work of reformation, as one of the most holy contrivances of the most holy Lord, for a hedge to keep out the wild boars out of the vineyard. So, my friends, ye see now by our not being stedfast in our covenant, how that the malignant and prelatie party hath broken into the sanctuary, and defiled His courts, and broken down the carved work those many years bygone : ye see how his poor people are scattered in the place of dragons by that usurped power and tyranny, which is carried on by all ranks of people in this land. So, I would if it might stand with glory, (not that I desire to limit his holy Majesty), and that he would yet send down a pouring of his Spirit upon the hearts of his poor people in Scotland, that there may be yet a reviving amongst them in these lands, that bone may come to bone, and sinew to sinew, that there may be a reviving of his work again in the midst of the years. Therefore, my dear friends, study more loyalty to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, and give him that which is his own due right, that thereby ye may dwell in the land, and that ye may have his comely presence to dwell amongst you, now when the men of the world are making him to wear a crown of thorns upon his head, and crucifying him in his members, and putting him to open shame, that he is forced to go to the mountains, and dens, and caves of the earth, and is yet looking down to see if there be any that will turn from their iniquities, and seek after him, and he will pardon them. Therefore, my friends, ‘ cast not away your confidence, which hath a great recompense of reward ; for ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise,’ Heb. x. 35, 36. ‘ And study to walk in the light, as he is in the light, that we may have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin, 1 John i. 7. and Heb. ix. 12. ‘ Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us,’ and ver. 13, 14., and Psal. xxxii. 5, 6. So, I desire to bless the Lord, that his gracious presence hath not been wanting to my soul during my imprisonment, which I can say in my experience, that my prison hath been a *Bethel* to me. So I desire you all, my friends, to seek unto him for grace to help in the time of need. I give my witness and testimony against popery, prelacy, and malignancy, and all manner of corruptions, that are abounding in these loose times. I give my witness and testimony against prelates, curates, and their associates ; and against all those that have intruded themselves into the calling of the ministry, and had never a call from God, to enter by the door into the sheep-fold, but have climbed up another way. I give my witness and testimony against indifferent and lukewarm professors, who follow Christ, as the times make for them. I give my witness and testimony against all drunkards, and all false swearers, and profane persons, against all persecutors of the Lord’s people, against all profligate and

wicked livers, who know not God, nor will acknowledge him to be the Head of the church. 2 Pet. ii. 3. 'And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you; whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.' I give my witness and testimony against all bonds and declarations taken for the saving of their life and liberty, when it comes in competition with the confessing of our blessed Lord, or the denying of him: 'he that seeks to save his life, shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.' I give my witness and testimony against all compliers and connivers in strengthening of the adversary to carry on their course of defection against the Lord's people, 2 Tim. ii. 12. 'If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he will also deny us.' Therefore, I bless the Lord, that ever he hath been pleased to single out the like of me, who am but a wretched sinner of myself; yet I could willingly, if every hair of my head were a man's life, lay them all down with my life, for Christ and his cause. Therefore, my friends, do not deceive yourselves, God will not be mocked. 2 Cor. vi. 17. 'Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.' Ye see how many are 'following their pernicious ways, by whom the way of God is evil spoken of; they are natural brute beasts, meet to be taken and destroyed, speaking evil of the things they understand not, and shall utterly perish in their own corruption, and shall receive the reward of unrighteousness; having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin, beguiling unstable souls, a heart they have exercised with covetous practices, cursed children, which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, who loved the wages of unrighteousness.' Take that scripture for your encouragement against these ravenous wolves, Isa. lvi. 10. 'These watchmen are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber.' Ver. 11. 'Yea, they are greedy dogs,' &c.—So, my friends, ye see their practices, how they feed themselves, and not the flock of Christ, therefore trust not in them, for they will deceive you, yea, even the very elect, if it were possible; but for the elect's sake, these days shall be shortened. So, ye may understand what their design and end is; for they love the purse, the wages of unrighteousness, and they will get it and the curse of God with it, if they mend not their manners;—as Judas did, who betrayed our blessed Lord and Master for thirty pieces of silver; and although he did cast them back, yet he got no place for repentance. I desire you to come out from among them, lest ye be partakers of their plagues and judgments. I give my witness and testimony against their idolatrous practices, and their abominable courses, which they take to deceive and entangle poor things. Read Isa. xxvi. 11. 'Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at the people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them.' Likewise, I give my testimony against the calumny cast upon presbyterians, that they are not loyal subjects to the king, which aspersion I abhor. Therefore, my friends, give only

obedience as far as the word of God will teach you, but do not stretch your consciences, lest the Lord lead you forth with the workers of iniquity, and there shall be no exemption in that day, when he shall appear in the clouds gloriously with all his holy angels, and then he shall separate the clean from the unclean. So, if ye abide with him, he will abide with you, 2 Chron. xv. 1. 'And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Azariah the son of Oded.' Ver. 2. 'The Lord is with you, while you be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if you forsake him, he will forsake you.' Therefore, my friends, seek him, and sanctify the Lord God in your hearts: and be not afraid of their fury, and their treacherous dealings. As for my part, indeed I must confess, that I ought to go mourning to the grave for the dreadful apostasy and defection, which, through the prevalency of temptations hath overpowered this land, and yet there are so few that dare venture on precious Christ, or credit him with their lives, as their Lord and Master. Therefore, my soul, bless him that ever he hath credited me, to venture my life for his cause and interest, against this tyrannical course of defection in these lands. I hope within a very little I shall be made a sharer of those heavenly mansions, and the peaceable fruits of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me, not for any thing of my merit, but in and through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour, upon the terms of the new covenant. Since the Father hath given all fulness unto the Son, I desire to believe in the faith of it, that he will communicate of that fulness to such poor sinners as we are, which he aforetime hath prepared for them to whom he hath a mind by the election of grace. Yet I know there are many professed friends, of whom I dare not say, but they have the root of the matter in them,* who could say to my own hearing that day when I received my sentence, that I could not have peace in my conscience, in laying down my life for such a little matter, as the refusing of that bond for the saving of my life, of which I had it in some measure borne in upon my spirit, that I could not escape their hands; yet, I bless the Lord, that although I have many prevailing corruptions and sins, which have prevailed with me; I have reason to bless him, that he is not wanting to me in my present necessity, for he hath well made out that scripture to my experience, 'I will be a present help in time of trouble.' Therefore,

* It has been already stated, with regard to the bond, held out by government to the prisoners taken at Bothwell, as the condition of their release, that it was viewed by different individuals, equally alive to the interests of religion and of presbyterian church government, with very different feelings. Some, as above specified, with respect to whose piety there were good reasons for judging favourably, not only felt themselves at liberty to take it, but even pressed others to follow their example; and in a previous note we have mentioned some of the views on which it is conceivable they might get rid of objections to it—which in all probability they would otherwise have felt. And surely this very circumstance must be regarded as one of the strongest proofs that could possibly be afforded, of the unbending fidelity and conscientious devotedness by which *they* were distinguished—who not only braved the cruel persecution of enemies, but even the advice and entreaties of friends and fellow Christians, rather than diverge from what they conceive to be the line of duty and the dictates of truth!

I would desire you all to draw near to him, and he will draw near to you. Ye may call to mind that scripture, Mat. x. 38, 39. 'He that loveth father or mother better than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not up his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me; he that findeth his life, shall lose it; and he that loseth his life, for my sake, the same shall find it.' And although this dispensation be fallen out to me in a very dark and dismal time, wherein his poor people can hardly discern betwixt sin and duty; yet I believe through his grace that he will land me fair on the other side of the shore, Isa. xxxv. 10. 'And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs.' As for my judgment anent the indulgence, ye may see it by my giving witness and testimony against bonds and declarations taking; and likewise against all compliance and connivance with that party, in carrying on that course of defection and apostasy against the Lord's work and cause. As for that latter indulgence, which they have accepted of at this time, I had no love to it. Erastianism is not to be approved by any sound and well principled Christian, that knows any thing of the principles of religion. Being straitened with time, and since I cannot say my mind fully in this, I refer you to the general testimony left by us all,—recommending my poor wife to the Lord and his good people. Farewell, all my good friends:—Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commend my spirit. Amen.

Sic Sub.—THOMAS BROWN.*

2. JAMES WOOD.†

"Men and Brethren,—Seeing it hath pleased the Lord, who is just, holy, and righteous in all his dealings, to call me by this public death to witness for the truth, I judge it my duty to make it known to the world, that I suffer not as an evil-doer, but for adhering to these truths that we and our fathers, yea, all ranks of the land from the lowest to the highest are engaged to. And I bless the Lord, I give my life willingly for *him*, and *his* cause, that gave his life for me; yea, if I had many more lives, I would think them all too little to lay down for this cause. I bless his name, it was my desire to die a martyr for him, and now he hath called me to it, and by his grace hath wonderfully helped me to carry, in and under my present lot, notwithstanding the many tentations I was trysted with from one hand and another, even from those whom I would have expected to

* Naphtali, pp 458—468.

† James Wood was from the parish of Newmills in Ayrshire. His occupation in life we have not discovered. Mr. Wodrow remarks that "his case was a little different from those of the other four: the probation against him being the oaths of some soldiers—that he was taken at Bothwell. "And the assize," he observes, "were just enough to bring him as having been taken at Bothwell, *without arms*; and yet the judges throw him in with the rest, and press the same doom upon him. This," says he, "is another instance of the illegal and severe procedure of this period—to hang a man and put him in chains as a murderer of the Primate, who was only present at the gathering at Bothwell *without arms*."—Wodrow, vol. ii.

strengthen our hands ; but his grace is all-sufficient to bear up a poor weak thing in the day of trial. He is as good as his promise, and he hath promised to keep them in the hour of temptation that keep the word of his patience, which he hath made out to me. But as for the grounds of our suffering, it is known to God, that it was my love to my Lord and Master and his persecuted gospel, that moved me to rise in arms against these open blasphemers and enemies to our Lord Jesus, and not for any prejudice I had at great or small of that party, the Lord knows : but a party appearing for that work, I judged myself bound in duty, from obligations both from the Word and Covenant to join with them. And O that my blood were a river of blood to witness against all that hath preferred their present ease and their temporal life, to our Lord's work and eternal life. But more particularly for this bond which was pressed so much ; I have this to say for it, that my love to my King Christ made me to stand in awe to say ' a confederacy ' with that party that are stated enemies to him and his work. And seeing they have taken his crown and sceptre to invest a mortal man with, shall I say, that I should never resent these wrongs and injuries, done to my Lord and Master ? Nay, through his grace, if I had many more lives than I have, I would part with them all for his sake. But beside, we are all bound by our covenant to extirpate popery and prelacy ; and should I score myself out of that party, that God may, and yet will raise for his broken down and contemned work ?—so that, I could not take this accursed bond, unless I had renounced that solemn obligation which I judge myself bound to, and incur the hazard of that wo, which is denounced against those that are at ease in Zion ; and the frowns of my blessed Lord and Master,—which I durst not adventure on, for incurring the wrath of all the kings of the world : so that, whatever men may brand us with, as separating from others that were engaged in the same quarrel with us ; yet, I am persuaded that God will not account us so, and in due time it shall appear, that they have separated from us, and not we from them. And we, through the sovereign power and might of God, (not by any thing in us more than in them) are adhering to our former avowed and sworn to principles ; and I profess, I die in the faith of the Church of Scotland, as it was reformed in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, conform to the word of God, *the Confession of Faith, and Catechisms Larger and Shorter, the National and Solemn League and Covenants*, and I give my hearty approbation of the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Causes of God's Wrath* ; and I adhere to all the testimonies of our sufferers of old and of late, who have suffered for his cause, and do give my testimony, and protest against all the open and avowed, or underhand enemies to our Lord and his work in these lands. And I give my testimony against these cursed plants of popery and prelacy, which God never planted. And I leave my testimony against supremacy, and all those both ministers and people that have been strengthening the hands of those who have robbed our Lord of his royal prerogatives, by receiving indulgencies former or latter, or giving sinful bonds, to bind ministers in these things, for which Christ hath

purchased their freedom at a dear rate. And I give my testimony against the paying of that cess, and all other sinful bonds and ties contrary to scripture and our former covenants. But being straitened with time, I refer you to a general testimony subscribed by us all, wherein all our minds are more fully expressed. I bid farewell to all my dear friends, farewell all earthly comforts, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Sic Sub.—JAMES WOOD **

3. ANDREW SWORD.†

“Men and Brethren,—Although I be a man of small learning, yet I cannot be altogether silent, since it hath pleased the Most High, wise and holy Lord, to single me out, and call for a public testimony to his cause, work, and persecuted interest; not only borne down by avowed enemies, but, which is now disowned, even by many professors; when it is come to that, they must either seal the cause with their blood, or else break the covenant, and turn their back on Christ and his cause, to which they were and are solemnly engaged in the sight of God; so that I desire that what I am wanting in my written testimony, I may supply by my sufferings and death: which, though for his sake I lay it down, yet I trust not in my own death, but in the mercies and blood of Jesus Christ, who hath purchased and promised the crown of life unto all those, whom through his strength, he keeps faithful unto the death, Rev. ii. 10., and especially in such an hour of temptations as we have been trysted with; and I count his assisting grace, in helping me to stand, when stronger than I, have yielded, yea, and made me rejoice in that he hath chosen poor me, one amongst the few that are honoured to confess and avow him and his truth in such a time and manner: I say, I am confident, it is a token for good to them and me, and I take it in earnest of that crown of life, which I am hopeful to enjoy, ere long, through all eternity, that neither can be lost by me now, nor robbed from me by the wicked men of this generation, who now unjustly rob me of my life and liberty; for I believe I go, where most part of them shall never come. I bless the Lord, I suffer not as an evil-doer, although I be judged and condemned of men for my being in arms, and joining with that little handful, that appeared in the fields in defence of Christ, his cause and interest, as we are bound to do by the word of God, and by our covenants; they call it rebellion against his majesty, but by that way which they call rebellion (or which is called heresy by others) we worship the God of our fathers. And he who is the Searcher of hearts knows, that it was not rebellion against the great and living God and his

* Naphtali, pp. 468—470.

† Andrew Sword was by trade a Weaver, and belonged to the parish of Borgue in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. With regard to his motives in joining the insurrection, the reader may consult his testimony. But that he was there, he seems to have confessed judicially, along with Brown, Waddel, and Clyde. It is scarcely necessary to add, that with all the other four he was entirely guiltless of the Primate's death, and was not even charged with it in the indictment.

Christ. And if Samuel were living now, when so many of our teachers are so silent, he could tell them that rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft. And I dare venture to say, though no prophet, that we are not the troublers of Israel, but the king and his family, and the wicked Hamans, the railing Rabshakehs, the wicked Doegs, the false and unfaithful prophets, *these* are the greatest troublers of our Israel. Therefore, let them read Lam. ii. 6, 7. 'And he hath violently taken away his tabernacles, as if it were of a garden; he hath destroyed his palaces of the assembly; the Lord hath caused the solemn feasts and Sabbaths to be forgotten in Zion, and hath despised in the indignation of his anger the king and the priest: the Lord hath cast off his altar; he hath abhorred his sanctuary: he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces,' &c. And ver. 9. 'Her gates are sunk into the ground, he hath destroyed and broken her bars; her king and her princes are among the Gentiles; the law is no more, her prophets also find no vision from the Lord.' And I bless his name that ever I was a man to carry arms upon that account. I here declare, that I rue it not, although I be condemned to die for it. I bless the Lord who hath counted me worthy to die for so good and so honourable a cause, who am but a poor, feckless, worthless, sinful creature.

"And now, my friends, since he hath honoured me with such a piece of honour, as to have been shut up in prison for a while, and after that, now sentenced to death by men; and in all this time the Lord hath supported me beyond what I can express: wherefore, ye may hear and see, that they fare best that venture farthest for Christ. Therefore I pray you in his name, scare not at his cross; for when to your eye and sense it seems to be most bitter, yet even then, he can make it most sweet. I can tell this by experience: Now, for ever and for ever blessed be his name for it. Now, will ye wrestle honestly under his yoke, and he will not only bear the heavy end of it, but he will help you under your end of it. And indeed, when I was first shut up in close prison, I was somewhat dejected and cast down, upon several accounts; but, blessed be his name, my last time was better, and more sweet to me, than my first time. Although I was sentenced to die, I hope I am not condemned in the court of heaven, for that which men have condemned me on earth. The cause is righteous, lawful, just, and good; yet I know it is not enough to justify me in God's sight, that I had a good cause; it is the having of Christ's righteousness imputed to me, and received by faith alone, that must do *that*. I declare I put not my hand to that work to gain any honour, or reputation to myself, but in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came unto the service, not constrained by any man, but from conscience of my being engaged by covenant unto God; and as under the name of a Christian, so to own the work and interest of Jesus Christ; although I had never the occasion to swear the covenant with an uplifted hand, yet I hold myself as deeply engaged in it, as if I had done it; and I declare my appearing with that persecuted handful in the fields, was to do the utmost of my power, for the down-bearing of abjured prelacy, and prelates, and papists, and all other enemies of

our Lord ; and to testify not only against them, but all other errors, and sects, and sectaries whatsoever,—but even the defections and sinful compliance of the indulged, and others defending them. All which is made daily more clear to be contrary to the word of God, and our sworn covenants. And I declare my appearing, as it was to testify against all them that have wronged our Lord, his kirk and people, so also, to endeavour to my power, the restoring again the pure ordinances to their former power and purity, and to recover the church in this land (which Jesus Christ hath purchased at so dear a rate) to her former beauty, which is now defaced and broken down in these lands, by perjured prelates and their underlings ; and alas ! disowned even by many ministers and professors, Ezek. xiii. 10—12. ‘ Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace : and one built up a wall, and lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar,’ &c. And ver. 19. ‘ And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley, and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people, that hear your lies ?’ &c. —Who have declared by their apostasy and compliance, that they love their life and gear better than Christ and his cause ; either of the which they were and are bound to maintain and own, even to the ‘ resisting unto blood, striving against sin.’ Alas ! alas ! to see professors, who once professed to know so much of Christ and his truth ; and that they have declared, in the sight of enemies,—that they durst not trust precious Christ, and his worthy and precious promises,—by their joining and complying with the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ. These things have they done by taking the bond to procure their life ; but, truly the less wonder that poor people have done it, when not only threatened by enemies, but counselled and driven to it by ministers : Oh ! ‘ the leaders of my people have caused them to err.’ Therefore read Jer. xii. 9. ‘ Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird, the birds round about are against her ; come ye, assemble all the beasts of the field, come to devour.’ Ver. 10. ‘ Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness.’ And ver. 11. ‘ They have made it desolate, and being desolate, it mourneth unto me ; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart.’ And ver. 12. ‘ The spoilers are come upon all high places through the wilderness ; for the sword of the Lord shall devour,’ &c. ‘ and no flesh shall have peace.’ And when I think on that of Hos. ii. from ver. 1—8., I shall now heartily pray, and I pray you, plead with your mother church, the bulk of ministers and professors, that they would acknowledge their defection, mourn for it, and return to the Lord ; and if they will not hear you, nor believe and lay weight upon our words, though men dying, witnessing against their present practices, as well as against our above-board and avowed enemies, I pray you, if they will not turn, let all pray, that the Lord himself may hedge up their way with thorns, and make a wall that they may not find their paths. And indeed it seems, that word hath little weight with or upon them, which Christ hath

said, ' He that seeks to save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.' And if any would ask at me what I think of the cross, when it is at the heaviest, I can answer them very well that question. I think it an easy and sweet cross ; and I bless His name that ever He made me take it up and follow him. Now, because we are straitened for time to get any thing of a testimony left particular enough, to mention all things we are now clear of, and would be at, as duty to you ; and all things in us, our fathers, our prince, our nobles, ministers and all ranks, that are provoking in His sight, and the causes of God's wrath on the land, I refer you to the joint and more general testimony agreed to, and subscribed by us all, as our minds together ; and desire the Lord may deal and prevail with the hearts of all such, on whom our death or words, 'tis like, will not prevail, that he may pour forth his Spirit from on high upon us while in time,—and on you that remain, that ye may look on him whom ye have pierced, and mourn until he return : for, I hope ere long to rejoice in that I have been mourning, and now suffering, for that which others dare bless God for as a mercy, and rejoice in ;—that is, the first and now late favours, both indulgencies and indemnities, and other things which the wicked are but spreading in your way as snares, and it is too true, that bribes blind the eyes of the wise. Therefore, I beg the Spirit of truth may lead you into all truth ; and bidding farewell to all friends, being willing to leave all, to enjoy Christ, to whom I recommend my spirit.

Sic Sub.—ANDREW SWORD.*

4. JOHN WADDEL.†

“ Men and Brethren,—It may be thought by some, that the cause of my death by suffering, is but a thing indifferent in some respect ; but the Lord knoweth that my intention is, and was, from the first day I appeared in open war, against all those that were fighting against Christ and his cause, from the thought and deep sense of my duty to appear in hazard of my life, and goods, and all I had in the world,—to defend and maintain Jesus Christ and his cause. And now we are condemned as guilty of death, and held by them as rebellious, to appear for the interest of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and they have condemned him, to have no right to govern his church and ecclesiastical affairs, which we are bound by the word of God and covenants, to own and avow in spite of all that will say the contrary, without respect of persons. It is true, I am bound to maintain all lawful

* Naphtali, pp. 471—476.

† Of John Waddel our information is equally scanty as of the three previously mentioned individuals. He was, according to the designation to his testimony, as given in Naphtali, from the parish of Newmonkland, in Lanarkshire. But in Appendix, No. xxxiii. to the second volume of Wodrow's History, we have the following notice of him as of some others of the five. “ John Waddel, in the parish of Shotts, acknowledges the Rebellion to have been a rebellion, but denies the Archbishop's murder to be sinful.” How far this accords with his testimony, we leave the reader to judge for himself.

authority, as it is agreeable to his word ; and to obey the king, as far as he maintains the church in her liberty, and no further on any accounts ; we are also bound to maintain and own him in holding out foreign nations ; but if he be against God, then we are bound to stand in defence of the church, in all that belongs to the true worship and fear of God, and to do our utmost to the bearing down defection and profanity, and all those things that are contrary to our solemn engagement in the National and Solemn League and Covenant ; and as he hath bound us in his word, and commanded us to lay down our lives for his cause and interest, he hath also said, ‘ He that seeks to save his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for the gospel, shall save it.’ And I have this to say, that I declare I am not worthy to receive the least honour of a testimony, because I am the least, and less than the least of all those that have appeared for his cause, at this time, or at any time have appeared for his cause and truth : for I am, as Jacob said, less than the least of all God’s mercies ; but I have this to say, to the commendation of free love and mercy that he hath made that as clear to me, as the sun shineth, that if I had yielded at that time, when I was called in question for him and his truths, that he should have disowned me, for doing that, in my greatest strait. And on the other hand, I was fast and sure, that the Lord would own me, if I owned him ; for he says, ‘ He that contends with you, I will contend with him ;’ wherefore I have ground to lay hold upon the promises, yet not I, but the grace of God in me, and the love of him that died, and rose again from the dead in his own strength, and now lives for ever.

“ I bear my testimony against all those that have declared themselves open enemies against Christ, and against the work of reformation ;— which cause many profess they are owning, and yet denying a part of the truth to be truth ; but well, let them remember that word, ‘ Wo to them that call good evil, and evil good.’

“ Next, I bear my testimony against all that say, I might have abode at home, and served God : but I grant that is true, if I had been clear of it, and joined with indulgents. It is true, I acknowledge I once heard them, but now I am sorry for the thing I have done therein : but for their persons, the Lord knows, I have no ill will at them : but upon the other hand, some will say, although I went out, yet now I might have taken the bond, and saved my life, and done as other men did ; but I have reason to bless the Lord, that has borne in that upon my heart so clearly, as to see the evil of it, from the beginning of it, and now I declare it, at the end of the time I have to be here-away.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against that tax so unlawfully imposed against the people, for it was only to maintain that party, who were setting themselves with all their might against the work and worship of God, because it was in power and purity, and because it was not agreeable to profanity, as they would have had it, therefore they persecute that work and despise it, because it looks so like God, and they so like the devil ; and they hate the people of God, because they hate God, and all that are like him, for this is the reason of our being condemned, because we had something of the fear of God ; and I

confess there is nothing in me, to be the end and way of the dealing of God, but it is in himself that has moved him to fall in love with me, and bring me into the way of heaven and salvation, although by a terrible way and manner. Nevertheless, I shall win to heaven, though it were through a sea of troubles and difficulties, for the apostle says, Rom. viii. near the close, 'Neither principalities nor powers, death nor life, things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord;' and ver. 31. 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' It is God that justifies, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather who is risen again from the dead, that we might live; who is even at the right hand of God, and is making intercession for us.—For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter, but, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that hath loved us.' And as he saith, ver. 18. 'I reckon that the sufferings of this present life are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.'

"Next, I bear my testimony against all sects and opinions that are contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, both popery and prelacy, perjury and all profanity, and all malignancy, and particularly against that protection that is called indulgence, that shelter, that so many have run in under, in these chilled times, while the ark of God is in the open fields, as was said by a worthy man long ago, who was killed in the fields, fighting for the church of Christ, as we were; and there is a ground for it. I argue it lawful to rise in arms, in opposition to any that are incensed and enraged against the work of our Lord and Saviour, and his gospel. And that is in Jer. xlviii. 10. 'Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.' These were all enemies against God and his way, for it was Moab, that cursed crew, and it may be Edom was there too, our bastard brother, as there was some of the folk, that ye and we call many times friends, but yet they were at Bothwell-bridge, and appeared in open war against Christ, and these who once seemed to be for him (as we thought) and these were they who are indulged; I could name them to you, but I need not, for the Lord knoweth them and us both, and we must all answer to him what was our intention. But as for me, I am in the way of going to eternity, and must appear within a few days, and be judged by Christ; but that day will not be like that day of November, when we got our sentence; but it is like, that these who judged us then, will be as far down in that day of our appearance, as we were under them in that day, for they did as they thought fit against us, but it shall not be so in that great day, 2 Cor. v. 10.

"Next, I bear my testimony against all those that say, we are of the sect of the Jesuits, tending to Quakerism and error, because we are willing Christ should wear his own crown, kingdom, and all his prerogative rights, and these truths we are engaged unto, and will not give them unto a man whose breath is in his nostrils. As for me, a

dying person, I declare my hatred before God, angels and men, that I love none of that kind that we are ranked up with, as some friends said of me, and not of me only, that we agreed well with Quakerism, and had some of their principles ; but the Lord knows, and they shall know, when all of us shall stand before the tribunal of God, and there receive a just sentence, that we abhor these ways.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against all that say, we will not give the king his due, as we covenanted ; but they are all wrong, for they would have us to give king Charles that which we owe to King Christ. I hope through him that withheld me hitherto from complying and subscribing that bond, that was so clear a sin to me, He will yet help me more, for he says, “ Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations ; therefore I appoint for you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me ; that ye may eat and drink with me in my kingdom,” Luke xxii. 28—30. And Rev. vii. 13—16. ‘ What are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence came they ? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb ;’ and they are found without spot before the throne of God, and blameless : ‘ Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple ; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them ; and they shall hunger no more.’ And that innumerable company of angels, and the generation of the first-born are to accompany them that shall win through to the other side.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against all those unlawful things that have been imposed upon the people of God, and against all those that have put them to the door, and they who have yielded to that woful cess ; but what need I say any more of that ? It is clear even to the light of nature ; but we are all waxed gross, and are like a deceitful bow, as in Psal. lxxviii., which is a remarkable scripture : but now ye may see, they are the bravest men that can deny most of the scriptures : but I leave this to the Lord of heaven and earth.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against these noble-men and women, gentle-men and women, ministers, and others, who, though they seem to be our friends, yet say,—we are led on in such a way of superstition by a few silly women, because we durst not do as they would have us do, and that was in taking the bond, and confessing that our being at Bothwell-bridge was rebellion, not only against man, but they would even have me say, that it was rebellion against God ; but the Lord is my record, I durst not do it for my soul : for, I was clear in my conscience, that it was a duty lying on me to appear in arms against the generation of wicked men, that, like Ahab, have sold themselves to work wickedness in the sight of God, and so it says to me, that the Lord will do to them as he did to Ahab, Jeroboam, and Baasha,—he made an end of them, both root and branch ; but if it may please the Lord to give them repentance, from my very heart I wish them pardon—both king and nobles,—as I would be forgiven of God myself.

“ There is another word I have to say,—and that is to all Christians,

strengthen our hands ; but his grace is all-sufficient to bear up a poor weak thing in the day of trial. He is as good as his promise, and he hath promised to keep them in the hour of temptation that keep the word of his patience, which he hath made out to me. But as for the grounds of our suffering, it is known to God, that it was my love to my Lord and Master and his persecuted gospel, that moved me to rise in arms against these open blasphemers and enemies to our Lord Jesus, and not for any prejudice I had at great or small of that party, the Lord knows : but a party appearing for that work, I judged myself bound in duty, from obligations both from the Word and Covenant to join with them. And O that my blood were a river of blood to witness against all that hath preferred their present ease and their temporal life, to our Lord's work and eternal life. But more particularly for this bond which was pressed so much ; I have this to say for it, that my love to my King Christ made me to stand in awe to say ' a confederacy ' with that party that are stated enemies to him and his work. And seeing they have taken his crown and sceptre to invest a mortal man with, shall I say, that I should never resent these wrongs and injuries, done to my Lord and Master ? Nay, through his grace, if I had many more lives than I have, I would part with them all for his sake. But beside, we are all bound by our covenant to extirpate popery and prelacy ; and should I score myself out of that party, that God may, and yet will raise for his broken down and contemned work ?—so that, I could not take this accursed bond, unless I had renounced that solemn obligation which I judge myself bound to, and incur the hazard of that wo, which is denounced against those that are at ease in Zion ; and the frowns of my blessed Lord and Master,—which I durst not adventure on, for incurring the wrath of all the kings of the world : so that, whatever men may brand us with, as separating from others that were engaged in the same quarrel with us ; yet, I am persuaded that God will not account us so, and in due time it shall appear, that they have separated from us, and not we from them. And we, through the sovereign power and might of God, (not by any thing in us more than in them) are adhering to our former avowed and sworn to principles ; and I profess, I die in the faith of the Church of Scotland, as it was reformed in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, conform to the word of God, *the Confession of Faith, and Catechisms Larger and Shorter, the National and Solemn League and Covenants*, and I give my hearty approbation of the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Causes of God's Wrath* ; and I adhere to all the testimonies of our sufferers of old and of late, who have suffered for his cause, and do give my testimony, and protest against all the open and avowed, or underhand enemies to our Lord and his work in these lands. And I give my testimony against these cursed plants of popery and prelacy, which God never planted. And I leave my testimony against supremacy, and all those both ministers and people that have been strengthening the hands of those who have robbed our Lord of his royal prerogatives, by receiving indulgencies former or latter, or giving sinful bonds, to bind ministers in these things, for which Christ hath

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strengthen our hands ; but his grace is all-sufficient to bear up a poor weak thing in the day of trial. He is as good as his promise, and he hath promised to keep them in the hour of temptation that keep the word of his patience, which he hath made out to me. But as for the grounds of our suffering, it is known to God, that it was my love to my Lord and Master and his persecuted gospel, that moved me to rise in arms against these open blasphemers and enemies to our Lord Jesus, and not for any prejudice I had at great or small of that party, the Lord knows : but a party appearing for that work, I judged myself bound in duty, from obligations both from the Word and Covenant to join with them. And O that my blood were a river of blood to witness against all that hath preferred their present ease and their temporal life, to our Lord's work and eternal life. But more particularly for this bond which was pressed so much ; I have this to say for it, that my love to my King Christ made me to stand in awe to say ' a confederacy ' with that party that are stated enemies to him and his work. And seeing they have taken his crown and sceptre to invest a mortal man with, shall I say, that I should never resent these wrongs and injuries, done to my Lord and Master ? Nay, through his grace, if I had many more lives than I have, I would part with them all for his sake. But beside, we are all bound by our covenant to extirpate popery and prelacy ; and should I score myself out of that party, that God may, and yet will raise for his broken down and contemned work ?—so that, I could not take this accursed bond, unless I had renounced that solemn obligation which I judge myself bound to, and incur the hazard of that wo, which is denounced against those that are at ease in Zion ; and the frowns of my blessed Lord and Master,—which I durst not adventure on, for incurring the wrath of all the kings of the world : so that, whatever men may brand us with, as separating from others that were engaged in the same quarrel with us ; yet, I am persuaded that God will not account us so, and in due time it shall appear, that they have separated from us, and not we from them. And we, through the sovereign power and might of God, (not by any thing in us more than in them) are adhering to our former avowed and sworn to principles ; and I profess, I die in the faith of the Church of Scotland, as it was reformed in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, conform to the word of God, *the Confession of Faith, and Catechisms Larger and Shorter, the National and Solemn League and Covenants*, and I give my hearty approbation of the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Causes of God's Wrath* ; and I adhere to all the testimonies of our sufferers of old and of late, who have suffered for his cause, and do give my testimony, and protest against all the open and avowed, or underhand enemies to our Lord and his work in these lands. And I give my testimony against these cursed plants of popery and prelacy, which God never planted. And I leave my testimony against supremacy, and all those both ministers and people that have been strengthening the hands of those who have robbed our Lord of his royal prerogatives, by receiving indulgencies former or latter, or giving sinful bonds, to bind ministers in these things, for which Christ hath

purchased their freedom at a dear rate. And I give my testimony against the paying of that cess, and all other sinful bonds and ties contrary to scripture and our former covenants. But being straitened with time, I refer you to a general testimony subscribed by us all, wherein all our minds are more fully expressed. I bid farewell to all my dear friends, farewell all earthly comforts, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Sic Sub.—JAMES WOOD ”*

3. ANDREW SWORD.†

“ Men and Brethren,—Although I be a man of small learning, yet I cannot be altogether silent, since it hath pleased the Most High, wise and holy Lord, to single me out, and call for a public testimony to his cause, work, and persecuted interest; not only borne down by avowed enemies, but, which is now disowned, even by many professors; when it is come to that, they must either seal the cause with their blood, or else break the covenant, and turn their back on Christ and his cause, to which they were and are solemnly engaged in the sight of God; so that I desire that what I am wanting in my written testimony, I may supply by my sufferings and death: which, though for his sake I lay it down, yet I trust not in my own death, but in the mercies and blood of Jesus Christ, who hath purchased and promised the crown of life unto all those, whom through his strength, he keeps faithful unto the death, Rev. ii. 10., and especially in such an hour of temptations as we have been trysted with; and I count his assisting grace, in helping me to stand, when stronger than I, have yielded, yea, and made me rejoice in that he hath chosen poor me, one amongst the few that are honoured to confess and avow him and his truth in such a time and manner: I say, I am confident, it is a token for good to them and me, and I take it in earnest of that crown of life, which I am hopeful to enjoy, ere long, through all eternity, that neither can be lost by me now, nor robbed from me by the wicked men of this generation, who now unjustly rob me of my life and liberty; for I believe I go, where most part of them shall never come. I bless the Lord, I suffer not as an evil-doer, although I be judged and condemned of men for my being in arms, and joining with that little handful, that appeared in the fields in defence of Christ, his cause and interest, as we are bound to do by the word of God, and by our covenants; they call it rebellion against his majesty, but by that way which they call rebellion (or which is called heresy by others) we worship the God of our fathers. And he who is the Searcher of hearts knows, that it was not rebellion against the great and living God and his

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Christ. And if Samuel were living now, when so many of our teachers are so silent, he could tell them that rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft. And I dare venture to say, though no prophet, that we are not the troublers of Israel, but the king and his family, and the wicked Hamans, the railing Rabshakehs, the wicked Doegs, the false and unfaithful prophets, *these* are the greatest troublers of our Israel. Therefore, let them read Lam. ii. 6, 7. 'And he hath violently taken away his tabernacles, as if it were of a garden; he hath destroyed his palaces of the assembly; the Lord hath caused the solemn feasts and Sabbaths to be forgotten in Zion, and hath despised in the indignation of his anger the king and the priest: the Lord hath cast off his altar; he hath abhorred his sanctuary: he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces,' &c. And ver. 9. 'Her gates are sunk into the ground, he hath destroyed and broken her bars; her king and her princes are among the Gentiles; the law is no more, her prophets also find no vision from the Lord.' And I bless his name that ever I was a man to carry arms upon that account. I here declare, that I rue it not, although I be condemned to die for it. I bless the Lord who hath counted me worthy to die for so good and so honourable a cause, who am but a poor, feckless, worthless, sinful creature.

"And now, my friends, since he hath honoured me with such a piece of honour, as to have been shut up in prison for a while, and after that, now sentenced to death by men; and in all this time the Lord hath supported me beyond what I can express: wherefore, ye may hear and see, that they fare best that venture farthest for Christ. Therefore I pray you in his name, scare not at his cross; for when to your eye and sense it seems to be most bitter, yet even then, he can make it most sweet. I can tell this by experience: Now, for ever and for ever blessed be his name for it. Now, will ye wrestle honestly under his yoke, and he will not only bear the heavy end of it, but he will help you under your end of it. And indeed, when I was first shut up in close prison, I was somewhat dejected and cast down, upon several accounts; but, blessed be his name, my last time was better, and more sweet to me, than my first time. Although I was sentenced to die, I hope I am not condemned in the court of heaven, for that which men have condemned me on earth. The cause is righteous, lawful, just, and good; yet I know it is not enough to justify me in God's sight, that I had a good cause; it is the having of Christ's righteousness imputed to me, and received by faith alone, that must do *that*. I declare I put not my hand to that work to gain any honour, or reputation to myself, but in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came unto the service, not constrained by any man, but from conscience of my being engaged by covenant unto God; and as under the name of a Christian, so to own the work and interest of Jesus Christ; although I had never the occasion to swear the covenant with an uplifted hand, yet I hold myself as deeply engaged in it, as if I had done it; and I declare my appearing with that persecuted handful in the fields, was to do the utmost of my power, for the down-bearing of abjured prelacy, and prelates, and papists, and all other enemies of

our Lord ; and to testify not only against them, but all other errors, and sects, and sectaries whatsoever,—but even the defections and sinful compliance of the indulged, and others defending them. All which is made daily more clear to be contrary to the word of God, and our sworn covenants. And I declare my appearing, as it was to testify against all them that have wronged our Lord, his kirk and people, so also, to endeavour to my power, the restoring again the pure ordinances to their former power and purity, and to recover the church in this land (which Jesus Christ hath purchased at so dear a rate) to her former beauty, which is now defaced and broken down in these lands, by perjured prelates and their underlings ; and alas ! disowned even by many ministers and professors, Ezek. xiii. 10—12. ‘ Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace : and one built up a wall, and lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar,’ &c. And ver. 19. ‘ And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley, and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people, that hear your lies ?’ &c. —Who have declared by their apostasy and compliance, that they love their life and gear better than Christ and his cause ; either of the which they were and are bound to maintain and own, even to the ‘ resisting unto blood, striving against sin.’ Alas ! alas ! to see professors, who once professed to know so much of Christ and his truth ; and that they have declared, in the sight of enemies,—that they durst not trust precious Christ, and his worthy and precious promises,—by their joining and complying with the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ. These things have they done by taking the bond to procure their life ; but, truly the less wonder that poor people have done it, when not only threatened by enemies, but counselled and driven to it by ministers : Oh ! ‘ the leaders of my people have caused them to err.’ Therefore read Jer. xii. 9. ‘ Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird, the birds round about are against her ; come ye, assemble all the beasts of the field, come to devour.’ Ver. 10. ‘ Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness.’ And ver. 11. ‘ They have made it desolate, and being desolate, it mourneth unto me ; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart.’ And ver. 12. ‘ The spoilers are come upon all high places through the wilderness ; for the sword of the Lord shall devour,’ &c. ‘ and no flesh shall have peace.’ And when I think on that of Hos. ii. from ver. 1—8., I shall now heartily pray, and I pray you, plead with your mother church, the bulk of ministers and professors, that they would acknowledge their defection, mourn for it, and return to the Lord ; and if they will not hear you, nor believe and lay weight upon our words, though men dying, witnessing against their present practices, as well as against our above-board and avowed enemies, I pray you, if they will not turn, let all pray, that the Lord himself may hedge up their way with thorns, and make a wall that they may not find their paths. And indeed it seems, that word hath little weight with or upon them, which Christ hath

said, ' He that seeks to save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.' And if any would ask at me what I think of the cross, when it is at the heaviest, I can answer them very well that question. I think it an easy and sweet cross ; and I bless His name that ever He made me take it up and follow him. Now, because we are straitened for time to get any thing of a testimony left particular enough, to mention all things we are now clear of, and would be at, as duty to you ; and all things in us, our fathers, our prince, our nobles, ministers and all ranks, that are provoking in His sight, and the causes of God's wrath on the land, I refer you to the joint and more general testimony agreed to, and subscribed by us all, as our minds together ; and desire the Lord may deal and prevail with the hearts of all such, on whom our death or words, 'tis like, will not prevail, that he may pour forth his Spirit from on high upon us while in time,—and on you that remain, that ye may look on him whom ye have pierced, and mourn until he return : for, I hope ere long to rejoice in that I have been mourning, and now suffering, for that which others dare bless God for as a mercy, and rejoice in ;—that is, the first and now late favours, both indulgencies and indemnities, and other things which the wicked are but spreading in your way as snares, and it is too true, that bribes blind the eyes of the wise. Therefore, I beg the Spirit of truth may lead you into all truth ; and bidding farewell to all friends, being willing to leave all, to enjoy Christ, to whom I recommend my spirit.

Sic Sub.—ANDREW SWORD.*

4. JOHN WADDEL.†

“ Men and Brethren,—It may be thought by some, that the cause of my death by suffering, is but a thing indifferent in some respect ; but the Lord knoweth that my intention is, and was, from the first day I appeared in open war, against all those that were fighting against Christ and his cause, from the thought and deep sense of my duty to appear in hazard of my life, and goods, and all I had in the world,—to defend and maintain Jesus Christ and his cause. And now we are condemned as guilty of death, and held by them as rebellious, to appear for the interest of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and they have condemned him, to have no right to govern his church and ecclesiastical affairs, which we are bound by the word of God and covenants, to own and avow in spite of all that will say the contrary, without respect of persons. It is true, I am bound to maintain all lawful

* Naphtali, pp. 471—476.

† Of John Waddel our information is equally scanty as of the three previously mentioned individuals. He was, according to the designation to his testimony, as given in Naphtali, from the parish of Newmonkland, in Lanarkshire. But in Appendix, No. xxxiii. to the second volume of Wodrow's History, we have the following notice of him as of some others of the five. “ John Waddel, in the parish of Shotts, acknowledges the Rebellion to have been a rebellion, but denies the Archbishop's murder to be sinful.” How far this accords with his testimony, we leave the reader to judge for himself.

authority, as it is agreeable to his word ; and to obey the king, as far as he maintains the church in her liberty, and no further on any accounts ; we are also bound to maintain and own him in holding out foreign nations ; but if he be against God, then we are bound to stand in defence of the church, in all that belongs to the true worship and fear of God, and to do our utmost to the bearing down defection and profanity, and all those things that are contrary to our solemn engagement in the National and Solemn League and Covenant ; and as he hath bound us in his word, and commanded us to lay down our lives for his cause and interest, he hath also said, ‘ He that seeks to save his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for the gospel, shall save it.’ And I have this to say, that I declare I am not worthy to receive the least honour of a testimony, because I am the least, and less than the least of all those that have appeared for his cause, at this time, or at any time have appeared for his cause and truth : for I am, as Jacob said, less than the least of all God’s mercies ; but I have this to say, to the commendation of free love and mercy that he hath made that as clear to me, as the sun shineth, that if I had yielded at that time, when I was called in question for him and his truths, that he should have disowned me, for doing that, in my greatest strait. And on the other hand, I was fast and sure, that the Lord would own me, if I owned him ; for he says, ‘ He that contends with you, I will contend with him ;’ wherefore I have ground to lay hold upon the promises, yet not I, but the grace of God in me, and the love of him that died, and rose again from the dead in his own strength, and now lives for ever.

“ I bear my testimony against all those that have declared themselves open enemies against Christ, and against the work of reformation ;— which cause many profess they are owning, and yet denying a part of the truth to be truth ; but well, let them remember that word, ‘ Wo to them that call good evil, and evil good.’

“ Next, I bear my testimony against all that say, I might have abode at home, and served God : but I grant that is true, if I had been clear of it, and joined with indulgents. It is true, I acknowledge I once heard them, but now I am sorry for the thing I have done therein : but for their persons, the Lord knows, I have no ill will at them : but upon the other hand, some will say, although I went out, yet now I might have taken the bond, and saved my life, and done as other men did ; but I have reason to bless the Lord, that has borne in that upon my heart so clearly, as to see the evil of it, from the beginning of it, and now I declare it, at the end of the time I have to be here-away.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against that tax so unlawfully imposed against the people, for it was only to maintain that party, who were setting themselves with all their might against the work and worship of God, because it was in power and purity, and because it was not agreeable to profanity, as they would have had it, therefore they persecute that work and despise it, because it looks so like God, and they so like the devil ; and they hate the people of God, because they hate God, and all that are like him, for this is the reason of our being condemned, because we had something of the fear of God ; and I

confess there is nothing in me, to be the end and way of the dealing of God, but it is in himself that has moved him to fall in love with me, and bring me into the way of heaven and salvation, although by a terrible way and manner. Nevertheless, I shall win to heaven, though it were through a sea of troubles and difficulties, for the apostle says, Rom. viii. near the close, 'Neither principalities nor powers, death nor life, things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord;' and ver. 31. 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' It is God that justifies, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather who is risen again from the dead, that we might live; who is even at the right hand of God, and is making intercession for us.—For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter, but, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that hath loved us.' And as he saith, ver. 18. 'I reckon that the sufferings of this present life are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.'

"Next, I bear my testimony against all sects and opinions that are contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, both popery and prelacy, perjury and all profanity, and all malignancy, and particularly against that protection that is called indulgence, that shelter, that so many have run in under, in these chilled times, while the ark of God is in the open fields, as was said by a worthy man long ago, who was killed in the fields, fighting for the church of Christ, as we were; and there is a ground for it. I argue it lawful to rise in arms, in opposition to any that are incensed and enraged against the work of our Lord and Saviour, and his gospel. And that is in Jer. xlviii. 10. 'Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.' These were all enemies against God and his way, for it was Moab, that cursed crew, and it may be Edom was there too, our bastard brother, as there was some of the folk, that ye and we call many times friends, but yet they were at Bothwell-bridge, and appeared in open war against Christ, and these who once seemed to be for him (as we thought) and these were they who are indulged; I could name them to you, but I need not, for the Lord knoweth them and us both, and we must all answer to him what was our intention. But as for me, I am in the way of going to eternity, and must appear within a few days, and be judged by Christ; but that day will not be like that day of November, when we got our sentence; but it is like, that these who judged us then, will be as far down in that day of our appearance, as we were under them in that day, for they did as they thought fit against us, but it shall not be so in that great day, 2 Cor. v. 10.

"Next, I bear my testimony against all those that say, we are of the sect of the Jesuits, tending to Quakerism and error, because we are willing Christ should wear his own crown, kingdom, and all his prerogative rights, and these truths we are engaged unto, and will not give them unto a man whose breath is in his nostrils. As for me, a

dying person, I declare my hatred before God, angels and men, that I love none of that kind that we are ranked up with, as some friends said of me, and not of me only, that we agreed well with Quakerism, and had some of their principles ; but the Lord knows, and they shall know, when all of us shall stand before the tribunal of God, and there receive a just sentence, that we abhor these ways.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against all that say, we will not give the king his due, as we covenanted ; but they are all wrong, for they would have us to give king Charles that which we owe to King Christ. I hope through him that withheld me hitherto from complying and subscribing that bond, that was so clear a sin to me, He will yet help me more, for he says, “ Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations ; therefore I appoint for you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me ; that ye may eat and drink with me in my kingdom,” Luke xxii. 28—30. And Rev. vii. 13—16. ‘ What are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence came they ? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb ;’ and they are found without spot before the throne of God, and blameless : ‘ Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple ; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them ; and they shall hunger no more.’ And that innumerable company of angels, and the generation of the first-born are to accompany them that shall win through to the other side.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against all those unlawful things that have been imposed upon the people of God, and against all those that have put them to the door, and they who have yielded to that wofulness ; but what need I say any more of that ? It is clear even to the light of nature ; but we are all waxed gross, and are like a deceitful bow, as in Psal. lxxviii., which is a remarkable scripture : but now ye may see, they are the bravest men that can deny most of the scriptures : but I leave this to the Lord of heaven and earth.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against these noble-men and women, gentle-men and women, ministers, and others, who, though they seem to be our friends, yet say,—we are led on in such a way of superstition by a few silly women, because we durst not do as they would have us do, and that was in taking the bond, and confessing that our being at Bothwell-bridge was rebellion, not only against man, but they would even have me say, that it was rebellion against God ; but the Lord is my record, I durst not do it for my soul : for, I was clear in my conscience, that it was a duty lying on me to appear in arms against the generation of wicked men, that, like Ahab, have sold themselves to work wickedness in the sight of God, and so it says to me, that the Lord will do to them as he did to Ahab, Jeroboam, and Baasha,—he made an end of them, both root and branch ; but if it may please the Lord to give them repentance, from my very heart I wish them pardon—both king and nobles,—as I would be forgiven of God myself.

“ There is another word I have to say,—and that is to all Christians,

—to fear God, and honour the king, as far as he and you agree in honouring Christ, and *no farther*. Although he be a monarch, if he fall on, and break down the work of God, I charge all that have a mind to come to heaven, to arise and contend for the work of God, as ye will be answerable to him in the great day, who is taking notice of all those who are contending for him, his cause and truth, and do not account their life dear to lay it down for him,—who was at the pains to come down from the bosom of the Father, and take on man's nature as a sinful man; and he was trysted with all sorts of trouble and affliction as we are now, and yet without sin, and yet persecuted as for sin; and he had fellow-feeling of all our infirmities.

“Next, I have this to bear my testimony against, and that is, this great course of defection and backsliding both in ministers and professors, and also the profanity and wickedness in all other ranks and degrees so much carried on by a great many, and not only by a backward and godless generation, but by a professing party, that are crying, ‘Away with him, away with him, crucify him;’ but there is a day coming, when many of these will cry to ‘hills and mountains to fall upon them, and cover them from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb, for who will be able to stand when he appears?’

“Now, there is another ground of my sentence, and that is, because I thought it my duty to appear in name and behalf of the church and people of God, and in owning that handful that was borne down, and made to seek the open fields night and day, because of the fury of the oppressor, and therefore, the more I thought it was my duty, the more it was persecuted. And because I was in covenant with God,—although I was never honoured, so as to hold up my hand, and swear to God before men,—yet I am not the less engaged in that, to God, but the more; and having this to say, that I came out of my own free will, no man pressing me, but only so far as my conscience did command me, in the peril of my life, to appear in open war against all profanity, and a wicked apostate generation, and to own a small persecuted and despised handful that was forced to take the open fields, by reason of a perjured party, that has so come in, and oppressed all these that would live peaceably. If they would have let them have the word of God preached in power and purity, as we had it once in a day:—but now we are deprived of these great and precious privileges by our misimproving of them, and the Lord hath been pleased to remove his candlestick into corners; and not only so, but he hath been pleased to let some fall and comply with an adulterous generation, both ministers and professors, for the which we mourn this day, and do testify against them.

“Next, I bear my testimony against all these proclamations and declarations, or laws any other way made and set out, contrary to the word and law of God, by a cursed crew of perjured men, who have broken covenant, and the oaths of God, and have stated themselves against Christ and his cause, which was a great ground of my appearing against the wicked party's side and faction, and made me own the other party, (although in hazard of my life) being lying in the open fields.

Nevertheless, my bond and engagement to God lay on me, that I should defend that interest with my life and liberty, and made it clear that it was a duty, (and particularly to me,) according to my engagement to him. I being but a private person, you need not look for such a testimony from me as from others, yet I think it my duty to write a word or two to those that are left behind, to make it appear, that I died not as a fool, as some do imagine; but I reckon not what any man shall say of me. Now, I hope to be at an end ere long, and beyond all their censures and reproaches, and therefore I die willingly, for 'I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day;' and I must declare, that I have nothing of myself to boast of, but all in Christ,—'through his grace I am that I am.' I must declare, that he may as justly cast me down into the lowest hell, as to honour me with the contrary, and that is, by giving a testimony on a scaffold;—and only for him, and for him only I now suffer. I am willing to die upon that account, having the clear call of God to hold me up, for he saith, Isa. xliii. 2, 3. 'Fear not thou, O Jacob, for I will be with thee; when thou walkest through the fire, it shall not burn thee; when thou passest through the waters, they shall not drown thee;' and is not *that* a brave ground of hope and encouragement? Therefore suffer cheerfully, all my friends, I have not much to say, being of small judgment, but I have that word to say anent my case, Since I was a prisoner, but mainly since I was under the sentence of death, I have had much of the presence of God since that was my lot; and I may say, 'My lot is fallen in pleasant places, I have a goodly heritage.' Although some dark clouds and vails do intervene, and mar me now and then, yet I must declare, I am not left in the dark altogether. And I have reason to bless God, that he doth not leave me all the way alone, as he may justly do, and my soul blesseth him for owning me so much, as to strengthen me with his own strength. I have a word, Acts xxiv. 13—16. that 'they cannot prove the things which they lay to my charge:' but in so far as they did count my duty and fear of God to be rebellion against God and the king; so I desire the Lord would pardon them for so gross and grievous a sentence that they passed on us, condemning us as accessory to the death of that perjured, profane, and abominable prelate, Sharp, who was one of those in this land that did use all his power to the overthrowing of the work of God;—but he is now at his portion, where the Lord will; and I shall say no more of that, but leave all to the Lord; and I leave on him all causes in this land of Scotland, and all our covenanted lands.

"Next, I leave my testimony against those who have pressed the bond on some, advising them who were but weak in judgment;—and in so doing, you have a hand in their sin, and shall as surely partake of their plagues that shall be sent on them from the hand of the Lord for so doing, as he hath broken them; for the which I am very sorry, both for them that have taken the bond, and those that enticed them so to do; but I hope ye shall see some of them ere long rue that step of defection. I wish I may be forgiven of God for all my sins and

provocations, but I hope to be forgiven only through His grace, death, and sufferings,—which is the only way by which we must inherit the crown purchased through the precious blood of Christ, which crown we live and die in the faith of, that we shall have a right to : but the Lord hath several ways in so doing, and we are to enjoy the crown in an extraordinary way.

“ I pray that the Lord may, and will be pleased to return and come again, and make his work a rejoicing work ; and that his poor people, who are precious, near and dear to him, may not depart without a testimony, and go to the grave, and may not be silent, and may see the great hazard of being silent,—I mean both ministers and professors, —but may declare the mind of their Master more faithfully, and that with all boldness, as it is said in that word, ‘ Who art thou that art afraid of man that shall die, and forgettest me the Lord thy Maker ? ’ I have another word to say, and that is, James v. 5, 6. ‘ Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter ; and have condemned the just for the unjust, and he doth not resist you. My brethren, be patient until the coming of our Lord ; ’ he will make up all your loss, trouble not yourselves ; for ‘ God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble,’ 1 Pet. v. 6—8. ‘ Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of the Lord, and he will exalt you in due time : Cast all your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you ; and be sober.’ 1 Pet. iv. 6—8. ‘ For this cause was the gospel preached to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit ; but the end of all things is at hand, be ye sober, therefore, and watch unto prayer ; and above all things, have fervent charity amongst yourselves, for charity covers a multitude of sins.’ Ver. 12—19. ‘ Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, as if some strange thing had happened unto you ; but rejoice in as much as ye are partakers of Christ’s sufferings, that when his glory shall appear, ye may be glad also with exceeding great joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye ; for the Spirit of God, and of glory resteth on you. On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified ; but let none of you suffer as a fool, or as a busy-body in other men’s matters, or as an evil-doer ; yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God on this behalf ; for the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God ; and if it first begin at us, what will become of them that obey not the gospel of God ? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear ? Wherefore, let him that suffers according to the will of God, commit the keeping of his soul to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator.’ I desire to mind the poor case and condition of this once much honoured land of Scotland. O Scotland ! that was once so much honoured with the everlasting gospel ! which now is despised and disowned, not only by a malignant party, but by some lukewarm professors, who once appeared for the defence of that cause.

“ Again, I bear my testimony to the cross of Christ, and against all those who are thirsting after the blood of the saints, and against those

that are yet putting some to death, and others to banishment. I bear my testimony against all imprisonments or blood, either shed on scaffolds, or in the fields; and against all reproaches cast on the people of God, calling them fanatics; and against all oppression done by the perjured prelatic party, and against all those that join in affinity with these persecutors: ye may remember what became of Jehoshaphat with Ahab; ye will find it in 2 Chron. xix. 2.

“Next, I bear my joint testimony with all those that have gone before me, either in that way on scaffolds, or in fields, or shall go yet. I pray God may prevent that any more should suffer, if it be his will; and I leave my testimony against all these wolves, who have entered into the labours of the faithful servants of our Lord; and likewise against all ranks and degrees that have done, or shall do any thing contrary to the word of God. And lastly, I refer you to the general testimony agreed to, and subscribed by us all five, as our joint minds together, beside our particular testimonies. So, recommending all my dear friends and relations to the guiding and protection of the Almighty; farewell all earthly comforts, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into whose hands I commend my spirit. Amen.

“Sic Sub.—JOHN WADDEL.”*

5. JOHN CLYDE.†

“Men and Brethren,—These are to show you the case that I am in at this time, and what the Lord hath in his infinite wisdom carved out to be my lot and condition at this present time: and I am but a very young man to have such a lot and dispensation cast in my way, at this day; and for my age, it is but small in account, and few in number, about twenty-one years of age. And I may say justly, as Jacob said to Pharaoh, ‘My days are few and full of trouble;’ although I have not come so far a length as Jacob came, nor have met with the hardships he met with, yet in my poor station, I have been trysted with sundry cross dispensations, according to my weak capacity, partly from within, and partly from without. And I may justly say, that I am ‘the least of all saints,’ and one of the unworthiest that have gone under the name of a profession; and far less to be counted

* Naphtali, pp. 476—488.

† Nothing is mentioned either in Wodrow’s History or in Naphtali respecting the profession or place of residence of this individual. He speaks of himself in his “Last words,” as having been a ploughman, and in his Testimony as being a very young man, only twenty-one years of age. He judicially confessed the fact of his having been at Bothwell—and he here defends it on the ground of duty. So guiltless was he, however, with regard to the Archbishop’s death, that, as he himself informs us, he had never even seen him to his knowledge. He seems to have, in a special manner, earned the displeasure of the council by his forwardness and firmness in refusing the bond. Wodrow informs us that, out of fifteen individuals who, in the month of August preceding, were, in consequence of the report of committee alluded to in a previous note, impannelled for life, John Clyde was *one of two* who resisted the taking of the bond, though strongly urged to it by the advice of one of the ministers. This, in so young a man, was highly honourable to his decision of character.

worthy to give a testimony for such an honourable cause as this is—that the Lord in his infinite wisdom and holy providence hath laid in my way at this time—that ever he should have counted me worthy to have laid down my life in such a way as this. And now, my dear friends, I am to let you know upon what account I am to lay down my life, and what moved me to cast myself into this hazard. It was a precious word of God that gave me a call to it, as ye will find, Judges v. 23. ‘Curse ye Meroz’ with a double curse, ‘because they came not out to the help of the Lord against the mighty.’ My dear friends, I confess, ye may object and say, that if the Lord had seen it fit, he could have made the stones to have risen up to have fought his battle; I confess that he could have done it: yet, however, the Lord allows his people to do it to the uttermost of their power, for the owning and maintaining of his work and interest. We are bound in the sixth article of the Solemn League and Covenant, ‘That we shall, according to our places and calling, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and preserving thereof, even to our lives and liberties losing.’ And I might prove it further from scripture, if need were. But I think, if there were but one page in all the holy scripture, it might be a sufficient call and ground for us to defend the work of reformation, even to the loss of our lives and liberties. As ye will find it, Jer. xlviii. 10. ‘Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully and cursed be he that keepeth his sword back from blood.’ I might insist and prove my rising in arms by these scriptures, but I shall not insist any longer upon it, because I had need to be taken up about other exercise than this. But yet I thought it my duty, to let you see upon what grounds I lay down my life this day, to put you beyond debate; for I thought it my duty, and do yet count it my duty, and am so far from repining, desponding, or grudging, that I count it my honour and glory, that ever I should have been counted worthy to give my weak and feeble testimony against a sinful and apostatizing generation, that hath trampled under foot the covenant and work of reformation, and counted the blood of the Son of God an unholy thing. This I may say, without breach of charity, and without reflection upon any body, for it is visibly seen by the generality of all the people that do countenance the malignant party. But I must confess, there are some better than others: but by the whole plurality there is nothing countenanced, nor carried on, but popery, and prelacy, and quakerism, and all manner of abomination: and there is nothing holden under-board, but the glorious work of reformation, which I am to lay down my life this day for, as a witnessing against popery and prelacy, quakerism, and all manner of abominations abounding in this poor covenanted land. And I think, any that are but half-witted, or have a spunk of mother-wit (as we use to say), may see that the Lord hath a controversy with these lands, because ‘the righteous perish, and no man layeth it to heart, and merciful men are taken away, and no man regardeth it,’ Isa. lvii. 1. And I wot well, it is clearly seen and made out in our days that this is true; for the faithful ministers,

and other Christians, are taken away, what by death, what by banishment, what by execution; and hunted up and down, that they have not so much as a house to stay or make their abode in. And for my part, I shall say but very little to it; but I think, our king and counsellors should think shame to do so; but truly I may say, that shame is past the shade of their hair (as we used to say in an old proverb). And as the word says, 'They have a whore's forehead, they cease to be ashamed;' for any body may see it so,—or else they would never do as they do; for if they were not void of the grace of God, they would be afraid to do as they do. I shall say nothing to this purpose, but what I shall make good from his word: when David lamented for the death of Saul and Jonathan his son, though David was accounted to be king over the people of Israel, yet because Saul and Jonathan were killed by their enemies, David says, 'Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph,' 2 Sam. i. 20. For truly I think, to my poor and weak skill, our rulers should think shame to be using their poor subjects so for nothing, but for following the work of God, as they are bound upon conscience to do, to be executing some, and banishing others, as they are doing. But for my own part I shall say no more, but wish, that the Lord would not lay it to their charge, for I desire to forgive them, if it may stand with the Lord's holy will; and if not, I desire to turn it over on the Lord, let him do as he sees fit. Only this I may say, that it is for no evil that I have done, that I am made a gazing-stock to all these beholders this day; and I bless his name for it, I die not as a fool;—I have his own word for it, that if 'I suffer for him, I shall also reign with him;' and I wot, that the Lord Jesus owns the cause as his, and he calls it his temptations. Therefore, although it be somewhat terrifying to the eyes of the beholders, and to flesh and blood, yet it will yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness to all those that are exercised thereby. And although I am to be executed here, and my body, after I am executed, is to be hung up until it consume all away; yet I die in the faith of this, that although it should hang till it consume all away, and be scattered up and down the earth, till there be not so much as a hairbreadth together; though the fowls of the air should come and take away part of it, and the beasts of the field should come and consume the other part of it; and though, if it were possible, that fishes should come and take another part of it, yet I desire to die in the faith of this, that it will be all gathered together again, and a hairbreadth of it will not be lost, when King Christ comes with the sound of the Archangel, and the sound of the last trumpet, and then 'the dead in Christ shall be first raised,' and then 'we must all stand before his tribunal, and give an account of the deeds of the body, whether they have been good or evil;' according as we have done here, so it will be done unto us, where there will be no respect of persons, where the beggar that sits upon the dunghill will be as much thought of that day, as the king that sits upon the throne: yea, and 'Tophet is prepared of old, for the king as well as for the beggar.' Now, my beloved, I shall let you see the

confidence I have of this truth. First, ye will find it, Job xix. 26. 'And though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.' Ver. 27. 'Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.' And likewise, ye will find it written in Isa. xxx. 33. 'For Tophet is prepared of old: yea, for the king it is prepared, he hath made it deep and large, the pile thereof,' &c. Now, my dear friends, I hope you will find nothing here but what is written in the scriptures, for this is of a certain truth, that it will be so both for kings, nobles, and ignobles, if they do not repent and turn from the evil of their deeds, and turn unto the Lord. But alas! there is no appearance of turning from their evil deeds. The Lord has been shoaring (as it were) this land with sore strokes, yet we may say, as the prophet says, Isa. i. 5., to that wicked people, 'Why should ye be stricken any more?' for the more they are stricken, the more they revolt: but stay still yet, there is a day coming when they shall be made to hear, whether they will or not; Mic. vi. 9. there is a voice of the Lord calling to the city, compared to a rod: but alas! it is very sad to think upon it, that there are so few that are taking warning from the word of the Lord, as there is. However, they will be made to hear, and take with the warning, little for their profit, 'when the Lord shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, taking vengeance upon all them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.' And now I shall say no more to this purpose.

"But I am to leave my testimony against Popery, and Prelacy, and Quakerism, and Erastianism, and all abominations that are abounding in this land. And likewise, I let all the world know, wheresoever this paper of mine comes to be known, that I die in the faith of this,—that the Lord shall have a church in this land, whether the devil or men will or not. We have his word for it; there shall be a generation that shall be counted to the Lord for a people that shall serve him, whether king or council will or not, let them do their best, and the bishops and all their underlings, and all their attendants: if hell, and death, and wicked men, and all were set in opposition against it, I say, our King Christ will be head of his church, say against it who will: and he shall reign in Zion till all his enemies be under his feet. Now, I shall say no more, but only two or three words anent the thing I was accused of, by those that pursued me, and that was the king's advocate, and bishop Sharp's brother, anent the bishop's killing. And whether I had spoken of it or not, there is nobody, but may know, that it was the only thing that made them so sorely to insist against me; I wish the Lord may not lay it to their charge: for *I never saw that man whom they called the bishop of St. Andrews*, that I knew by another man; and the other ground of my sentence was the killing of a butcher,* who confessed that he committed both

* The reader must observe that this act was not charged home in the indictment on John Clyde, or any of his companions, *personally*—but only as the act of the party of insurgents, with whom he and they had thought it their duty to join. It may even be questioned how far it was the act of that body as a whole—but at all events, the motives which led to it were far other than those

adultery and buggery, and murdered a man of late at Glasgow ; and when as himself did the most horrible acts that ever man did, yet they called the killing of him murder. The third ground of my sentence was, that I was at the late rebellion that was at Bothwell-bridge, as they call it, the which I never held as rebellion, nor counted any thing that was done that way rebellion. I bless the Lord that ever he counted me worthy to bear witness to such things as these were. The fourth ground of my sentence was the hearing of rebellious ministers, that are holden out, as rendezvouses of rebellion, both in field and houses. My soul blesseth the Lord that ever I was witness to such meetings, either in the fields or in houses, as these were. I bear witness and give my testimony to such meetings as these were. For I may say, that if ever the Lord had a poor church in Scotland, that he has some [ministers] who have been wonderfully owned and carried on by the Lord's powerful and mighty hand, not only to the conviction of some, but to the conversion of others. And I leave my testimony to this persecuted and borne-down work of our Lord Jesus Christ, and leave my testimony against all the opposers thereof, that they are enemies to the cross of Christ. And now I shall say no more concerning these things:—But 1. I declare my testimony against all these forementioned things, and against all bonds that are not consistent with the word of God, and are not agreeable to the Solemn League and Covenant, and against all declarations and cesses that are for the army, to bring down the work of reformation, as it was once owned and advanced in this island of Britain and Ireland, and especially in Scotland ; which was once the best reformed church that was in the whole earth. And I leave my testimony to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms and Confession of Faith. 2. And likewise I declare, that I lay not my life unwillingly down this day, but freely, without any restraint or constraint. Next, I declare, that I am free of all the crimes that they lay to me, for I was ever obedient to the king and his lawful authority, and do commend every one in their places and stations thereto, so far as his laws consist with the word of God. 3. I declare, that it was for the defence of the gospel that I arose, and that of free-will, not allured, nor enticed by any body or person in the world. 4. I declare, that I durst not take the bond that was laid to me, and go over the belly of my conscience, and sin against God, and durst not take liberty to my body with prejudice to my soul ; for, that word was borne in upon me, that *those that save their lives, shall lose their lives*. 5. I bless the Lord, that since I got my sentence I have been wonderfully carried through, not having so much as an hard thought of any thing that I have done. Yea, the Lord hath wonderfully upholden me since I got my sentence. 6. I

to which it was ascribed in the terms of the charge. The individual in question seems to have been chargeable with the grossest crimes—and it was for these crimes, and not for his zeal or diligence in serving his majesty, that he was condemned and executed. But, indeed, as we have already stated, the indictment against these five individuals is full of the most glaring untruths and misrepresentations in regard to the Bothwell insurrection, and this, as Wodrow remarks, is undoubtedly one of them.

shall say no more to this, but desire my blessing to all my friends in Christ; and now, I must bid farewell to all earthly pleasures and enjoyments, all kinsfolk and relations, and farewell to my loving mother, and all other friends, and welcome Christ, heaven, and eternity, and farewell sorrow and sighing, and farewell losses and crosses, punishments and banishments, farewell all earthly sorrows, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, for evermore; 'Even so, come, Lord Jesus, come quickly,' and receive my spirit! Amen.

Sic Sub.—JOHN CLYDE.*

XXIX. THOMAS BROWN AND OTHERS.

SECT. III. THEIR DYING SPEECH.

[The designation we have given to the following paper is in a great measure arbitrary. We conceive it, however, justified by the probable design with which it was written, and for any thing certain, that appears to the contrary—which it actually served. It seems to embrace a brief view of the principal topics discussed in their Joint Testimony, which they probably reduced to this more concise form, with the intention of delivering it at the place of execution. Whether it was so delivered or not, we have not ascertained. But at all events, it being necessary to distinguish it by a separate title, the present one seemed proper, from certain forms of expression employed in it, especially towards the beginning.]

"Men and Brethren,—We are come here this day in your presence to lay down this life of ours, being in our own defence, and defence of the gospel, as ye know we are bound in the covenants, to defend our religion, lives, liberties, and all in our stations. My dear friends, mind your vows and engagements, that ye are lying under, and the Church of Scotland is lying under this day. Now we come to give you an account of the reasons, why we are come here to this place of execution, this day. The thing was, our refusing of a bond, which we could not take, no not for our lives, which were offered us, upon condition of subscribing it. 1. The first thing that was in it, was that we should acknowledge our being at Bothwell-bridge to be *rebellion*, which we profess to be our duty. 2. We are commanded never to lift arms against the king and his authority, in which authority these acts establishing prelacy and the supremacy are included. So we are commanded to maintain and defend them, never to rise against them, which we know to be contrary to sound doctrine. So according to our covenant we give our witness and testimony against them, and as for rebellion, we never intended any such thing against the king or his lawful authority, which we are all sworn to defend, with our lives, and all that we have, in our station. But our appearing at Bothwell-

* Naphtali, pp. 488—495.

bridge we count no rebellion, but our bounden duty, and no sin, for it was grievous to our hearts to see the work of God borne down, and trode under foot by a generation that have discovered themselves to be stated enemies to the cross of Christ, by shutting up his faithful servants of the ministry, some in the rocks of the sea, part also banished, others expelled to corners, private persons being put to flee to mountains, rocks, dens, and caves of the earth; so, we thought ourselves obliged in our station to appear there with others, for the defence of the gospel, according as we are all sworn in the National and Solemn League and Covenants, and Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, to defend the work of reformation against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, and all manner of unsound doctrines and wicked practices abounding in these times. So also, my friends, when we considered the bonds of these covenants that we are all lying under, we durst not subscribe any other bonds contrary unto them. Wherefore, we desire all the Lord's people, in so far as it may consist with the word of God, [to consider] the engagements of these covenants that are lying upon them. As for our part, when we considered the obligations of them, we thought it was not a time for us to lie at ease in Zion, lest we should bring the curse of Meroz upon ourselves, if 'we went not out to the help of the Lord against the mighty;' for ye know it is said in the word, 'Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?' So we give our witness and testimony to the cross of Christ, and blessed be the Lord that ever we appeared at Bothwell-bridge for the defence of his persecuted cause, which within a little we shall seal with our blood.

"We desire you all not to cast a reproach on that late appearing at Bothwell-bridge, lest ye state God an enemy against you; for we bless him that ever he fell upon such a method with the like of us, as to make us appear for so honourable a cause as that.

"We give our joint witness and testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and all other corruptions abounding in these loose times, particularly against bishops, curates, and malignants, and all who connive with them in that black course they are in for the present, and strengthen the hands of the adversary, in carrying on a course of defection. And we give our testimony against indifferent and lukewarm professors, who follow Christ as the times make for them. We give our testimony against all profligate and wicked livers, who know not God, nor will acknowledge him to be Head of his church, 'whose judgment lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.' We give our testimony against that calumny cast upon presbyterians, that they are not loyal to their king, which aspersion as false we abhor; so we desire you all to obey your king in all his lawful commands, according as ye are bound in the word of God, and your covenants: but when God's laws and the king's laws are contrary one to another, do not stretch your consciences for the saving of your life; for he that seeks 'to save his life, shall lose it,' saith Christ; 'but he who loseth his life, for my sake, shall find it.'

"Likewise, we give our testimony against the taking of unlawful bonds or declarations for the saving of the life, for which cause we come here to lay down our lives, even for refusing to take such

bonds; we bless the Lord who hath kept us free from these things, and we hope to praise Him through all eternity: for since he called us to the hardest task, which is not hard at all through his help, but very refreshful,—he has fully made out unto us, ‘that he sends none a warfare upon their own charges;’ and also that promise in Isa. xli. 10. ‘Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.’ So, my friends, ‘Cast not away your confidence, which hath a great recompense of reward; for ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promise:’ no more,—but we commit ‘you to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up unto the day of redemption.’ Ye will get our mind more fully in another paper elsewhere. Farewell time, and all earthly enjoyments; welcome blessed Christ; into thy hands we commit our spirits.

Sic Sub:—

THOMAS BROWN, ANDREW SWORD, JAMES WOOD,
JOHN CLYDE, JOHN WADDEL.”*

XXX. THOMAS BROWN AND OTHERS.

SECT. IV. THEIR LAST WORDS.

[We have stated it as uncertain, whether the preceding speech was actually delivered by these Five sufferers. And though we have no decisive evidence on the point to the contrary, it seems most probable that it was not, particularly from the following title prefixed to the present article as given in Naphtali:—“A short sum of what was delivered upon the place of execution, by these five men who suffered at Magus Moor in Fife, being sentenced to die in that place, upon the account of the bishop of St. Andrews’ death.”—From the latter part of this announcement, it has frequently been supposed that these individuals were charged or chargeable with the death of the Primate. The contrary of this we have already shown to have been the case.—It is pleasing to observe from the details which follow, that the same unshrinking resolution, decided principle, and stedfast confidence, which characterize their testimonies, were evident in their last and dying moments.]

I. THOMAS BROWN.

THOMAS BROWN was the first of the Five that was executed. After he was settled upon the ladder, he said, that Providence having ordered his coming there, to die in that place upon the account of the bishop’s death: he behoved to declare unto the world, and before these witnesses, his innocence. “Some of you,” said he, “may judge our dying and hanging here is upon the account of the

* Naphtali, pp. 496—499.

bishop's death; and that I was accessory thereunto: but I must tell you as to that, that I was never in this country before this time; but the ground of my sentence is, because I will not call my being with that party that was in arms at Bothwell-bridge, *rebellion*: and because I will not take that *bond* so vigorously pressed by adversaries, and persuaded unto by friends: *Therefore* I am here to offer my life a sacrifice to God. And for my part, in rising in arms I intended no rebellion, but was there with that party in defence of the gospel, which I judged my duty, and I hope you yourselves cannot deny it. As for these favours offered to, and received by many preaching the gospel, entering through the indulgence first and last, I look upon them as the ruin of the Church of Scotland." And speaking of the work of reformation, he cited that scripture, Lev. xxvi. 25. 'That the Lord would arise, and avenge the quarrel of his broken covenant;' and that in Ezek. xvii. 15. 'Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?' "And though that poor handful had no success, yet it hath been the lot of the people of God in former times, that 'the children of Ephraim turned their backs, though they lacked neither bow nor sword.'" After he had prayed, he blessed the Lord, that if this day every hair of his head were a man, and every drop of his blood were a life, he would cordially and heartily lay them down for Christ and the cause for which he is now sentenced.*

2. ANDREW SWORD.

ANDREW SWORD sang the xxxiv. Psalm, and thereafter said, "The bishop of St. Andrews' death I am free of, having lived four or five score miles from this, and having never been in this place before: neither did I ever see a bishop in the face that I knew to be a bishop. My coming here is for refusing to take the bond at Edinburgh: I bless the Lord for keeping me from that snare: I bless the Lord for keeping me since I came to prison, both at Edinburgh and St. Andrews. I exhort you all to seek the Lord, and not to fear suffering, but to credit the Lord for through-bearing. I bear testimony against the wicked abominations of these times, named by him, that is gone before me: and I cannot but commend Christ and his cross to you. I would not exchange my lot for a thousand worlds. Farewell all created comforts." Then he prayed before he died.†

3. JAMES WOOD.

JAMES WOOD being upon the ladder, said, "As for our coming here upon the account of the bishop's death, for my own part, I was never in this part of the country before, nor ever saw I a bishop in my life, that I could say *there* was the man. I am here this day to lay down my life that God hath given me, because I could not call my appearance in arms with those at Bothwell-bridge, *rebellion*; and because I would not take the bond. As for my own part, I am so far from calling or thinking it rebellion, that I bless God I was a man to be there with that party, though a man most unable for war, and

* Naphtali, pp. 499, 500.

† Ibid. p. 500.

unskilful because of my infirm arm. And all the arms I had was a halbert upon my shoulder ; and it was not for any thing I did or could do with it ; but I behoved to be there, to show my good will to the work of God, and the respect I had to the interest of our Lord. For I got a command or charge from God, as though he had been a most strict Master, to go and join with that party, and venture my life, which I did most cheerfully : and I bless God that gave me a life to lay down for his cause ; and though in remarkable providence he took not my life in that day, yet for holy and good ends, he spared it to lay it down this day. And now, my friends, I am so far from rueing any thing, that I have done that day, in my appearing for Christ and his cause, that I would heartily (wish, if I were to live) to see as many men every year for the defence of the gospel gathered together, and I would count it my honour to be with them. It was my desire to the Lord, that he would let me die a martyr, and I sought it of him ; and blessed be his name he hath answered me according to that scripture, ‘ Delight thyself in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desire of thy heart ;’ and now he hath granted me the desire of my heart on earth, and I shall have the desire of my heart throughout all eternity ; and what would any of you have more, Sirs ? And now, my friends, I am not a whit afraid to go up this ladder, and to lay down my life this day ; for it is the best day that ever yet mine eyes saw ; and I am as sure of my interest, as the word of God, and the Lord’s Spirit by his word can make me ;”—whereat he smiled. Afterwards he said, “ I bless the Lord again for honouring me so highly, as to lay down my life for this cause.” And turning himself about to some friends, he said, “ If I had another life to lay down to-morrow, it were something, but he will accept of this as the widow’s mite, for I have no more.” And being up almost to the top of the ladder, plucking up the napkin, he said, “ Now I am going to lay down this life, and to step out of time into eternity, and if I had as many lives as there are hairs on mine head, and drops of blood in my body, I would willingly lay them down for Christ, and for you all that are here upon Christ’s account. It is like, you may think this a frothy word, but it is the word of a dying man.” And turning to his friends, he said, “ Seek him, for he is well worth the seeking ; credit him, Sirs, give him meikle credit, for he is well worth the crediting, and blame yourselves if you want ; for he wants but employment, and he likes well to be employed : and make the bargain sure. Take hills and mountains, or wood, or trees, or any thing that’s near to you, to witness ; and see if once ye can get a hair in his neck, for he will be as good as his promise ; get once his promise, and I warrant you.”

4. JOHN WADDEL.

JOHN WADDEL, being on the ladder, said, “ As for my accession to the bishop’s death, wherefore we are sentenced to die in this place, I declare I was never over the water of Forth, in this country, before this time. I have only two words to say to you, my friends, for I

shall not trouble you with much speaking, because I am not expert in it, but only to let you know, that I am not come here to die as a fool, for I am sentenced to die here, because I would not call it *rebellion*—my being with my friends at Bothwell-bridge, and because I would not take that bond, binding me hereafter, never to lift arms against the king nor his authority; which thing in conscience I could not do: for whatever others think of it, to me it says, that it is a denying of all appearances for Christ and his cause, that hath formerly been: and likewise it says to me, that we shall never any more lift arms for the defence of Christ's gospel against any party whatsoever that seems to oppose it, which is far from the word of God—'If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him,'—and the Covenants, National and Solemn League, which was publicly burnt in our nation (for which God in his own time will yet arise) which we are bound to maintain." And turning to his friends, he said, "1. I am here this day to lay down my life, in opposition to, and to be a witness against all those wrongs done to our Lord and his interests, and to testify against popery, prelacy, and malignancy, and indulgence first and last, and against all things contrary to sound doctrine whatsoever. And I bear my testimony unto, and own our Covenants, National and Solemn League—adhering to our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 2. I have this day to say, that because we and the rest of the people of God, that desire to own him, and adhere to his ways, are branded with Quakerism and Jesuitism,—I therefore leave my testimony against all these errors; and more particularly I do, because they are the only party now in Scotland that cleave to him and his ways, that are branded with it. And so, as a dying man this day, (smiling) I enter my testimony against all those that are contrary to the word of God and sound doctrine; and declare before him whom I must shortly appear before, and before you all, we own no such thing." Next he said, "I here protest against that abominable cess for the down-bearing of the work of God, and for the managing and strengthening the hands of evil-doers, I shall be a standing witness against all that have paid, or shall persist or go on in paying it hereafter, unless they repent. Yea, I shall be a hanging witness against them; and although my body will rot, yet the witness shall stand sure." And going to prayer, he said, "Now, Sirs, I am not a whit discouraged to see my three brethren hanging before mine eyes, nor before all this multitude to pray." And then he prayed.*

5. JOHN CLYDE.

JOHN CLYDE, after he had gone to the ladder, said, "I think our being fetched here is like that which we have, in scripture, about Herodias' suit to Herod anent John the Baptist's head, to gratify the insatiableness of that lewd woman: nothing would satisfy the lust of our persecutors but our blood, and in this manner and place, to gratify the bishop's friends. But the ground of my being sentenced is, because I was found in arms with that poor handful at Bothwell-

* Naphtali, pp. 502—504.

bridge, and would not call it *rebellion*, and because I would not take that bond,—which thing I had in my offer, and my life upon the taking of it, and was threatened by some to take it, and allured and persuaded by others,—but which I could not in conscience do, because it binds me hereafter that I should not appear for Christ and his cause. And I durst not do it, Sirs, for I was not sure of my life, no not one moment; and likewise, I durst not procure the wrath of God at such a rate; for I judge the loss of my soul to be more hazardful, than the loss of the life of my body, and likewise more hazard in offending of God, than in gaining the greatest advantage in the world. I could not stay at home, but judged it my duty to come forth, for I could not see how I could evite that curse,—‘Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly, those that would not come out to the help of the Lord against the mighty.’ And I bless the Lord for keeping me straight;—I desire to speak it to the commendation of free grace;—and this I am speaking from my own experience, that there are none who will lippen to God and depend upon him for direction, but they shall be kept straight and right; but to be promised to be kept from tribulation, *that* is not the bargain, for he hath said, that through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom; for he deals not with us as Satan does, for Satan lets us see the bonniest side of the tentation, but our Lord Jesus lets us see the roughest side and the blackest,—after *that* the sweetest thing comes; and he tells us the worst thing that will happen to us. For he hath not promised to keep us from trouble, but he hath promised to be with us in it, and what needs more? I bless the Lord for keeping me to this very hour; for little would I have thought a twelve-month since, that the Lord would have taken a poor ploughman lad, and have honoured me so highly, as to have made me first appear for him, and then keep me straight, and now hath kept me to this very hour to lay down my life for him.” At the ladder foot he said to his brother, “Weep not for me, brother, but weep for yourself, and the poor land, and seek God and make him sure for yourself, and he shall be better to you than ten brethren. Now, farewell all friends and relations, farewell brother, sister, and mother; and welcome Lord Jesus; into thy hands I commit my spirit!” And lifting up the napkin off his face he said, “Dear friends, be not discouraged because of the cross, nor at this ye have seen this day, for I hope you have seen no discouragement in me, and you shall see no more!”*

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THE
LAST WORDS
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DYING TESTIMONIES
OF THE
SCOTS WORTHIES.

PART THIRD:

COMPREHENDING TESTIMONIES THAT WERE EMITTED, BETWEEN
THE YEARS 1680 AND 1688.

I. DAVID HACKSTON.

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* In reference to the humiliating treatment which he received while alive, and the inhuman cruelty which marked his execution, the reader may peruse the two following extracts from Wodrow's History.

“ Upon the account of his being taken, the Council, July 24, gave the following orders about him :—‘ The magistrates of Edinburgh are appointed, as soon

before the Justiciary, but having declined its authority as he had already declined that of the King and Council, he was forthwith sentenced; and executed accordingly on the 30th of July 1680, at the cross of Edinburgh. His Testimony to the truth for which he suffered is contained in the following Letters, written shortly before his death.]

1. TO HIS CHRISTIAN FRIEND N——.

“Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 26th, 1680.—Dear Acquaintance, I know, this late dispensation of Providence will occasion much sadness to you, and other lovers of the Lord’s truth, now in this day; when so few, by their practice, prove themselves to be zealous for God, or lovers of his truth,—but, instead of that growth in the graces of God’s Spirit, and stedfastness which should be in Christians, have made defection from the truth, and are fallen from their first love, to the strengthening the hands of usurpers of the crown of Christ, in their

as the body of D. Hackston of Rathillet is brought to the Water-Gate, to receive him, and mount him on a bare backed horse with his face to the tail, and his feet tied beneath his belly, and his hands fastened with ropes; that the executioner with head covered, and his coat, lead his horse up the street to the Tolbooth, the said Hackston being bareheaded; that the three other prisoners be conveyed on foot, bareheaded, after him, with their hands tied to a goad of iron: ordain the said executioner to carry the head of Cameron on a halbert, from the Water-Gate to the Council house, that no meat or drink be given to Hackston after he is in prison, but what is prepared in the master of the Tolbooth’s house; that none speak with him, or any letter be conveyed to him; that the master of the Tolbooth have a special care of his person, as he will be answerable, life for life.’ One of the bailies of Edinburgh, and John Vanse, master of the Tolbooth, are called, and these orders given them.

“No reflections are necessary upon these severe orders. In the afternoon, he and the other prisoners were examined before the Council, but the particulars are not insert in their books. July 27, they order the advocate to pursue a criminal process against him upon Thursday, and reserve the appointment of the time and manner of his execution to themselves.”

“July 29, the Council, the day before Rathillet’s trial, determine the manner of his execution: they well knew his judges would find him guilty; yet this seems an extraordinary step. It stands in their books as follows: ‘That his body be drawn backward on a hurdle to the cross of Edinburgh; that there be an high scaffold erected a little above the cross, where, in the first place, his right hand is to be struck off, and after some time his left hand: then he is to be hanged up and cut down alive, his bowels to be taken out, and his heart shown to the people by the hangman; then his heart and his bowels to be burnt in a fire prepared for that purpose on the scaffold; that afterwards his head be cut off, and his body divided into four quarters; his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of his quarters with both his hands to be affixed at St. Andrews, another quarter at Glasgow, a third at Leith, a fourth at Burntisland; that none presume to be in mourning for him, or any coffin brought; that no persons be suffered to be on the scaffold with him, save the two bailies, the executioner, and his servants; that he be allowed to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people; that the heads of Cameron and John Fowler be affixed on the Netherbow; that Hackston’s and Cameron’s heads be affixed on higher poles than the rest.’ These orders, with such as were before given at his coming into Edinburgh, are so spiteful, inhuman, and barbarous, that I wonder how they were fallen upon by the managers, or what they could design by them.”—*Wodrow’s Hist.* v. ii.

unlawful encroachments on the privileges of the Son of God. Wherefore I entreat you, and all others, as you would not offend God, and provoke him to more anger, do not murmur, but bless and praise him, and submit to him in all humility; for if this be one of the steps of Zion's deliverance, and God's glory, why should not we praise him for every thing? If we had the manner of our delivery at our carving, we would spoil it.—He is the wisdom of the Father, who sits at the helm and orders all affairs. The faith of this would silence all suggestions from Satan, our own hearts, and misbelief. I desire you would charge all that have love or affection to me, not to be sad on my account, but rather to rejoice on my behalf, that God hath so honoured me in all I have been trysted with: for, as he took me when I was a slave to Satan and sin, and cast his love upon me, and plucked me as a brand out of the fire, and brought me into covenant with him, to promote and carry forward his work, without fear of what man can do unto me; and as he helped me to make the bargain with him upon good terms, which was a renouncing of my own strength, and a resolution to do all in his strength; so now he hath been faithful in all things to me, and hath furnished me sufficiently for what he hath called me to, and hath passed by my many gross failings and breaches of my conditions to him, and hath done to me above what I could ask of him. O that I could commend him to all, and stir up all to fear, admire, and praise him, and believe on him! But the lukewarmness and want of love to God, and indifferency in Christ's matters, (which in his condescendency to his church he hath reserved as his declarative glory) and neutrality in these things, are come to so great a height among professors, that, I think, God is laying a stumbling-block before them, one after another, that when they are fallen (whom he will have to fall) he may be glorified in his justice, by bringing that stroke of vengeance that seems to be hanging over these lands;—because of the fearful idolatry, perjury, bloodshed, blasphemy, and other abominations, the whole land is, this day, guilty of. Think it not strange that I say, all are guilty; there are none free, nor shall be reputed free in the sight of God, but mourners in Zion. Lord grant repentance, and a spirit of mourning; brokenness and contrition of spirit is the only sacrifice well-pleasing unto God; and I prove all guilty. First, our representatives, (and so we in them) established these sins, in our national decrees, which we have homologate in owning them ever after; and much more have we homologate their sins, in contributing, one way or other, to the strengthening of their hands against God;—as alas, but few be free of this, this day! O that preachers would preach repentance, and professors would exhort one another to mourn, in secret and together, because of sin; and with their mourning would believe;—for these are very consistent together. I find flesh and blood great enemies to faith, and friends, yea, fosterers of sinful fears. It is above nature to believe, especially when dispensations seem to contradict our faith: but if any hath faith towards God concerning me, let not this brangle their faith, but rather strengthen; there is nothing can contradict what God hath determined; but over the belly of all opposition he will perfect his work in and by me, either to a

remarkable delivery, or through-bearing, as he sees most for his own glory.

“ Wherefore let us submit to his will, and lie before the throne, in behalf of Zion and her children ; and O ! that you yourself would, and desire others that are faithful, to hold up my case to Zion’s God, that he would glorify himself in me, and let your prayers be in faith ; ‘ To him that believeth, all things are possible.’ There are many feckless, misbelieving prayers, that prevail not with God because of unbelief. I know these sufferings will be a great stumbling to many, otherwise gracious, but let it not be to you : I bless the Lord, it is not (as yet) so to me, but rather the power, yea, the love of God to me ; for it was not altogether unexpected unto me : for (not to reflect upon any that have sealed that truth and cause, as we stated it, with their blood) I cannot deny, but it was over the belly of conscience, that I joined with some of our party ; for some of them had not their garments clean of the late defections, and there was too much pride amongst us : neither dare I allow, that taking of satisfaction for practices which are the homologating of the public sins, which we did about half an hour before our break ; which checked me exceedingly in the time. I think, real sorrow would make men like the prodigal, to think themselves not worthy to be employed in that work ; real evidences of reconciliation with God should be seen before admission to such an employment. O that all would take warning, by my reproof, not to venture to follow any man over conscience ! There were choice godly men among us, but one Achan will make Israel to fall. I fear the want of faith among us, first and last, and all alongst our late business : I know, many mouths will be opened against me because of what I did before this business, but I dare not but speak it,—this is a stumbling-block laid to drive them to more sin ; and alas ! that I did not more to purge us of every sin, especially known sin among us. These that abode within, and came not out with us, let them remember Meroz’s curse ; I am afraid, God will think them not free of our blood, for not joining to our help.

“ And now, knowing ye will be anxious to know how it was then, and how it hath been since with me. First, We getting notice of a party out seeking us, sent two on Wednesday night late, to know their motion, and lay on a muir side all night ; and Thursday, about ten hours, we went to take some meat, and sent out other two, and desired them to consult with the first two who had not come to us, but were lying down to sleep, who all four returned and told us, it was unnecessary to send any for intelligence, they having secured it. Whereupon, after we had gotten some meat, we came to a piece of grass, and lay down, and presently we were all alarmed that they were upon us ; and so making ready, we saw them coming fast on ; and that about three or four hours in the afternoon ; and each one resolving to fight, I rode off to seek a *strength* for our advantage, and being desired by a countryman to go into such a place for the best strength, I went, and they followed ; but coming to it, I found we could go no further ; and so turning and drawing up quickly, eight horse on the right hand with R. D. and fifteen on the left with me, being no more ;

the foot not being forty, and many of them ill armed, in the midst. I asked all, if they were willing to fight? who all said, Yes; especially I. G. The enemy advanced fast, whom I took to be above one hundred and twelve, well armed and horsed; who sending first about twenty dragoons on foot to take the wind of us, which we seeing, sent a party on foot to meet them, and the rest of us advanced fast on the enemy, being a strong body of horse coming hard upon us; whereupon when we were joined, our horse fired first, and wounded and killed some of them, both horse and foot: our horse advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other; I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, I then rode in amongst them, and went out at a side, without any wrong or wound; I was pursued by several, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they followed me, and sometimes I followed them; at length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance; we both being on foot, fought it with small swords, without advantage to one another; but at length closing, I was stricken down with three on horseback behind me; and receiving three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life,—which I submitted to. They searched me, and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much; where were brought several of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of brave resolute men. What more of our men were killed, I did not see, nor know; but as they told me after, the field was theirs. I was brought toward Douglas. They used me civilly, and brought me drink out of a house by the way. At Douglas, Janet Cleland was kind to me, and brought a surgeon to me, who did but little to my wounds, only stanchd the blood.

“Next morning, I was brought to Lanark, and brought before Dalziel, Lord Ross, and some others; who asked many questions at me, but I not satisfying them with answers, Dalziel did threaten to roast me; and carrying me to the tolbooth, caused me to be bound most barbarously, and cast me down, where I lay till Saturday morning, without any, except soldiers, admitted to speak to me, or look my wounds, or give me any ease whatsoever. And next morning they brought me and John Pollock,* and other two of us, near two miles on foot, I being without shoes, where that party which had broken us at first, received us. They were commanded by Earlshall. We were horsed, civilly used by them on the way, and brought to Edinburgh about four in the afternoon, and carried about the north side of the town to the foot of the Canongate, where the town magistrates were, who received us; and setting me on a horse with my face backward, and the other three bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron's head carried on a halbert before me, and another head in a sack, which I knew not, on a lad's back; and so we were carried

* With respect to this individual who seems to have been engaged in the same cause, Wodrow had been able to ascertain nothing besides what is mentioned in this place, to which he refers the reader. It does not appear that there were any farther proceedings against him of a public nature, otherwise they must have been mentioned in some of the records which he consulted.

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PART THIRD:

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“No reflections are necessary upon these severe orders. In the afternoon, he and the other prisoners were examined before the Council, but the particulars are not insert in their books. July 27, they order the advocate to pursue a criminal process against him upon Thursday, and reserve the appointment of the time and manner of his execution to themselves.”

“July 29, the Council, the day before Rathillet’s trial, determine the manner of his execution: they well knew his judges would find him guilty; yet this seems an extraordinary step. It stands in their books as follows: ‘That his body be drawn backward on a hurdle to the cross of Edinburgh; that there be an high scaffold erected a little above the cross, where, in the first place, his right hand is to be struck off, and after some time his left hand: then he is to be hanged up and cut down alive, his bowels to be taken out, and his heart shown to the people by the hangman; then his heart and his bowels to be burnt in a fire prepared for that purpose on the scaffold; that afterwards his head be cut off, and his body divided into four quarters; his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of his quarters with both his hands to be affixed at St. Andrews, another quarter at Glasgow, a third at Leith, a fourth at Burntisland; that none presume to be in mourning for him, or any coffin brought; that no persons be suffered to be on the scaffold with him, save the two bailies, the executioner, and his servants; that he be allowed to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people; that the heads of Cameron and John Fowler be affixed on the Netherbow; that Hackston’s and Cameron’s heads be affixed on higher poles than the rest.’ These orders, with such as were before given at his coming into Edinburgh, are so spiteful, inhuman, and barbarous, that I wonder how they were fallen upon by the managers, or what they could design by them.”—*Wodrow’s Hist.* v. ii.

unlawful encroachments on the privileges of the Son of God. Wherefore I entreat you, and all others, as you would not offend God, and provoke him to more anger, do not murmur, but bless and praise him, and submit to him in all humility; for if this be one of the steps of Zion's deliverance, and God's glory, why should not we praise him for every thing? If we had the manner of our delivery at our carving, we would spoil it.—He is the wisdom of the Father, who sits at the helm and orders all affairs. The faith of this would silence all suggestions from Satan, our own hearts, and misbelief. I desire you would charge all that have love or affection to me, not to be sad on my account, but rather to rejoice on my behalf, that God hath so honoured me in all I have been trysted with: for, as he took me when I was a slave to Satan and sin, and cast his love upon me, and plucked me as a brand out of the fire, and brought me into covenant with him, to promote and carry forward his work, without fear of what man can do unto me; and as he helped me to make the bargain with him upon good terms, which was a renouncing of my own strength, and a resolution to do all in his strength; so now he hath been faithful in all things to me, and hath furnished me sufficiently for what he hath called me to, and hath passed by my many gross failings and breaches of my conditions to him, and hath done to me above what I could ask of him. O that I could commend him to all, and stir up all to fear, admire, and praise him, and believe on him! But the lukewarmness and want of love to God, and indifferency in Christ's matters, (which in his condescendency to his church he hath reserved as his declarative glory) and neutrality in these things, are come to so great a height among professors, that, I think, God is laying a stumbling-block before them, one after another, that when they are fallen (whom he will have to fall) he may be glorified in his justice, by bringing that stroke of vengeance that seems to be hanging over these lands;—because of the fearful idolatry, perjury, bloodshed, blasphemy, and other abominations, the whole land is, this day, guilty of. Think it not strange that I say, all are guilty; there are none free, nor shall be reputed free in the sight of God, but mourners in Zion. Lord grant repentance, and a spirit of mourning; brokenness and contrition of spirit is the only sacrifice well-pleasing unto God; and I prove all guilty. First, our representatives, (and so we in them) established these sins, in our national decrees, which we have homologate in owning them ever after; and much more have we homologate their sins, in contributing, one way or other, to the strengthening of their hands against God;—as alas, but few be free of this, this day! O that preachers would preach repentance, and professors would exhort one another to mourn, in secret and together, because of sin; and with their mourning would believe;—for these are very consistent together. I find flesh and blood great enemies to faith, and friends, yea, fosterers of sinful fears. It is above nature to believe, especially when dispensations seem to contradict our faith: but if any hath faith towards God concerning me, let not this brangle their faith, but rather strengthen; there is nothing can contradict what God hath determined; but over the belly of all opposition he will perfect his work in and by me, either to a

confidence I have of this truth. First, ye will find it, Job xix. 26. 'And though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.' Ver. 27. 'Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.' And likewise, ye will find it written in Isa. xxx. 33. 'For Tophet is prepared of old: yea, for the king it is prepared, he hath made it deep and large, the pile thereof,' &c. Now, my dear friends, I hope you will find nothing here but what is written in the scriptures, for this is of a certain truth, that it will be so both for kings, nobles, and ignobles, if they do not repent and turn from the evil of their deeds, and turn unto the Lord. But alas! there is no appearance of turning from their evil deeds. The Lord has been shoaring (as it were) this land with sore strokes, yet we may say, as the prophet says, Isa. i. 5., to that wicked people, 'Why should ye be stricken any more?' for the more they are stricken, the more they revolt: but stay still yet, there is a day coming when they shall be made to hear, whether they will or not; Mic. vi. 9. there is a voice of the Lord calling to the city, compared to a rod: but alas! it is very sad to think upon it, that there are so few that are taking warning from the word of the Lord, as there is. However, they will be made to hear, and take with the warning, little for their profit, 'when the Lord shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, taking vengeance upon all them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.' And now I shall say no more to this purpose.

"But I am to leave my testimony against Popery, and Prelacy, and Quakerism, and Erastianism, and all abominations that are abounding in this land. And likewise, I let all the world know, wheresoever this paper of mine comes to be known, that I die in the faith of this,—that the Lord shall have a church in this land, whether the devil or men will or not. We have his word for it; there shall be a generation that shall be counted to the Lord for a people that shall serve him, whether king or council will or not, let them do their best, and the bishops and all their underlings, and all their attendants: if hell, and death, and wicked men, and all were set in opposition against it, I say, our King Christ will be head of his church, say against it who will: and he shall reign in Zion till all his enemies be under his feet. Now, I shall say no more, but only two or three words anent the thing I was accused of, by those that pursued me, and that was the king's advocate, and bishop Sharp's brother, anent the bishop's killing. And whether I had spoken of it or not, there is nobody, but may know, that it was the only thing that made them so sorely to insist against me; I wish the Lord may not lay it to their charge: for *I never saw that man whom they called the bishop of St. Andrews*, that I knew by another man; and the other ground of my sentence was the killing of a butcher,* who confessed that he committed both

* The reader must observe that this act was not charged home in the indictment on John Clyde, or any of his companions, *personally*—but only as the act of the party of insurgents, with whom he and they had thought it their duty to join. It may even be questioned how far it was the act of that body as a whole—but at all events, the motives which led to it were far other than those

adultery and buggery, and murdered a man of late at Glasgow ; and when as himself did the most horrible acts that ever man did, yet they called the killing of him murder. The third ground of my sentence was, that I was at the late rebellion that was at Bothwell-bridge, as they call it, the which I never held as rebellion, nor counted any thing that was done that way rebellion. I bless the Lord that ever he counted me worthy to bear witness to such things as these were. The fourth ground of my sentence was the hearing of rebellious ministers, that are holden out, as rendezvouses of rebellion, both in field and houses. My soul blesseth the Lord that ever I was witness to such meetings, either in the fields or in houses, as these were. I bear witness and give my testimony to such meetings as these were. For I may say, that if ever the Lord had a poor church in Scotland, that he has some [ministers] who have been wonderfully owned and carried on by the Lord's powerful and mighty hand, not only to the conviction of some, but to the conversion of others. And I leave my testimony to this persecuted and borne-down work of our Lord Jesus Christ, and leave my testimony against all the opposers thereof, that they are enemies to the cross of Christ. And now I shall say no more concerning these things:—But 1. I declare my testimony against all these forementioned things, and against all bonds that are not consistent with the word of God, and are not agreeable to the Solemn League and Covenant, and against all declarations and cesses that are for the army, to bring down the work of reformation, as it was once owned and advanced in this island of Britain and Ireland, and especially in Scotland ; which was once the best reformed church that was in the whole earth. And I leave my testimony to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms and Confession of Faith. 2. And likewise I declare, that I lay not my life unwillingly down this day, but freely, without any restraint or constraint. Next, I declare, that I am free of all the crimes that they lay to me, for I was ever obedient to the king and his lawful authority, and do commend every one in their places and stations thereto, so far as his laws consist with the word of God. 3. I declare, that it was for the defence of the gospel that I arose, and that of free-will, not allured, nor enticed by any body or person in the world. 4. I declare, that I durst not take the bond that was laid to me, and go over the belly of my conscience, and sin against God, and durst not take liberty to my body with prejudice to my soul ; for, that word was borne in upon me, that *those that save their lives, shall lose their lives*. 5. I bless the Lord, that since I got my sentence I have been wonderfully carried through, not having so much as an hard thought of any thing that I have done. Yea, the Lord hath wonderfully upholden me since I got my sentence. 6. I

to which it was ascribed in the terms of the charge. The individual in question seems to have been chargeable with the grossest crimes—and it was for these crimes, and not for his zeal or diligence in serving his majesty, that he was condemned and executed. But, indeed, as we have already stated, the indictment against these five individuals is full of the most glaring untruths and misrepresentations in regard to the Bothwell insurrection, and this, as Wodrow remarks, is undoubtedly one of them.

shall say no more to this, but desire my blessing to all my friends in Christ; and now, I must bid farewell to all earthly pleasures and enjoyments, all kinsfolk and relations, and farewell to my loving mother, and all other friends, and welcome Christ, heaven, and eternity, and farewell sorrow and sighing, and farewell losses and crosses, punishments and banishments, farewell all earthly sorrows, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, for evermore; 'Even so, come, Lord Jesus, come quickly,' and receive my spirit! Amen.

Sic Sub.—JOHN CLYDE.*

XXIX. THOMAS BROWN AND OTHERS.

SECT. III. THEIR DYING SPEECH.

[The designation we have given to the following paper is in a great measure arbitrary. We conceive it, however, justified by the probable design with which it was written, and for any thing certain, that appears to the contrary—which it actually served. It seems to embrace a brief view of the principal topics discussed in their Joint Testimony, which they probably reduced to this more concise form, with the intention of delivering it at the place of execution. Whether it was so delivered or not, we have not ascertained. But at all events, it being necessary to distinguish it by a separate title, the present one seemed proper, from certain forms of expression employed in it, especially towards the beginning.]

"Men and Brethren,—We are come here this day in your presence to lay down this life of ours, being in our own defence, and defence of the gospel, as ye know we are bound in the covenants, to defend our religion, lives, liberties, and all in our stations. My dear friends, mind your vows and engagements, that ye are lying under, and the Church of Scotland is lying under this day. Now we come to give you an account of the reasons, why we are come here to this place of execution, this day. The thing was, our refusing of a bond, which we could not take, no not for our lives, which were offered us, upon condition of subscribing it. 1. The first thing that was in it, was that we should acknowledge our being at Bothwell-bridge to be *rebellion*, which we profess to be our duty. 2. We are commanded never to lift arms against the king and his authority, in which authority these acts establishing prelacy and the supremacy are included. So we are commanded to maintain and defend them, never to rise against them, which we know to be contrary to sound doctrine. So according to our covenant we give our witness and testimony against them, and as for rebellion, we never intended any such thing against the king or his lawful authority, which we are all sworn to defend, with our lives, and all that we have, in our station. But our appearing at Bothwell-

* Naphtali, pp. 488—495.

bridge we count no rebellion, but our bounden duty, and no sin, for it was grievous to our hearts to see the work of God borne down, and trode under foot by a generation that have discovered themselves to be stated enemies to the cross of Christ, by shutting up his faithful servants of the ministry, some in the rocks of the sea, part also banished, others expelled to corners, private persons being put to flee to mountains, rocks, dens, and caves of the earth; so, we thought ourselves obliged in our station to appear there with others, for the defence of the gospel, according as we are all sworn in the National and Solemn League and Covenants, and Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, to defend the work of reformation against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, and all manner of unsound doctrines and wicked practices abounding in these times. So also, my friends, when we considered the bonds of these covenants that we are all lying under, we durst not subscribe any other bonds contrary unto them. Wherefore, we desire all the Lord's people, in so far as it may consist with the word of God, [to consider] the engagements of these covenants that are lying upon them. As for our part, when we considered the obligations of them, we thought it was not a time for us to lie at ease in Zion, lest we should bring the curse of Meroz upon ourselves, if 'we went not out to the help of the Lord against the mighty;' for ye know it is said in the word, 'Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?' So we give our witness and testimony to the cross of Christ, and blessed be the Lord that ever we appeared at Bothwell-bridge for the defence of his persecuted cause, which within a little we shall seal with our blood.

"We desire you all not to cast a reproach on that late appearing at Bothwell-bridge, lest ye state God an enemy against you; for we bless him that ever he fell upon such a method with the like of us, as to make us appear for so honourable a cause as that.

"We give our joint witness and testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and all other corruptions abounding in these loose times, particularly against bishops, curates, and malignants, and all who connive with them in that black course they are in for the present, and strengthen the hands of the adversary, in carrying on a course of defection. And we give our testimony against indifferent and lukewarm professors, who follow Christ as the times make for them. We give our testimony against all profligate and wicked livers, who know not God, nor will acknowledge him to be Head of his church, 'whose judgment lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.' We give our testimony against that calumny cast upon presbyterians, that they are not loyal to their king, which aspersion as false we abhor; so we desire you all to obey your king in all his lawful commands, according as ye are bound in the word of God, and your covenants: but when God's laws and the king's laws are contrary one to another, do not stretch your consciences for the saving of your life; for he that seeks 'to save his life, shall lose it,' saith Christ; 'but he who loseth his life, for my sake, shall find it.'

"Likewise, we give our testimony against the taking of unlawful bonds or declarations for the saving of the life, for which cause we come here to lay down our lives, even for refusing to take such

bonds ; we bless the Lord who hath kept us free from these things, and we hope to praise Him through all eternity : for since he called us to the hardest task, which is not hard at all through his help, but very refreshful,—he has fully made out unto us, ‘ that he sends none a warfare upon their own charges ;’ and also that promise in Isa. xli. 10. ‘ Fear thou not, for I am with thee ; be not dismayed, for I am thy God ; I will strengthen thee ; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.’ So, my friends, ‘ Cast not away your confidence, which hath a great recompense of reward ; for ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promise :’ no more,—but we commit ‘ you to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up unto the day of redemption.’ Ye will get our mind more fully in another paper elsewhere. Farewell time, and all earthly enjoyments ; welcome blessed Christ ; into thy hands we commit our spirits.

Sic Sub :—

THOMAS BROWN, ANDREW SWORD, JAMES WOOD,
JOHN CLYDE, JOHN WADDEL.*

XXX. THOMAS BROWN AND OTHERS.

SECT. IV. THEIR LAST WORDS.

[We have stated it as uncertain, whether the preceding speech was actually delivered by these Five sufferers. And though we have no decisive evidence on the point to the contrary, it seems most probable that it was not, particularly from the following title prefixed to the present article as given in Naphtali :—“ A short sum of what was delivered upon the place of execution, by these five men who suffered at Magus Moor in Fife, being sentenced to die in that place, upon the account of the bishop of St. Andrews’ death.”—From the latter part of this announcement, it has frequently been supposed that these individuals were charged or chargeable with the death of the Primate. The contrary of this we have already shown to have been the case.—It is pleasing to observe from the details which follow, that the same unshrinking resolution, decided principle, and stedfast confidence, which characterize their testimonies, were evident in their last and dying moments.]

1. THOMAS BROWN.

THOMAS BROWN was the first of the Five that was executed. After he was settled upon the ladder, he said, that Providence having ordered his coming there, to die in that place upon the account of the bishop’s death : he behoved to declare unto the world, and before these witnesses, his innocence. “ Some of you,” said he, “ may judge our dying and hanging here is upon the account of the

* Naphtali, pp. 496—499.

bishop's death; and that I was accessory thereunto: but I must tell you as to that, that I was never in this country before this time; but the ground of my sentence is, because I will not call my being with that party that was in arms at Bothwell-bridge, *rebellion*: and because I will not take that *bond* so vigorously pressed by adversaries, and persuaded unto by friends: *Therefore* I am here to offer my life a sacrifice to God. And for my part, in rising in arms I intended no rebellion, but was there with that party in defence of the gospel, which I judged my duty, and I hope you yourselves cannot deny it. As for these favours offered to, and received by many preaching the gospel, entering through the indulgence first and last, I look upon them as the ruin of the Church of Scotland." And speaking of the work of reformation, he cited that scripture, Lev. xxvi. 25. 'That the Lord would arise, and avenge the quarrel of his broken covenant;' and that in Ezek. xvii. 15. 'Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered?' "And though that poor handful had no success, yet it hath been the lot of the people of God in former times, that 'the children of Ephraim turned their backs, though they lacked neither bow nor sword.'" After he had prayed, he blessed the Lord, that if this day every hair of his head were a man, and every drop of his blood were a life, he would cordially and heartily lay them down for Christ and the cause for which he is now sentenced.*

2. ANDREW SWORD.

ANDREW SWORD sang the xxxiv. Psalm, and thereafter said, "The bishop of St. Andrews' death I am free of, having lived four or five score miles from this, and having never been in this place before: neither did I ever see a bishop in the face that I knew to be a bishop. My coming here is for refusing to take the bond at Edinburgh: I bless the Lord for keeping me from that snare: I bless the Lord for keeping me since I came to prison, both at Edinburgh and St. Andrews. I exhort you all to seek the Lord, and not to fear suffering, but to credit the Lord for through-bearing. I bear testimony against the wicked abominations of these times, named by him, that is gone before me: and I cannot but commend Christ and his cross to you. I would not exchange my lot for a thousand worlds. Farewell all created comforts." Then he prayed before he died.†

3. JAMES WOOD.

JAMES WOOD being upon the ladder, said, "As for our coming here upon the account of the bishop's death, for my own part, I was never in this part of the country before, nor ever saw I a bishop in my life, that I could say *there* was the man. I am here this day to lay down my life that God hath given me, because I could not call my appearance in arms with those at Bothwell-bridge, *rebellion*; and because I would not take the bond. As for my own part, I am so far from calling or thinking it rebellion, that I bless God I was a man to be there with that party, though a man most unable for war, and

* Naphtali, pp. 499, 500.

† Ibid. p. 500.

unskilful because of my infirm arm. And all the arms I had was a halbert upon my shoulder ; and it was not for any thing I did or could do with it ; but I behoved to be there, to show my good will to the work of God, and the respect I had to the interest of our Lord. For I got a command or charge from God, as though he had been a most strict Master, to go and join with that party, and venture my life, which I did most cheerfully : and I bless God that gave me a life to lay down for his cause ; and though in remarkable providence he took not my life in that day, yet for holy and good ends, he spared it to lay it down this day. And now, my friends, I am so far from rueing any thing, that I have done that day, in my appearing for Christ and his cause, that I would heartily (wish, if I were to live) to see as many men every year for the defence of the gospel gathered together, and I would count it my honour to be with them. It was my desire to the Lord, that he would let me die a martyr, and I sought it of him ; and blessed be his name he hath answered me according to that scripture, ‘ Delight thyself in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desire of thy heart ;’ and now he hath granted me the desire of my heart on earth, and I shall have the desire of my heart throughout all eternity ; and what would any of you have more, Sirs ? And now, my friends, I am not a whit afraid to go up this ladder, and to lay down my life this day ; for it is the best day that ever yet mine eyes saw ; and I am as sure of my interest, as the word of God, and the Lord’s Spirit by his word can make me ;”—whereat he smiled. Afterwards he said, “ I bless the Lord again for honouring me so highly, as to lay down my life for this cause.” And turning himself about to some friends, he said, “ If I had another life to lay down to-morrow, it were something, but he will accept of this as the widow’s mite, for I have no more.” And being up almost to the top of the ladder, plucking up the napkin, he said, “ Now I am going to lay down this life, and to step out of time into eternity, and if I had as many lives as there are hairs on mine head, and drops of blood in my body, I would willingly lay them down for Christ, and for you all that are here upon Christ’s account. It is like, you may think this a frothy word, but it is the word of a dying man.” And turning to his friends, he said, “ Seek him, for he is well worth the seeking ; credit him, Sirs, give him meikle credit, for he is well worth the crediting, and blame yourselves if you want ; for he wants but employment, and he likes well to be employed : and make the bargain sure. Take hills and mountains, or wood, or trees, or any thing that’s near to you, to witness ; and see if once ye can get a hair in his neck, for he will be as good as his promise ; get once his promise, and I warrant you.”

4. JOHN WADDEL.

JOHN WADDEL, being on the ladder, said, “ As for my accession to the bishop’s death, wherefore we are sentenced to die in this place, I declare I was never over the water of Forth, in this country, before this time. I have only two words to say to you, my friends, for I

shall not trouble you with much speaking, because I am not expert in it, but only to let you know, that I am not come here to die as a fool, for I am sentenced to die here, because I would not call it *rebellion*—my being with my friends at Bothwell-bridge, and because I would not take that bond, binding me hereafter, never to lift arms against the king nor his authority; which thing in conscience I could not do: for whatever others think of it, to me it says, that it is a denying of all appearances for Christ and his cause, that hath formerly been: and likewise it says to me, that we shall never any more lift arms for the defence of Christ's gospel against any party whatsoever that seems to oppose it, which is far from the word of God—'If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him,'—and the Covenants, National and Solemn League, which was publicly burnt in our nation (for which God in his own time will yet arise) which we are bound to maintain." And turning to his friends, he said, "1. I am here this day to lay down my life, in opposition to, and to be a witness against all those wrongs done to our Lord and his interests, and to testify against popery, prelacy, and malignancy, and indulgence first and last, and against all things contrary to sound doctrine whatsoever. And I bear my testimony unto, and own our Covenants, National and Solemn League—adhering to our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 2. I have this day to say, that because we and the rest of the people of God, that desire to own him, and adhere to his ways, are branded with Quakerism and Jesuitism,—I therefore leave my testimony against all these errors; and more particularly I do, because they are the only party now in Scotland that cleave to him and his ways, that are branded with it. And so, as a dying man this day, (smiling) I enter my testimony against all those that are contrary to the word of God and sound doctrine; and declare before him whom I must shortly appear before, and before you all, we own no such thing." Next he said, "I here protest against that abominable cess for the down-bearing of the work of God, and for the managing and strengthening the hands of evil-doers, I shall be a standing witness against all that have paid, or shall persist or go on in paying it hereafter, unless they repent. Yea, I shall be a hanging witness against them; and although my body will rot, yet the witness shall stand sure." And going to prayer, he said, "Now, Sirs, I am not a whit discouraged to see my three brethren hanging before mine eyes, nor before all this multitude to pray." And then he prayed.*

5. JOHN CLYDE.

JOHN CLYDE, after he had gone to the ladder, said, "I think our being fetched here is like that which we have, in scripture, about Herodias' suit to Herod anent John the Baptist's head, to gratify the insatiableness of that lewd woman: nothing would satisfy the lust of our persecutors but our blood, and in this manner and place, to gratify the bishop's friends. But the ground of my being sentenced is, because I was found in arms with that poor handful at Bothwell-

* Naphtali, pp. 502—504.

bridge, and would not call it *rebellion*, and because I would not take that bond,—which thing I had in my offer, and my life upon the taking of it, and was threatened by some to take it, and allured and persuaded by others,—but which I could not in conscience do, because it binds me hereafter that I should not appear for Christ and his cause. And I durst not do it, Sirs, for I was not sure of my life, no not one moment; and likewise, I durst not procure the wrath of God at such a rate; for I judge the loss of my soul to be more hazardful, than the loss of the life of my body, and likewise more hazard in offending of God, than in gaining the greatest advantage in the world. I could not stay at home, but judged it my duty to come forth, for I could not see how I could evite that curse,—‘Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly, those that would not come out to the help of the Lord against the mighty.’ And I bless the Lord for keeping me straight;—I desire to speak it to the commendation of free grace;—and this I am speaking from my own experience, that there are none who will lippen to God and depend upon him for direction, but they shall be kept straight and right; but to be promised to be kept from tribulation, *that* is not the bargain, for he hath said, that through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom; for he deals not with us as Satan does, for Satan lets us see the bonniest side of the tentation, but our Lord Jesus lets us see the roughest side and the blackest,—after *that* the sweetest thing comes; and he tells us the worst thing that will happen to us. For he hath not promised to keep us from trouble, but he hath promised to be with us in it, and what needs more? I bless the Lord for keeping me to this very hour; for little would I have thought a twelve-month since, that the Lord would have taken a poor ploughman lad, and have honoured me so highly, as to have made me first appear for him, and then keep me straight, and now hath kept me to this very hour to lay down my life for him.” At the ladder foot he said to his brother, “Weep not for me, brother, but weep for yourself, and the poor land, and seek God and make him sure for yourself, and he shall be better to you than ten brethren. Now, farewell all friends and relations, farewell brother, sister, and mother; and welcome Lord Jesus; into thy hands I commit my spirit!” And lifting up the napkin off his face he said, “Dear friends, be not discouraged because of the cross, nor at this ye have seen this day, for I hope you have seen no discouragement in me, and you shall see no more!”*

* Naphtali, p. 505.

THE
LAST WORDS
AND
DYING TESTIMONIES
OF THE
SCOTS WORTHIES.

PART THIRD:

COMPREHENDING TESTIMONIES THAT WERE EMITTED, BETWEEN
THE YEARS 1680 AND 1688.

I. DAVID HACKSTON.

[Mr. Hackston is the first instance of Martyrdom, which occurred in Scotland, since the executions that immediately followed upon the Battle of Bothwell-bridge. He was the Laird of Rathillet in Fife; and having shared in the oppressions exercised by Carmichael, the Sheriff of that county,—had engaged, on purpose to avenge them, with the party who, on the 3d of May, 1679, attacked and slew the Archbishop of St. Andrews. In this event, however, it is well known he did not participate farther than being present when it took place. But immediately after, he joined the Covenanters in Evandale, and both at Drumclog and Bothwell-bridge held a considerable command. After this, he was frequently searched for, but still escaped—till having joined the followers of Richard Cameron, and being with them when attacked at Airmoss, on the 22d of July 1680, he was, after making a stout resistance and receiving many wounds, taken prisoner and carried to Edinburgh. Here the council directed that he should receive the most contumelious usage, put him to the torture, and determined that he should die, by a mode of execution the most barbarous and revolting which can possibly be conceived.* He was brought

* In reference to the humiliating treatment which he received while alive, and the inhuman cruelty which marked his execution, the reader may peruse the two following extracts from Wodrow's History.

“Upon the account of his being taken, the Council, July 24, gave the following orders about him :—‘ The magistrates of Edinburgh are appointed, as soon

before the Justiciary, but having declined its authority as he had already declined that of the King and Council, he was forthwith sentenced; and executed accordingly on the 30th of July 1680, at the cross of Edinburgh. His Testimony to the truth for which he suffered is contained in the following Letters, written shortly before his death.]

1. TO HIS CHRISTIAN FRIEND N——.

“Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 26th, 1680.—Dear Acquaintance, I know, this late dispensation of Providence will occasion much sadness to you, and other lovers of the Lord’s truth, now in this day; when so few, by their practice, prove themselves to be zealous for God, or lovers of his truth,—but, instead of that growth in the graces of God’s Spirit, and stedfastness which should be in Christians, have made defection from the truth, and are fallen from their first love, to the strengthening the hands of usurpers of the crown of Christ, in their

as the body of D. Hackston of Rathillet is brought to the Water-Gate, to receive him, and mount him on a bare backed horse with his face to the tail, and his feet tied beneath his belly, and his hands fastened with ropes; that the executioner with head covered, and his coat, lead his horse up the street to the Tolbooth, the said Hackston being bareheaded; that the three other prisoners be conveyed on foot, bareheaded, after him, with their hands tied to a goad of iron: ordain the said executioner to carry the head of Cameron on a halbert, from the Water-Gate to the Council house, that no meat or drink be given to Hackston after he is in prison, but what is prepared in the master of the Tolbooth’s house; that none speak with him, or any letter be conveyed to him; that the master of the Tolbooth have a special care of his person, as he will be answerable, life for life.’ One of the bailies of Edinburgh, and John Vanse, master of the Tolbooth, are called, and these orders given them.

“No reflections are necessary upon these severe orders. In the afternoon, he and the other prisoners were examined before the Council, but the particulars are not insert in their books. July 27, they order the advocate to pursue a criminal process against him upon Thursday, and reserve the appointment of the time and manner of his execution to themselves.”

“July 29, the Council, the day before Rathillet’s trial, determine the manner of his execution: they well knew his judges would find him guilty; yet this seems an extraordinary step. It stands in their books as follows: ‘That his body be drawn backward on a hurdle to the cross of Edinburgh; that there be an high scaffold erected a little above the cross, where, in the first place, his right hand is to be struck off, and after some time his left hand: then he is to be hanged up and cut down alive, his bowels to be taken out, and his heart shown to the people by the hangman; then his heart and his bowels to be burnt in a fire prepared for that purpose on the scaffold; that afterwards his head be cut off, and his body divided into four quarters; his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of his quarters with both his hands to be affixed at St. Andrews, another quarter at Glasgow, a third at Leith, a fourth at Burntisland; that none presume to be in mourning for him, or any coffin brought; that no persons be suffered to be on the scaffold with him, save the two bailies, the executioner, and his servants; that he be allowed to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people; that the heads of Cameron and John Fowler be affixed on the Netherbow; that Hackston’s and Cameron’s heads be affixed on higher poles than the rest.’ These orders, with such as were before given at his coming into Edinburgh, are so spiteful, inhuman, and barbarous, that I wonder how they were fallen upon by the managers, or what they could design by them.”—*Wodrow’s Hist.* v. ii.

unlawful encroachments on the privileges of the Son of God. Wherefore I entreat you, and all others, as you would not offend God, and provoke him to more anger, do not murmur, but bless and praise him, and submit to him in all humility; for if this be one of the steps of Zion's deliverance, and God's glory, why should not we praise him for every thing? If we had the manner of our delivery at our carving, we would spoil it.—He is the wisdom of the Father, who sits at the helm and orders all affairs. The faith of this would silence all suggestions from Satan, our own hearts, and misbelief. I desire you would charge all that have love or affection to me, not to be sad on my account, but rather to rejoice on my behalf, that God hath so honoured me in all I have been trysted with: for, as he took me when I was a slave to Satan and sin, and cast his love upon me, and plucked me as a brand out of the fire, and brought me into covenant with him, to promote and carry forward his work, without fear of what man can do unto me; and as he helped me to make the bargain with him upon good terms, which was a renouncing of my own strength, and a resolution to do all in his strength; so now he hath been faithful in all things to me, and hath furnished me sufficiently for what he hath called me to, and hath passed by my many gross failings and breaches of my conditions to him, and hath done to me above what I could ask of him. O that I could commend him to all, and stir up all to fear, admire, and praise him, and believe on him! But the lukewarmness and want of love to God, and indifferency in Christ's matters, (which in his condescendency to his church he hath reserved as his declarative glory) and neutrality in these things, are come to so great a height among professors, that, I think, God is laying a stumbling-block before them, one after another, that when they are fallen (whom he will have to fall) he may be glorified in his justice, by bringing that stroke of vengeance that seems to be hanging over these lands;—because of the fearful idolatry, perjury, bloodshed, blasphemy, and other abominations, the whole land is, this day, guilty of. Think it not strange that I say, all are guilty; there are none free, nor shall be reputed free in the sight of God, but mourners in Zion. Lord grant repentance, and a spirit of mourning; brokenness and contrition of spirit is the only sacrifice well-pleasing unto God; and I prove all guilty. First, our representatives, (and so we in them) established these sins, in our national decrees, which we have homologate in owning them ever after; and much more have we homologate their sins, in contributing, one way or other, to the strengthening of their hands against God;—as alas, but few be free of this, this day! O that preachers would preach repentance, and professors would exhort one another to mourn, in secret and together, because of sin; and with their mourning would believe;—for these are very consistent together. I find flesh and blood great enemies to faith, and friends, yea, fosterers of sinful fears. It is above nature to believe, especially when dispensations seem to contradict our faith: but if any hath faith towards God concerning me, let not this brangle their faith, but rather strengthen; there is nothing can contradict what God hath determined; but over the belly of all opposition he will perfect his work in and by me, either to a

remarkable delivery, or through-bearing, as he sees most for his own glory.

“ Wherefore let us submit to his will, and lie before the throne, in behalf of Zion and her children ; and O ! that you yourself would, and desire others that are faithful, to hold up my case to Zion’s God, that he would glorify himself in me, and let your prayers be in faith ; ‘ To him that believeth, all things are possible.’ There are many feckless, misbelieving prayers, that prevail not with God because of unbelief. I know these sufferings will be a great stumbling to many, otherwise gracious, but let it not be to you : I bless the Lord, it is not (as yet) so to me, but rather the power, yea, the love of God to me ; for it was not altogether unexpected unto me : for (not to reflect upon any that have sealed that truth and cause, as we stated it, with their blood) I cannot deny, but it was over the belly of conscience, that I joined with some of our party ; for some of them had not their garments clean of the late defections, and there was too much pride amongst us : neither dare I allow, that taking of satisfaction for practices which are the homologating of the public sins, which we did about half an hour before our break ; which checked me exceedingly in the time. I think, real sorrow would make men like the prodigal, to think themselves not worthy to be employed in that work ; real evidences of reconciliation with God should be seen before admission to such an employment. O that all would take warning, by my reproof, not to venture to follow any man over conscience ! There were choice godly men among us, but one Achan will make Israel to fall. I fear the want of faith among us, first and last, and all amongst our late business : I know, many mouths will be opened against me because of what I did before this business, but I dare not but speak it,—this is a stumbling-block laid to drive them to more sin ; and alas ! that I did not more to purge us of every sin, especially known sin among us. These that abode within, and came not out with us, let them remember Meroz’s curse ; I am afraid, God will think them not free of our blood, for not joining to our help.

“ And now, knowing ye will be anxious to know how it was then, and how it hath been since with me. First, We getting notice of a party out seeking us, sent two on Wednesday night late, to know their motion, and lay on a muir side all night ; and Thursday, about ten hours, we went to take some meat, and sent out other two, and desired them to consult with the first two who had not come to us, but were lying down to sleep, who all four returned and told us, it was unnecessary to send any for intelligence, they having secured it. Whereupon, after we had gotten some meat, we came to a piece of grass, and lay down, and presently we were all alarmed that they were upon us ; and so making ready, we saw them coming fast on ; and that about three or four hours in the afternoon ; and each one resolving to fight, I rode off to seek a *strength* for our advantage, and being desired by a countryman to go into such a place for the best strength, I went, and they followed ; but coming to it, I found we could go no further ; and so turning and drawing up quickly, eight horse on the right hand with R. D. and fifteen on the left with me, being no more ;

the foot not being forty, and many of them ill armed, in the midst. I asked all, if they were willing to fight? who all said, Yes; especially I. G. The enemy advanced fast, whom I took to be above one hundred and twelve, well armed and horsed; who sending first about twenty dragoons on foot to take the wind of us, which we seeing, sent a party on foot to meet them, and the rest of us advanced fast on the enemy, being a strong body of horse coming hard upon us; whereupon when we were joined, our horse fired first, and wounded and killed some of them, both horse and foot: our horse advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other; I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, I then rode in amongst them, and went out at a side, without any wrong or wound; I was pursued by several, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they followed me, and sometimes I followed them; at length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance; we both being on foot, fought it with small swords, without advantage to one another; but at length closing, I was stricken down with three on horseback behind me; and receiving three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life,—which I submitted to. They searched me, and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much; where were brought several of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of brave resolute men. What more of our men were killed, I did not see, nor know; but as they told me after, the field was theirs. I was brought toward Douglas. They used me civilly, and brought me drink out of a house by the way. At Douglas, Janet Cleland was kind to me, and brought a surgeon to me, who did but little to my wounds, only stanchd the blood.

“Next morning, I was brought to Lanark, and brought before Dalziel, Lord Ross, and some others; who asked many questions at me, but I not satisfying them with answers, Dalziel did threaten to roast me; and carrying me to the tolbooth, caused me to be bound most barbarously, and cast me down, where I lay till Saturday morning, without any, except soldiers, admitted to speak to me, or look my wounds, or give me any ease whatsoever. And next morning they brought me and John Pollock,* and other two of us, near two miles on foot, I being without shoes, where that party which had broken us at first, received us. They were commanded by Earlshall. We were horsed, civilly used by them on the way, and brought to Edinburgh about four in the afternoon, and carried about the north side of the town to the foot of the Canongate, where the town magistrates were, who received us; and setting me on a horse with my face backward, and the other three bound on a goad of iron, and Mr. Cameron's head carried on a halbert before me, and another head in a sack, which I knew not, on a lad's back; and so we were carried

* With respect to this individual who seems to have been engaged in the same cause, Wodrow had been able to ascertain nothing besides what is mentioned in this place, to which he refers the reader. It does not appear that there were any farther proceedings against him of a public nature, otherwise they must have been mentioned in some of the records which he consulted.

up the street to the Parliament-close, where I was taken down, and the rest loosed : all was done by the hangman. I was carried up to the council, and first put into a room alone, where the chancellor came, and asked if I knew him? I answered, Yes. He (after some protestations of love,* to which I answered nothing) went his way ; and then I was brought in before the council, where the chancellor read a ditty against me. First anent the bishop's murder ; to which I answered, I was obliged by no law, either of God or man, to answer to it : and neither to accuse myself, nor reveal others by vindicating myself, or any other way. The advocate asked, Where I was the third day of May was a year? To whom I answered, I am not bound to keep a memorial where I am, or what I do every day. The chancellor asked, if I thought it murder? To which I answered, though I was not bound to answer such questions, yet I would not call it so, but rather say, It was no murder. The advocate said, Sir, you must be a great liar, to say you remember not where you was that day, it being so remarkable a day. I replied, Sir, you must be a far greater liar, to say, I answered such a thing. Whereupon the chancellor replied, My lord advocate, he said only, he was not bound to keep in memory every day's work.

“ The chancellor asked, If I adhered to Mr. Cargill's papers, which they called the New Covenant taken at the Ferry? I answered, I would know what any would say against them. He asked, if I owned the king's authority?† I told, though I was not bound to answer such

* It appears that between Rathillet and the Chancellor there had formerly subsisted a very close intimacy, and this may account for the expressions of affection or of interest which are here referred to. Whether such expressions were sincere or not, it is impossible to determine. They do not seem to have been judged so by Rathillet. And certainly it might well have been expected, that even the most moderate degree of regard, if sincere, might have sufficed to procure for a friend, the benefit of a sentence less repugnant to the feelings of humanity.

† According to Wodrow, Rathillet was the first of the sufferers who publicly denied the authority of the king and his officers. And that the reader may judge for himself as to the grounds on which he did so ; we quote the following account of his examination on July 24th, and of his declinature on July 29th and 30th, as given in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, pp. 61—63.

*His Interrogations and Answers before the Privy Council,
on Saturday, July 24, 1680.*

1. WHETHER or not had you any hand in the murdering of the late bishop of St. Andrews? Answered, He was not obliged to answer that question, nor be his own accuser. 2. What he would declare as to the king's authority? Answered, That authority that disowns the interest of God, and states itself in opposition to Jesus Christ, is no more to be owned ; but so it is, the king's authority is now such, therefore it ought not to be owned. 3. Whether the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrews was murder, yea, or no? Answered, That he thought it no sin to despatch a bloody monster. 4. If he owned the new covenant taken at Queensferry, from Mr. Cargill one of their preachers? Answered, That he *did* own it in every particular thereof, and would fain see the man that in conscience and reason would debate the contrary. 5. If he were at liberty, and had the power to kill any of the king's council, and murder them as he did the bishop of St. Andrews, whether he would do it, yea, or no? Answered, That he had no spare time to answer such frivolous and childish questions.

questions, yet being permitted to speak, I would say somewhat to that. And first, that there could be no lawful authority but what was of God; and that no authority, stated in a direct opposition to God, could be of God; and that I knew of no authority nor judicatory this

The chancellor told him, that if he were not more ingenuous in his answers, he would presently be tortured. He answered, 'That is but a little addition to your former cruelties, and I have that comfort, that though you torture my wounded body, yet ye cannot reach my soul.' The chancellor urged him with several other questions, which he refused to answer. 'But,' said he, 'I would gladly speak a little if I could have liberty;' which was allowed him. Then he said, 'Ye know that youth is a folly, and I acknowledge that in my younger years I was too much carried down with the speat of it; but that inexhaustible fountain of the goodness and grace of God, which is free and great, hath reclaimed me, and as a fire-brand hath plucked me out of the claws of Satan; and now I stand here before you as a prisoner of Jesus Christ, for adhering to his cause and interest, which hath been sealed with the blood of many worthies, who have suffered in these lands, and have witnessed to the truths of Christ these few years bygone; and I do own all the testimonies given by them, and desire to put my mite among theirs, and am not only willing to seal it with my blood, but also with the sharpest tortures that you can imagine.' Then, being interrogated by the bishop of Edinburgh, what he would answer to that article of the Confession of Faith, that 'difference of religion doth not make void the magistrate's right and authority?' He answered, He would not answer any perjured prelate: the bishop replied, He was in the wrong to him, because he never took the covenant, therefore he was not perjured, and so deserved not that name. But some of them asked him, how he would answer that question? He answered, That question was answered long ago by the Solemn League and Covenant, which binds us only to maintain and defend the king in the defence of the true religion; but now the king having stated himself an enemy to religion, and all that will live religiously, therefore it is high time to shake off all obligation of allegiance to his authority. These interrogations were all read to him in the face of the council, and he owned them all.

The next day that he was arraigned before the council, they asked if he had any more to say? He answered, That which he had to say was said already in every particular thereof; 'and,' said he, 'I will not only seal it with my blood, but with all the tortures ye can imagine.'

Extract of the proceedings of the Privy Council.

"Edinburgh, July 29th, 1680.—In presence of the lords justiciary, clerk, and commissioners of justiciary, compeared David Hackston, of Rathillet, and declines the king's majesty's authority of the commissioners of justiciary as his judges, and absolutely refuses to sign this declaration, as being before persons who are not his judges. He refuses to answer concerning the murder of the late bishop of St. Andrews, and says, the causes of his declinment are, *Because they have usurped the supremacy over the church, belonging alone to Jesus Christ, and have established idolatry, perjury and other iniquities; and in prosecuting their design, in confirming themselves in this usurped right, have shed much innocent blood.* Therefore the said David, adhereing to Christ, his rights and kingly office over the church, declines them that are his open enemies and competitors for his crown and power, as competent judges; refuses, as formerly, to sign this his declaration, dated from his own mouth; whereupon his majesty's advocate takes instruments, and requires the commissioners of justiciary to sign the same in his presence, as for him; and his majesty's advocate takes instruments, that the said David has declined his majesty's authority, and the authority of his commissioners, and refused to deny the murder of the late bishop of St. Andrews, and requires Messrs. John Vas, James Balfour, and the men of the court witnesses to the foresaid declaration. Sic Sub:—Sir Robert Maitland, James Foulis, David Balfour, David Falconer, Rodger Hodge."

Upon Friday, July 30, being again brought before the council, it was asked

day in these nations, but what were in a direct opposition to God, and so could neither be of God, nor lawful, and that their fruits were kything it, in that they were setting bugerers, murderers, sorcerers, and such others at liberty from justice, and employing them in their service, and made it their whole work to oppress, kill, and destroy the Lord's people. The chancellor and all raged, and desired me to instance one of such, so set at liberty and employed. I answered to that, Though it were enough to instance any such when I saw a judicatory to execute justice, yet I would instance one; and I instanced a bugerer, liberated at the sheriff court of Fife, and afterwards employed in their service. At which, the chancellor raged, and said, I behoved to be a liar: but I offered to prove it. Bishop Paterson asked, if ever Pilate and that judicatory, who were direct enemies to Christ, were disowned by him as judges? I answered, that I would answer no perjured prelate in the nation. He answered, that he could not be called perjured, because he never took that sacrilegious covenant. I answered, that God would own that covenant when none of them were to oppose it. They cried all, I was prophesying: I answered, I was not prophesying, but I durst not doubt, but that God, who had such singular love to these lands, as to bring them into covenant in so peculiar a manner with him, would let it be seen that his faithfulness was engaged to carry it through in opposition to his enemies. Some asked, what I answered to that article of the Confession of Faith concerning the king? I answered, It was cleared in these two covenants. The advocate asked, What I said of that article of the covenant, wherein we are bound to maintain and defend the king? I desired him to tell out the rest of it, which was, in defence of religion, but not in the destruction of religion. The chancellor threatened me with the Boots, and other terrible things; and said, I should not have the benefit of a sudden death. To which I answered, it would be but an addition to their cruelties used against God's people before, and that I was there a prisoner of Christ, owning his truths against his open enemies, and referred it to their own acts of parliament and council, to let their cruelty and opposition to God and his people be seen.

“ After this, they called for a surgeon, and removed me to another room; where he dressed my wounds. In which time, the chancellor came and kindly asked, If ever I said to a shepherd on the Mounthill,

of him if he had any other thing to say? He answered, That which I have said I will seal it. Then they told him, that they had something to say to him; and commanded him to sit down and receive his sentence; which willingly he did, but told them they were all bloody murderers, for all the power they had was derived from tyranny; and that these years bygone they had not only tyrannized over the church of God, but had also grinded the faces of the poor, so that oppressions, bloodshed, perjury, and many murders were to be found in their skirts. Upon which, he was, incontinent, carried away to the scaffold, at the market cross of Edinburgh; where he died with great torture inflicted upon his body, not being permitted to leave any testimony to the world, except what is comprehended in the above letters directed to some of his Christian acquaintances, from his prison in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.*

* Cloud of Witnesses, Ed. Glas. 1802, pp. 61—63.

That if I thought they would not put me to an ignominious death, I would refer myself to the chancellor? I said, No. He said, A shepherd came to him and said so. I said, that he, or any other who had said so to him were liars. I was asked by some concerning our strength; to whom I told how few we were, and that surprised by such a strong party, and knowing with what cruel orders they came against us, we were forced to fight. After dressing of my wounds, I was brought back to them, and these things being written, were read over to me; to which I adhered: and being asked, if I would sign them, I said, No. The chancellor said, He would do it for me. Some one of them asked, at the same time, concerning my being at some other business: to whom I answered, That though I was not obliged to answer such questions, yet I adhered to all that had been done in behalf of that cause against its enemies. After which, I was sent to the tolbooth, and have met since with all manner of kindness; and want for nothing. My wounds are duly dressed, which, I fear, may prove deadly, they being all in the head, the rest of my body is safe.

“In all these trials, (I bless the Lord) I was stayed, unmoved; no alteration of countenance in the least, nor impatience appeared. Some of them have come to me, and regretted that such a man as I should have been led away with Cameron. I answered, He was a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and as for me, I desired to be one of those despicable ones whom Christ choosed. They said, It was a Quaker-like answer. I told it was the words of Christ and his apostles. Bishop Paterson’s brother, unknown to me, had a long reasoning with me, but, I think, not to truth’s advantage. He told me, that the whole council observed, that I gave them not their due titles: at which I smiled, and made no reply. He said, I was ill to the bishop. I told, that I asserted the truth. He said, that he never took the covenant, and so could not be perjured. I answered, prelacy itself was abjured by the whole nation. He told me, that the whole council found, I was a man of great parts, and also of good birth. I replied, that, for my birth, I was related to the best in the kingdom, which I thought little of; and for my parts they were small; yet I trusted so much to the goodness of that cause for which I was a prisoner, that if they would give God that justice as to let his cause be disputed, I doubted not to plead it against all that could speak against it. It was cast up to me both at the council and here, that there were not two hundred in the nation to own our cause. I answered at both times, that the cause of Christ had been often owned by fewer. I was pressed to take advice; I answered, I would advise with God and my own conscience, and would not depend on men, and refused to debate any more, since it was to no purpose, being troublesome to me, and not advantageous to the cause. At the council, some said, I was possessed with a devil; some one thing, some another. The chancellor said I was a vicious man: I answered, while I was so, I had been acceptable to him; but now, when otherwise, it was not so. He asked me, if I would yet own that cause with my blood, if at liberty? I answered, both our fathers had

owned it with the hazard of their blood before me. Then was I called by all, a murderer. I answered, God should decide it betwixt us; to whom I refer it, who were most murderers in his sight, they or I?

“You have an account, as near as I can give, of what passed among us. Be you, and desire all others to be, earnest with God in my behalf; for I am weak, and cannot stand without constant supplies of the graces of his Spirit, O! I am afraid lest I deny him: I have rich promises, but I want faith. Pray and wrestle in my behalf, and in behalf of the rest. And show this to my friends in that cause with me, especially D. K. Let all lie before the Lord, that he would show us the cause of his anger against us: and let me know, with the first occasion, who of us were slain. Commend me to all friends: and let none stumble at the cause, because of this. It was often in my mouth to almost all, ‘that if we purged not ourselves of the public and particular sins among us, God would break us, and bring a delivery out of our ashes.’ Let none murmur at what we should think our glory. And let ministers and others be afraid to be more tender of men than God’s glory. And however it be a stumbling to some, let it be a token of the love of God, to his church, to you, and all that love his truth. Pray for the out-lettings of all the graces of God’s Spirit to me, and all the rest. I have need of patience, submission, humility, love to, and zeal for God; hope and faith above all, without which I am but a frail worm, and will fall before these enemies of mine, inward and outward. And thus recommending you to his grace, who hath bought us with his precious blood, and remembering my love to all friends, I am, yours in our sweet Lord, and Sympathizer in our afflictions:—

“DAVID HACKSTON.”

“P. S. You may let others see this, but have a care to keep it; because I have no double, *and it may be all my testimony*. Send nothing to me, for I am fully seen to, and have met with kindness from all sorts; only friends have not liberty to see me. My love to you and all friends. I said to Clerk Paterson, that I should have seen Mr. Cargill’s papers, before I had answered anent them.”*

2. TO A CHRISTIAN LADY.

“Tolbooth of Edinburgh, July 28th, 1680.—Madam, The bearer shows me, your ladyship desires to know what I mean by the Achan I mentioned in my other; which I shall explain: and alas! that I have such a wide field to walk in, when I name such a thing; for I know not how to find out the man that is free of the accursed thing among us, for which God is contending against the land; especially against such as would be most free of the public sins, and most downright for God. Only, I desire both to reverence, and admire the holy wisdom and loving kindness of God, that is, by these dark-like dispensations, purging his people, that he may bring

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 63—72.

forth a chaste spouse to himself in Scotland. These are tokens of his fatherly love: and I fear a delivery, while we stand guilty of such things, as are so open whoredoms against our married husband, might rather be looked upon as a bill of divorce, than joining again in a married relation. And first, I must explain the national sins, according to the light God hath bestowed upon me, out of his free grace, who is not tied to any, but chooseth and revealeth himself to whom he will; and often glorifies his free grace, in making use even of the greatest sinners, as I confess I have been one: which national sins are contained in our national decrees.

“And first, the whole land is become guilty of idolatry, as it is established by the acts of supremacy, especially in the act explanatory; wherein all the declarative glory and prerogatives of Jesus Christ are given to the king;—which is fearful idolatry, in ascribing that which he hath purchased with his precious blood, and received from his Father, as his gift, and hath reserved as his peculiar glory; giving this, I say, unto a creature, whom, by this blasphemous decree, we have set up in the room of Jesus Christ, as governor and absolute head and judge in all ecclesiastic affairs: and by the same decree, all acts and laws contrary to it are rescinded, and the whole word of God, contained in the scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments, are a law contrary to it, and so by this are rescinded. Now, besides this sin of idolatry; by the act rescissory, all other acts, oaths, covenants, and engagements, that the lands are lying under, sworn to God, and in his name, are rescinded, and declared null: and in contempt of God, to whom, and in whose name they were so solemnly sworn, and so often renewed, are burnt by the hands of the hangman, through several places of these covenanted kingdoms. This is a legal perjury and breach of covenant, unparalleled in sacred or profane history. Besides, in contempt of the presence of God, seen at the meetings of his people convened in his name, they have declared them rendezvouses of rebellion: and by another act, have accounted it presumption for a minister to preach without doors;—thus contemning the call of Christ; whereby they set themselves above God. I could instance many horrid things acted and done by them, in their prosecuting the design of having that idol of theirs fixed in the usurpation of the prerogatives of Jesus Christ; yet not doubting but your ladyship knows many of them, I shall for brevity’s sake omit: only, the land is filled, from the one end to the other, with innocent blood, shed on that account; and with other terrible abominations, detestable among Turks and heathens: I think in God’s righteous judgment, these men are given up thereto, for the upfilling of the measure of their iniquity, that he may be glorified in the stroke of his justice upon all ranks, which is fast hastening, and that inevitably.

“But next, to mention who are guilty hereof; I know not how to do it; only I may say, I know none can be called free, and a freeing of any, or ourselves thereof, is but a hardening ourselves against God, and a defending sin against him, who is a ‘swift witness, and will not be mocked, but will bring forth the hidden things of

dishonesty to light.' And therefore, not to mention the idol of the Lord's jealousy, or those that are prosecuting his wicked commands under him, or prelates and their adherents, I judge,—and I fear, God will esteem all guilty of these forementioned sins, that have any way owned any of these, after their wickedness was discovered, and much more, such as have by their personal deeds homologated these wicked decrees, and that either by paying cesses for strengthening them in their down-bearing of the meetings of God's people for his worship, met in opposition to these wicked decrees, which is their consent to, and contribution for, the strengthening them in all their wickedness against God,—or yet by subscribing any manner of bonds to them, which is, an acknowledging them in that relation wherein they stand, and are designing to fix themselves, when they are pursuing, taking, imprisoning, and letting them out on these bonds again. For, their end in all their prosecutions of this nature, is to confirm themselves in this usurpation of the crown of Christ, as head of the church: and a subscribing any manner of bond prescribed by them, is, and will be, in the sight of God, an acknowledging them as head of the church, in the several stations wherein they have stated themselves;—the king as head, and they as factors under him, prosecuting his will, and putting in execution his commands; and an acknowledging any other head, any manner of way, over the church, is directly a denying of Christ before men, in his kingly office, which is a plain denying of him, and hath sore threatenings annexed thereunto.

"I could mention many other circumstances, wherein this generation has touched the accursed thing, and has bowed the knee to that Baal-like idol of the Lord's indignation and anger; but I shall only mention besides these two, a third, of some who have appeared in arms against God, for, and in company with his enemies. Now, that way of giving and taking satisfaction for these sins, which some are for, I cannot consent to: for first, these sinful practices being practices immediately against God, and the first table of the law, no satisfaction to man can be sufficient. I close not that door that God hath opened in mercy to the really penitent, but, I say, real evidences that God has forgiven, should be, before a joining with such in society. I know the gospel should be preached to all, that they may repent,—that being the means God hath appointed for conversion, when men have sinned: but Oh! when men after light fall into these things, and others counsel and advise them to such things, fearful shall their doom be, if God prevent them not in his mercy! Now, madam, there were some such among us; and, as I have observed, God has still punished that party that has been appearing for him, when they have taken in, and joined with, the men of these abominations; and has, as it were, laid by such as have complied with the time's apostasy,—I doubt not,—reserving them to the general stroke he is threatening the whole lands with. O that one and all were making their soul's interest sure with God!

"Madam, I shall not mention the several steps of apostasy and defection from God in these lands, in complying one way or other with the stated enemies of the living God, to the strengthening them

in their usurpations of Christ's crown and privileges, and hardening them in their sin, in shedding, so many ways, so much innocent blood, and their other wicked courses : neither shall I mention that idolizing of men that is among us, to the provoking of God, to let, yea, cause them fall : neither that selfishness that is among us in our appearances for God, which cannot away with a holy, spotless, and jealous God, who ' will not give his glory to another.' Oh ! that one and all were mourning for, and acknowledging our own and the land's guiltiness in these things, and were seeking brokenness of spirit, which is a sacrifice well-pleasing to God, that God might be reconciled to us, and set up by his Spirit,—his standard ; and gather in his own people thereto ; and might let out his Spirit to one and all that are called by his name. I doubt not but God will save a remnant, but it will be of such in whom his free grace will be glorified, and not of the great ones, that have not rendered to the Lord, according to the talents he bestowed on them. Remember me to my fellow-prisoners, especially such as are keeping their garments clean of these pollutions ; and be earnest with God in my behalf, that he would keep me standing, by his free grace,—in this trial,—in patience, humility, and godly fear. And I am, madam, your ladyship's, in all humility, in Jesus Christ :—

“ DAVID HACKSTON.”*

3. TO HIS CHRISTIAN FRIEND N—— .

“ July 28, 1680.—Dear and Christian acquaintance, My love being remembered to you and all friends in Jesus Christ ; these are to show you and all others that I know and love the truth, as it is this day owned by the smallest handful that pretend thereto ; and that I was yesterday before the lords of justiciary. They charged me with several things. I declined the king's authority as an usurper of the prerogatives of the Son of God, whereby he hath involved the lands in idolatry, perjury, and other wickednesses : and I declined *them* as exercising under him the supreme power over the church, usurped from Jesus Christ ; who, in carrying on their designs of confirming themselves in their usurpations of the crown of Christ, had shed so much innocent blood throughout the land : and that therefore I, as an owner of Christ's right, and his kingly office, which they by their wicked decrees had taken from him, durst not, with my own consent, sustain them as competent judges ; but declined them as open and stated enemies to the living God, and competitors for his throne and power, belonging alone to him ; whereupon, I was dismissed, and at night my indictment to compare to-morrow before an assize, was intimated. Therefore I entreat you will, (for I know you have been moving with God,)—cause other faithful friends set time apart, and inquire the Lord's mind concerning me ; and be earnest with him in my behalf, that he will glorify himself in me. You may send your letter to ——— with a sure hand, who will give it to me. Wherever Mr. D. C. is, —acquaint him with my case, or send him this line ; for I know the

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 72—76.

mind of God is with him; and desire him to write to me. I think, I dare not misbelieve, but when fears assault me, I think there is a voice saying to me, *Fear not*. Let none stumble at our cause, because of the late dispensation; it is God's cause, which was and is in our hands, though he has punished us with his fatherly chastisements, because of sin amongst us. 'Every tree that bringeth forth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.' But, that which decayeth and goeth backward, is laid by as useless. John Pollock has been in the boots, but I am informed, he is not discouraged, but is likely to be well again. My wounds are very sore, but, blessed be God, he keeps me in a good temper, both of body and mind. I am kindly enough used, wanting nothing. I recommend you, and all the faithful, to the protection of him, who is the almighty God, and everlasting Father. No more, but rests, yours in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ:—

"DAVID HACKSTON."*

4. TO HIS SISTER.

"Loving Sister,—I received yours, and the other with it, both to my contentment and satisfaction: it makes me afraid, that the eyes of many should be on me. Let all look to God; I am frail, but Christ is strong: I have his promise of through-bearing, and assurance that he should honour me in his cause, before this. Lie low before the Lord, and let others that are yet faithful be earnest on my behalf; and do it in faith: 'the prayers of the faithful avail much.' Have *you* nothing, and tell all friends to have nothing to do with such, as have ado with those that are sitting in that seat, and exercising that power, which belongs alone to Christ. The stroke of the Lord's anger is ready to be poured forth; and those that have received greatest talents from God, and have made that use of them, to strengthen enemies' hands by bonds, or otherwise owning them,—shall be most remarkable in the stroke; and shall not be honoured to testify for Christ, despised Christ, robbed Christ, condemned Christ, by this generation. Remember me to all relations and friends: and give warning to all to flee to Christ's truths and interest. If the free grace of God be glorified in me, ought not all to praise him? 'Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners.' Many of this generation think they have so much grace that they cannot sin; but I must tell them, grace doth not warrant from sin, and they may so think of it.

"Sic Sub.—DAVID HACKSTON."

II. ARCHIBALD ALISON.

[Besides the worthy Author of the preceding letters, there were two other individuals taken at Airmoss, of whom Archibald

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 76, 77.

† Ibid. pp. 77, 78.

Alison was one. He seems to have belonged to Evandale in Lanarkshire—a district of country in which the supporters of the Covenant were both numerous and respectable. With his companion in suffering, he was brought before the Justiciary on the 4th of August—tried and condemned to be executed on the 11th, or according to other accounts, on the 13th of that month, in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh. This sentence he underwent accordingly. The following Testimony to the cause in which he suffered he left behind him.]

“THERE have been many such sights seen in this place of execution, since the year 1660, for this interest and cause, for which I have received the sentence of death; and here I am in your presence to lay down my life this day; for which I charge thee, O my soul, and all that is within me, to bless and magnify the name of the Lord, who can perfect his praise, and bring a testimony out of the mouths of babes or sucklings; yea, before he want some to seal his testimony, even if it were from the beasts of the field, he will not want, as in Balaam’s days, the dumb ass speaking with man’s voice, gave a testimony against the madness of the prophet. Wherefore, unworthy as I am, I am come here, and beg your ear and attention,—ye who are spectators and auditors—if the Lord shall permit me to speak a few words, and I shall be but brief.

“There are many come here this day to hear and see me lay down this tabernacle of mine, that hath various ends, but our Lord knows you all and your ends both: it is true, God is my witness, that I judge myself the unworthiest person of any that have lost their blood for this honourable cause. He has been pleased to take a testimony from noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and poor ploughmen lads, and tradesmen of several sorts, which is a token for good, that he has yet a kindness for these covenanted lands. And I bless the Lord with all my heart, that ever he called me with his heavenly calling: I bless the Lord, that I have a life to lay down for his sake; glory to the Lord, that I shall have blood and wounds in his cause.

“But to come more particularly to the purpose in hand, the articles of my indictment were these:—First, they charged me with rebellion, for joining with these they call rebels, and declared enemies to the king, and enemies to all good government: for my own part I never called them so. I declare here where I stand before him who will be my Judge within a little, my design in coming forth with arms, was to hear the gospel preached truly and faithfully, and I know it was the design of that poor handful to defend the gospel, and to keep up a witness and testimony against the abounding corruptions that this land is filled with from end to end, and to plead with the Lord that he would not make a total removal therefrom. Yea, I heard Mr. Richard Cameron say:—‘My friends, we are not to compare ourselves with Gideon’s three hundred men, no not at all; our design is to have you examined, how ye are, and what ye are; to choose two or three of the foot, and two or three of the horse, that are found fittest qualified for elders, to try your principles, to try your life and

conversation, and to have you being Christians. Our number was more the last day, and we gave them free leave to go home, and only but a few handful to stay ; for we design not to fall upon any party of the forces, except they be few in number, and oppose us in keeping up the gospel in the fields, for I am persuaded that one meeting in the fields has been more owned and countenanced by His presence with His people, than twenty house meetings, as they are now bought ; and therefore make no strife among yourselves about officers, because they are but men ; yea, I think there is not a man among you all meet for it ; we are not meet to be a minister to you, only we are to wait till the Lord provide better ; and ye that are not satisfied to stay in defence of the gospel, good-morrow to you, whatsoever ye be.' And so I thought it was rational and warrantable both from the word of God, and our solemn vows and covenants, which you and the whole land are engaged unto.—Now, ye see what was my motive to join with that handful, and in this I have peace, and on this ground I lay down my life. There is a second motive I had, for which I thought myself bound to own that persecuted cause and interest of my blessed Lord and Master, Jesus Christ : I being about two years ago in Carrick, and hearing the precious gospel of Jesus Christ ; in these glorious days, the shining of the countenance of our Lord was discernibly seen there, both upon his ministers and people ; I thought it my duty to mark it. The Lord did so soften and animate my heart at that time, that I made it my work how I might win to clearness how to state myself, being among the deceitful indulged ministers, and finding several places of scripture calling me out from them, as that known scripture, ' If the Lord be God, follow him ; but if Baal, then follow him. Come out from among them, my people, and touch not the unclean thing,' &c. ' Touch not, taste not, handle not, which are all to perish with the using.' I thought it was dreadful to be halting between two opinions. On the other hand, I had some scriptures concerning the cross that attends pure religion and undefiled. The Lord who has called me here to-day, to seal these truths, wrought with an irresistible power on my heart, that good word of his in the xviii. Psal. 46, 47, 48. verses, ' The Lord liveth ; and blessed be my Rock ; and let the God of my salvation be exalted. It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me. He delivereth me from mine enemies : yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me : thou hast delivered me from the violent man.' This makes me rejoice. ' The Lord of hosts is on my side.' ' The God of Jacob is my defence,' &c. O so strongly as this binds and obliges me to suffer, and count all joy now to go up this ladder ! And I had occasion to be at several other meetings, I bless the Lord for it : I bless the Lord that ever he made choice of me, who was a miserable sinner, to lay down my life for his cause : and so I die not by constraint or force, but willingly at his command.

" There is another clause in my indictment, and sentence of death. They say, that I walked up and down the country, murdering, destroying, and oppressing the subjects. But, I say, I did never mind the like. And so they have (as they have done to many a

one) assized and sentenced me wrongously; for I did never mind to murder or rob any man: therefore I am clear to charge them guilty of my blood, and to give my testimony against them, as murderers of the servants and people of God, in their being about the service and worship of God, as I was.

“ In the next place, I believe that all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of the eternal and ever living God, given by Divine inspiration; and that every duty commanded therein ought to be obeyed and performed upon the greatest peril and hazard, and that every crooked and false way should be avoided and guarded against, whatever be the seeming advantages which may accompany the embracing of it, under the pain of being led forth with the workers of iniquity, when he shall pronounce peace on his Israel. 2dly. I give my witness and join my adherence to the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, National and Solemn League and Covenant, with our Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties. 3dly. I adhere to the Church-government by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, according as it was established in the year 1648. 4thly. I give my testimony to that faithful declaration at Rutherglen, the 29th of May, 1679. 5thly. I adhere, and give my testimony to the declaration at Sanquhar, June 22, 1680, together with the paper gotten at the Ferry upon Henry Hall, June 3, 1680.* 6thly. I give my testimony and set to my seal to all the former testimonies sealed by the blood of them who have been murdered on scaffolds, in the fields, and in the sea, from the year 1660, to this day; and by all the imprisonments, and banishment of exiled and wandering ones, and by all the spoilings and robbings, oppression, stigmatizing, scourging, and booting, and other horrid cruelties, which have been committed by the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ On the other hand:—1st. I enter my protestation before the Judge of all, both living and dead, before whom I am to appear within a little time, against all the encroachments made upon the prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ, particularly against Popery, Quakerism, and Prelacy, and all their underlings, and the joiners with them; and against all supremacy that is contrary to the word of God; and against all Erastianism; and against both the indulgences first and last, and all the joiners with, connivers at, and supporters of it; and against the silence in watchmen at this day, in not giving faithful warning, according to that in Isa. lviii. 1. ‘Cry aloud, and spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, show Israel their sins, and the house of Jacob their transgressions;’—and against her ambiguous and dark applications, so that the sin of the times is not touched, lest they irritate the magistrates, and bring themselves in hazard of our Lord’s cross; which was an evil creeping in long ago, which the assembly condemned in the ministers; and ordered them to be suspended, if they did not amend; and seeing no humiliation for such a great sin, they were to be deposed. 2dly. I enter my protestation against all

* Commonly called the Queensferry Paper, and drawn up by Mr. Cargill.

those who have declared themselves opposite to our Lord Jesus Christ, and have displayed a banner for Satan; not only tolerating, but acting and committing all manner of abominations, and horrid cruelties in things civil and ecclesiastical. 3dly. I enter my protestation against all declarations, proclamations, bonds, cess, and militia money, for keeping standing forces with a displayed banner against our Lord; and against all profanity, looseness, and lukewarmness, and all the backslidings of the Church of Scotland, since our entering into covenant with God to this day.

“ Now, Sirs, I have given you but a short hint of my faith and principles; and also of the motives which moved me to join with the serious seekers of God; and also the grounds of my indictment, and sentence of death: also some little glance at the corruptions of the times. I have here joined my testimony to the sufferings of the people of God, and I have entered my protestation against some open sins, which are obvious to all who have not willingly yielded themselves to work wickedness. O! it is but little that I can say! it would take a long summer day to rank them up, and not win at them all: for my part, I am but ignorant, my capacity can but reach to little things. It may be that ye will take but little notice to what the like of me says, but I cannot help it. Now, as a dying man, I leave all these things to your consideration, if this prelatie and indulged party be the party, to be meddled with, and owned, pleaded for and defended; what think ye of them that have gone before us? What think ye of Argyle, and Mr. Guthrie, that were men of understanding? What think ye of Mr. Kid, and Mr. King, and that gentleman that suffered last at the cross? Nay, what think ye of religion and the cost of it? What think ye of heaven, and glory that is at the back of the cross? The hope of this makes me look upon pale death as a lovely messenger to me. I bless the Lord for my lot this day.

I shall come shortly to a close, only I beg leave to speak a word to two or three sorts of folks; and I think, all may be comprehended under these three. I entreat you take heed; I wish I may not be a stumblingblock to any, that is looking on me this day. ‘Blessed is he,’ says Christ, ‘that shall not be offended in me, and my followers.’ The *first* sort is the seekers of God; I have a word to you: ye have kirk and state upon your top; ye get leave to weep a long night, and have none to comfort you: and if you cry, ‘Watchman, what of the night?’ the watchmen are drunk and fallen asleep, they cannot tell. ‘Can these dry bones live? Lord, thou knowest.’ Ye are seeing the godly cut off, one way and another; ye are hearing them that have the root of the matter in them crying up a sinful union; and ministers will not tell you what is your duty or danger. O my dear friends, cast not away your confidence; ye must come through many tribulations; but there is a begun heaven for you at night. ‘Seek ye the Lord, ye meek of the earth: ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord’s anger.’ There is no persecution in heaven, where our Lord’s enemies shall never come: I shall not take upon

* i. e. Mr. Hackston of Rathillet.

me to say, who of them will not come to heaven; but this I may say, if they come, it will be more than ordinary humiliation they must have: as it is said of Manasseh; that 'he humbled himself greatly before the Lord God of his fathers.' Friends, give our Lord credit; he is always good; but O he is good in a day of trial, and he will be sweet company through the ages of eternity. 'There is none like the God of Jeshurun, that rides upon the heaven in thy help, and in his excellency on the sky. And underneath are the everlasting arms, and he will save his people.' And *secondly*, I have a word to say to you that are godly; but alas, you have wronged the cause; for which, I fear, ye have lost the countenance of God, and will not get it again in haste; ye have 'waxed fat and kicked;' ye have flung at God (so to speak), ye have said 'a confederacy' with enemies, for a false peace; ye have been crying peace and union with the indulged, because they are godly men. I say before the Lord, that ye, and these godly men, have most basely betrayed the kirk of Scotland; ye shall go to heaven in a fiery chariot, ye shall hardly get leave to suffer but go away in a stink, for your complying and shunning the cross. *Thirdly*, a word to the ungodly. O ye atheists and ungodly magistrates, full of perjury and bloodshed, ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter. The blood of the Lord's martyrs, that has been shed these eighteen or nineteen years within this city, will be charged home upon you, as well as upon the assizers. Ye counsellors, your work will be rewarded. Ye criminal lords, remember, 'the saints shall judge the earth,' and shall shortly be in equal terms with you; and they shall stand upon mount Zion with the Lamb, and give their consents against you; and shall shortly cry, 'Hallelujah, hallelujah,' to your condemnation. And therefore I obtest you, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will desist from your wicked courses, and lie in the dust, and mourn for all your abominations; 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.' Ye ignorant and profane drunkards, swearers, and sabbath breakers, repent, or else ye shall likewise perish. And now, I take my farewell of all the serious seekers of God for a short time: and you that are calm, prudent professors, I leave you under process till you repent, for casting off Christ and his cross, and for 'bringing up an evil report on the good land,' and for your wronging of the cause. And ye rulers, farewell for evermore, without repentance and deep humiliation for wronging of Christ and his people. Return my soul unto thy quiet rest! Farewell all created comforts in time: and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

"Sic sub:—ARCHIBALD ALISON."*

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 78—84.

III. JOHN MALCOM.

[JOHN MALCOM, was the other of the Two, who, along with Mr. Hackston, were taken at Airmoss. He was by trade a weaver, and belonged to the parish of Dalry, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Along with his companion, he was charged with having been at Bothwell-bridge and Airmoss, in arms, which they judicially confessed, and were sentenced accordingly. "They died," says Wodrow, "in great assurance, and with comfortable hopes of well being." He left a Testimony to the cause for which he suffered, and it is as follows:]

"I desire the audience of you, who are here spectators and auditors, to hear some words of a dying man, ready to offer up this tabernacle in your sight, who would have it among my last wishes, that you would consider your ways and your doings, that are not good, and not harden your hearts as in the provocation; for, ye have to do with a holy God, who is quickly about to come in flaming fire, to take vengeance on all the ungodly profane persons, who are living at ease in Zion, and rejoicing in the afflictions of the people of God. I would obtest you, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would break off your pernicious ways, and make peace with God while he would make peace with you, lest ye be destroyed in the overflowing flood of his wrath. There has been flockings and gatherings to see others, who are gone before me, that have been wonderfully countenanced and owned with the evident presence of God,—convincingly helping some to go through the jaws of death, rejoicing and looking profane on-lookers out of countenance,—and have given their testimonies against the abominations committed in the land. And I am come hither, who am the unworthiest of any that have gone before me. Now, before I come further, I would ask you, what you think of religion? What think you can it be, that makes men go to death with so great peace and sweetness? Ye have heard what malefactors have had to say. Think ye not it strange, that a rational man can enter upon eternity, leaving such a testimony as ye have heard? And, I hope the Lord will help me in less or more to be faithful and free in leaving my testimony in the sight and presence of him, who is the sovereign Judge of all the earth, before whom I must stand in a short time.

"The cause of my coming here this day is, because I was found with that poor persecuted handful, who are the people that were singly adhering to the honour and glory of God,—now when he is threatening to bring in his sore plagues upon this apostate church, that has 'played the harlot with many lovers;'—for which he will bring on indignation, wrath and pain, upon many. But this is ground of encouragement to the seekers of God, (1.) That he is keeping up party in the land, that see it their duty to contend for his cause and interest, and shall 'overcome through the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, who are not loving their lives unto the death;' to contend for his cause and interest. For, he hath

said, Ezek. vii. 16. ‘But they that escape of them shall escape, and be like the doves upon the mountains, mourning every one of them for his iniquities.’ Now, I seeing and considering upon the one hand, what treacherous dealings are hatched up among the ministers and professors in this poor church, and on the other hand considering what the Lord had done formerly, I thought, I was convinced in conscience,—and from respect to the honour of God, which I had before mine eyes,—and the good of my own soul. I was constrained by an influence of the Spirit, bearing in that word upon my heart, which we have, 1 Kings xviii. 21. ‘And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, then follow him; but if Baal be God, then follow him.’ The Lord determined me to join myself with that party, and I do not repent it this day. I count it my duty, and no sin nor rebellion. I think it my credit to serve such a noble master: and indeed I wonder at his condescendency, that ever he sought service from such a wretched sinner as I have been, who lived a stranger to him all my days; but O wonderful love! O wonder at the matchless acts of the Lord’s condescendency, and incomprehensible ways with me! that he has made choice of such a poor, weak, frail, pickle of dust as I am; and has led me out and in, and has brought me to this place of execution, to give my testimony to his work, cause and interest; and has passed by the eminent, wise, and prudent in the land, and has made choice of such a feckless nothing as I am; but blessed be his glorious name, that will have his word made out, that ‘out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, he can perfect his praise.’ (2.) And this likewise is ground of hope to you that are weak, and cannot venture on suffering, being sensible of your own weakness; ‘to the weak he increaseth strength.’ And this is another ground of hope, that he takes the blood and wounds of poor weak things to seal his truths.

“It cannot be expected that I shall be very formal in what I say, I being no scholar, nor yet old in experience. And besides, after I had received my sentence, I was taken out of a private room, and put in the irons among bad company, except two days before this. The ground of my indictment was, 1st, that I am against the king’s forces, and fired upon them under the command of Earlshall. I declare, I intended not to resist, but being put to it, in defence of the gospel, and my own defence, I did resist them to my power. 2dly That I had been with that party in the months of April, May, and June. I was but two days with them, intending no other thing, but to hear the gospel, and for this I suffer, I bless the Lord, ‘not as an evil-doer,’ but for my duty: for ye know we are all bound in covenant, both kirk and state, according to the coronation oath: the covenants were owned and sworn, both by the supreme magistrate, the nobles, gentry, and commons of all sorts. The Lord did wonderfully shine upon this land, so that it became the glory of the whole world; the fame of it went abroad, and was renowned through the nations. I have heard that if a stranger of another kingdom had come into a church of this land, there was such a frame

of spirit among the people, that the stranger would have thought that they had been all saints. The church, then, was 'fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.' But we have not been content with these days: then the swearer was bound up from oaths, and the drunkard's throat ran dry, 'iniquity stopped her mouth.' The Lord was with his people in those days: the gospel was successful: and yet I can say, there have been as great days of the gospel in the west of Scotland, in the foresaid months, in the fields, as were in Scotland, since it was Scotland. I am sure, the gospel preached by Mr. Richard Cameron, especially, was backed with the power and presence of Christ; as much of Christ and heaven were found, as finite creatures on earth were able to hold, yea, and more than they could hold; the streams of the living waters ran through among his people at these meetings, like a flood upon the souls of many, who can witness, if they were called to it, that they would not have been afraid of ten thousands: 'the shout of a king was heard among them;' the fruits of it, I am hopeful, shall appear after this. All the troopers and dragoons in the three kingdoms will never get that fire of love that is kindled in the breasts of some in that country quenched; it will never be quenched; it will not rot. The fathers will be telling the children of it, when they are old men, who are not taken away from the wrath that is coming on, to avenge the quarrel of a broken covenant; they will be telling, 'that in the year 1680, there were as great days as there are now, (when there were prelates through these lands) upon the mountains up and down this west: it was then that I got the zeal of God upon my soul.' And they shall say, 'who were they that preached in mosses and mountains, and not in the kirks or houses? did not all the godly ministers, when the apostate prelates were in the land, go out and witness and testify against them, with their lives in their hands?' And the fathers will say, 'Know, my children, they had run well for a season, but they wearied, and yielded up the church's liberties to a tyrant king, of the name of Charles: and he set up the prelates, and they made the land full of curates under them; and after that, some that stayed off a while, then turned council curates, and these council curates beguiled the rest of them, and Erastianism was universal; but the moderate-indulged in judgment, would have silenced Mr. Richard Cameron from preaching, but the Lord had said to him, 'go, and I will go with thee;' and so he was wonderfully helped. Indeed the Lord countenanced him after that, and deserted them, and he died a martyr, and had his head set up upon a port, beside other three of his brethren; and many that wrote against him, and had him in derision, went away with a stink.' They will have this to say, and tell to the young ones yet unborn; 'the righteous man shall be had in everlasting remembrance.' Indeed, my friends, if any such be hearing me, I may say, truly a great man in our Israel fell at Airmoss the 22d of July, 1680. And now, if I were set at liberty, with a provision that I were not found with Mr. Donald Cargill, whom I pray the Lord may keep from sinning, I would yet

again join with that persecuted party, although they should use me, as they did that eminently worthy gentleman that suffered before us. So I am not in the dark how and for what I suffer. I am clear that I was in my duty, and I have peace in it since, and I grow still clearer in it, glory to his name: for it is true that after I got my indictment, and received my sentence, I wanted the countenance of God; for I never knew that the Lord loved me, but since that time; but I was never in the dark about the righteousness of the cause: I knew it would bear a suffering unto blood and death. And now, I am clear of my interest, and clear as to the grounds that I am laying down my life for this day. I could wish that every hair of my head were a life for his sake, and his persecuted cause. I die in the faith of the true protestant religion, in doctrine, discipline, and worship, as it was received in the year 1638, and in the year 1649. I join my adherence to the government of this church, as it was reformed from popery, prelacy, Erastianism, and supremacy. And I join my cordial testimony to the church's laws and statutes at that time, as she was governed by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, visitations and sessions; and to days of humiliation for sin, solemn days of thanksgiving in receipt of mercies bestowed, and censures for trying out persons of erroneous principles, either ministers or private persons. I adhere to the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagements to duties, the National and Solemn League and Covenant, and the Protestation at St. Johnstoun. I join my testimony to and approbation of these papers at Queensferry, the 3d of June 1680. I adhere to that faithful testimony at Rutherglen the 29th of May, 1679. I join my testimony to that last testimony or declaration affixed upon the market cross of Sanquhar the 22d of June, 1680. I witness my testimony to the late appearance at Airmoss the 22d of July, 1680, where the Lord's worthies fell. Likewise I witness my testimony, and set to my seal against that horrid murder of that eminently worthy and famous, godly gentleman, David Hackston of Rathillet. Likewise, against all the blood shed in the fields, scaffolds, and the sea, these nineteen years. I enter my protestation against popery, quakerism, supremacy, Erastianism, indulgences first and last; and against arbitrary power over civil and ecclesiastical matters, further than the bounds appointed by the word of God. Likewise, I witness my testimony against the pleaders for union, siding, joining, halving with usurpers of Christ's crown, silence in watchmen, and all their contrivances, impositions, instructions, or limitations, they put upon the young men to be licensed, prescribing a rule to them, to order their ministry so and so,—their papers and pamphlets they have put on lately, to lead men over to that woful indulgence, under the fair pretext of union, which is dreadful underhand dealing, to bring the people under the shadow of the Lord's adversaries. I enter my protestation against the national declaration put forth in the year 1661, and all their declarations since, and all their bonds and oaths imposed upon the Lord's people. Likewise, against the paying of cess and militia money; and against their imprisonments, stigmatizing,

booting, and burning with fire matches, fining and confining, robbing and spoiling, banishment, oppression, rigour of masters of tolbooths. And because of that mistake, that they say in my indictment, that presbyterians, and I amongst the rest, had cast off all fear of God, and are against all good order and civil law; I declare I adhere to kingly government, but not to perjury and tyranny, turning upside down church and state, contrary to the word of God, our covenants, and the laws of the nation; and contrary to the declaration at Dunfermline, the coronation oath, and the acts of general assembly, and acts of parliament, ratifying presbytery, and abjuring this prelatie hierarchy, which is now established, and presbytery rescinded. And, I bear my testimony against those that have been, and yet are pleading for the favour (as they call it) of the Act of Indemnity, after the murdering of Mr. King and Mr. Kid, who were executed that day the proclamation was read over the Cross, the 14th day of August, 1679; and against their justiciary courts, to insnare and impanel the poor people of God in the west of Scotland.

“ I shall draw to a close shortly; but I might (if I had time) enlarge further upon these. I will say only this to you, who are looking upon me this day, that my lot is hard, but I bless the Lord for it; ‘ The captain of my salvation was made perfect through suffering.’ No man has wronged me by counsel or advice; so I am persuaded that the cause is the Lord Jesus Christ’s cause, and he will own it. ‘ And whosoever touches any of his people, touches the apple of his eye. For he sends none a warfare upon their own charges,’ and in his own time ‘ he will make inquisition for the blood of all his saints,’ because ‘ it is right precious in his sight.’ And when he makes inquisition after their blood, and searches *them* out that troubled his people, I would not be the king of Britain, nor a counsellor, prelate, or malignant, for a world: and whatever I be, yet I am persuaded, they have the blood of his dear saints in their skirts, which are this day under the altar, crying, ‘ How long, O Lord, holy and just, wilt thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth!’ You got Mr. King’s advice on the scaffold, to be more sparing of shedding more blood; for within a short time, he told you, he would be on equal terms with *you* that judged him guilty of death: but that doth not warn the rulers of this kingdom. Do not think that I am quarrelling for the taking of my blood; no, it is love to your souls that obliges me to speak thus. O what can be expected, but that the Lord has his sword furbished for blood, and he will have a day of nobles’ blood! The Lord has been smiting and wounding his church and people, and blood has touched blood. Pentlandhills hath touched Mr. Guthrie’s blood; and Bothwell touched Pentland; and the drowned in the sea touched Bothwell; and Airsmoss the drowned in the sea; and *our* blood toucheth that which was spilt the 22d of July last: O that at last ye would be persuaded to desist, and spill no more blood; O that the Lord himself would stop the effusion of more innocent blood, if it may stand with his honour. But if any more be for his honour and service; Lord, keep thy people when they are called to it, to say with David, ‘ Here am I, let him do to me as seemeth him good.’

“ I am also apprehensive, that the Lord hath a great sacrifice of the bodies of multitudes, and that he will give the flesh and blood of many to the fowls of the air ; and he minds to give the fowls and birds a feast of flesh and blood. O Scotland ! wilt thou never be wise, until thou be betrayed into the hands of thine enemies ? Truly, I think it is incredible, that this land will get leave to pass long, and not be swept with the besom of justice : the Lord is really angry with this land : for I know no person, no not one, but he has just ground of controversy with. It is astonishing to me, to think on the sparing mercies of God towards these lands. For my part, I am glad that he calls me away after this manner, for which I desire with my soul to bless him, for his kindness to me, in taking this method and way with such a wretched sinner as I am, who deserves nothing but wrath, and only wrath ; but glory to the riches of his grace, who ‘ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief : he is a noble High Priest indeed. I must draw to a close ; I entreat your patience a little, and I shall say but these three or four things shortly. 1st. I would entreat you that are strangers to God, make haste and flee unto God for your life,—from this consideration, that all who had union and communion with God are now landed in glory, have died in the faith of it, that there are glorious days coming, and that the Lord will reckon with his enemies, and pay them liberally, for all the wrongs done to his cause and people. ‘ And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall punish the host of the high ones, that are on the earth, and the kings of the earth, upon the earth ; they shall be gathered together as prisoners are gathered into the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days they shall be visited ; then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord shall reign over mount Zion and Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously.’ You may read it at your leisure, in the 24th chap. of Isaiah, from the 21st verse to the end. There is another word in the xxxvi. of Job, 18th verse : it is a word of advice, given by Elihu to Job ; ‘ Because there is wrath, beware lest he take you away with a stroke ; then a great ransom cannot deliver you.’ 2dly. It is my comfort this day, that my enemies are God’s enemies. It is the allowance he bestows on poor things, in the following of their duty ;—though they have not much knowledge in religion, nor great experience, yet if they be faithful in the little, he helps them to be faithful in much. Ye know he says, ‘ Because thou hast been faithful in what I committed to thee, have thou rule over five cities.’ I know, that it is commonly reported, that they have not much grace that adhere to this persecuted way ; as I take in myself among them, who never had great gifts, nor parts, nor heart experience,—yet he has told me, since I received the sentence of death by men who are the Lord’s sword, ‘ That faithfulness in this juncture of time, in not denying his name, shall be an excuse for many infirmities.’* Among all the strong

* This sentiment will probably appear to the pious and reflecting reader to be inconsistent with right views of the Christian system. The Editor is constrained to confess that it does appear in this light to him. It must readily

contenders, none get the prize but the sincere man, the resolute man, and they who are determined, as Esther was, to go, though it should cost them their life. And this is the time that the people of God should be at holding and drawing, rugging and riving, or ever the enemies of our Lord possess his crown, and bruik it with peace. And this, I must add to these that are biassed, I shall be a dying witness against ministers and professors that made it their work to brand and clothe that faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ * with odious names and notorious lies, in calling him a Jesuit, and saying that he received the Pope's gold, and that he was a great favourite of the duke of York, a declared papist; whilst I know, and many eminent Christians know, that he hated him as a limb of Satan; and also they said, that the troopers had commission to pass him by, rather than any man, even after the declaration came out, to give 5000 merks for him dead or alive. Go and lie in the dust for what you have said of him; and what you have said of Mr. Kid; I bless the Lord that ever I saw his face, that ever I heard him preach. 3dly. Give me leave to say this much;—I am afraid the apostasy of Scotland, the neutrality and formality that is among both ministers and professors, have shaped out this church and land of Britain, in length and breadth, with the church of Laodicea, whom the Lord threatens 'to spue out of his mouth,' as a loathsome thing, and then he will have pleasure in his Zion. Yet ye see, he is snedding down a Guthrie, a Welwood, a King, a Kid, a Brown, and a Cameron, and the like of a Henry Hall, and a Robert Dick, that were contending for the truth, and for restoring the privileges of the church: and these were counted disturbers of your sinful union with the enemies of the Lord. Lay it to heart; now their blood is shed for the cause, and ye are not free of it; but ye can wipe your mouth, and say, ye are innocent! Remember *that*, in the fiftieth psalm, and 18th verse, 'When thou sawest a thief, thou joinedst with him; and this the Lord hath seen, and kept silence:' remember and mourn for it, 'lest he tear you in pieces, when there is none to deliver.' The court favour is too short a covering, it will not hide you: therefore as a dying man, I warn you as from the Lord, 'Consider your ways and your doings, that have not been good,' and cast yourselves out of the court favour, otherwise I declare ye shall not get the favour of God. 4thly. If ye will set about some days of humiliation before the Lord, and take with you your sins, and the sin of crying up this clatty liberty, which is the price of blood. 'If ye will return to the Lord, then return with all your heart; for he is merciful and gracious, and repents him of the evil that he threatens, neither will he give way to his anger.'

occur to every one who gives a moment's thought to the subject—that man, of himself, *cannot* procure, or merit forgiveness for the slightest deficiency by any exercise of patience, and fortitude, however extraordinary; that, being at the very best, nothing more than his duty.

* The person here alluded to was most probably Richard Cameron, whom the greater part of his brethren in the ministry were inclined to regard as animated by a zeal without knowledge, and of whom, it is not impossible, some might cherish still harder thoughts, as specified in the text.

He did so to me ; I no sooner began to look to him, but he made me welcome, and put me to work, though I be but young, and know nothing : he was tender of me, he took me to Bothwell-bridge, to own his cause ; and I had many temptations to stay ; what from my mother, and from one hand and another ; but I durst not for my soul stay behind. I thought it my duty to join myself with that party against the Lord's enemies, and the Lord was good to me there many ways ; he covered my head in the day of battle, and suffered not one hair of my head to fall to the ground, and he suffered many better than me a thousand times, to fall on all hands of me : so I thought then I held my life of him : and the Lord brought me to the Grayfriars' church-yard, though I came almost naked, yet he mounted me better than ever I was before with clothes, and wonderfully provided for me beyond many others. I bless the Lord, my mother's sickness did not keep me from Bothwell-bridge ; and when I was in the Grayfriars' church-yard, I was threatened with death by the Justice-general, who swore a great oath, that I should die if I would not take the bond. I told him, as it was true, that many better than I had been hanged ; but I was brought out of his hand ; and the Lord took me to the sea, and did deliver me from the ragings thereof, when he suffered many better to lose their lives.* And when he laid his hand upon me by

* Our martyr here refers to an event the most deeply tragical perhaps, in its consequences, of any that took place during the whole course of the persecution in Scotland ; viz. *the loss*, partly by shipwreck, and partly by the inhumane conduct of the sailors, of about *Two hundred* of the prisoners taken at the battle of Bothwell, who refused the proposed bond. After detaining them for about two months within the Grayfriars' church-yard, the council resolved to banish them to the colonies. With this view, they entered into an arrangement with one Paterson, a merchant in Edinburgh, who undertook to transport them accordingly. This arrangement was not completed till the month of November, when the prisoners had been about five months in confinement. Of the circumstances that followed, we give the following detail from Wodrow, which, though somewhat long, cannot but be perused with interest by every person of common humanity :—

“ Upon the 15th of November 257 of the prisoners were taken out of the Grayfriars' church-yard, early in the morning, before any of their friends knew of it ; and for any thing I can find, they had no previous intimation of it given to themselves. Yea, such was the cruelty used, that 30 of them who were dangerously ill, of distempers contracted by their hard usage, were hurried away with the rest, and no pity shewn them.

“ They were carried down under a guard to Leith, put aboard a ship lying in the Road, and continued twelve days in the Road before they sailed. The barbarity executed upon them in the ship cannot be expressed. They were stowed under deck in so little room that most part of them behoved still to stand, to give room to such as were sickly, and seemingly dying : they were penned so close, that they almost never got themselves moved, and were almost stifled for want of air ; two hundred and fifty-seven of them being pent up in the room which would scarce have contained a hundred,—many of them frequently fainted, being almost suffocated.

“ The seamen's rudeness, and inhumanity to them was singular : when lying in the Road, not only did they hinder their friends to see them, or minister to their necessities, but they narrowed them very much in the bread they ought to have had, and allowed them little or no drink, though the master had contracted to give both : to that pitch were they brought, that divers of them were forced to drink their own urine to quench the extremity of their thirst.

sickness, he made me to be favoured by all my enemies : he healed me, and brought me home ; and then he called me out to hear the gospel ; for which I desire to bless him, and within a little while, I shall praise him for it.

“ The Lord was so seen amongst his persecuted handful there, that he did engage me to join with them who were hazarding their lives upon the fields for him. I was at that late engagement, and the Lord took some work off my hand there ; and has brought me to this place, this day, to lay down my life for his sake ; and this is the last combat I shall have ; I shall work no more : I must take my leave of you all, and so rest in his love. I go where ‘ all tears shall be wiped away ;’ where ‘ the servant is made free from his master,’—to the land where ‘ the inhabitants shall not say, they are sick.’ Now, be not discouraged at the ways of God’s providence to me ; for I can assure you, the cause is his own, and he will own it. ‘ For lo, thine enemies shall perish.’ I would have every one of you seeking the favour of God : for ye will have ado with it at death and judgment : the greatest persecutor or malignant will have sore missing of His favour in that day. O seek him in time ! and the Lord help his poor young

“ ’Tis with much truth then, that I find one of themselves, James Corsan, a pious serious person, in some letter of his, dated Leith Road, complaining to his wife and friends, ‘ that all the trouble they met with since Bothwell was not to be compared to one day in their present circumstances ; that their uneasiness was beyond words ;’ yet he owns, in very pathetic terms, ‘ that the consolations of God overbalanced all, and expresses his hopes that they are near their port, and that heaven is opening for them.’ I am told there were fourteen thousand merks collected for their use by honest people at Edinburgh, and put in the hands of some to buy clothes and other things for them ; and somewhat was to be given to each of them, that might relieve their necessities when in America ; but I don’t hear it was so well employed for their behoof as it might have been, and not much of it was ever suffered to come to them by the master and seamen : the most part of them never came to need it.

“ Upon the 27th of November the ship sailed from Leith, and met with very great storms. Upon the 10th of December they found themselves off Orkney, in as dangerous a sea as is perhaps in the world. They came pretty near the shore, and cast anchor : the prisoners fearing what came to pass, entreated to be set ashore, and sent to what prison the master pleased ; but that could not be granted. Instead of this, the captain, who, by the way, I am told, was a papist, caused chain and lock all the hatches, under which the prisoners were.

“ About 10 at night the ship was forced from anchor by a most violent tempest, driven upon a rock, and broke in the middle. The seamen quickly got down the mast, and laying it ’twixt the broken ship and the rock, got ashore ; yet so barbarous were they, that upon the cries of the poor men they would not open the hatches, though, ’tis probable, had this been done, most part would have got ashore. But so far from this was the popish master and his men, that I have many concurring informations, some of them from persons present, that they hindered them from getting up upon the rock, and struck at them. And yet this villain and his men were never called to an account by the council, though the matter was notourly known ; and was as directly murder as if their throats had been cut. However, about forty, some say fifty, got hold on boards of the ship, and came ashore, and so about 200 were lost, or rather murdered.’ Wodrow’s History, v. ii.

It seems that among the fifty who thus escaped from this melancholy catastrophe, was John Malcom. His name accordingly is to be found in the account of the persons banished, in the Appendix to the Cloud of Witnesses.

wrestling people well through their trials ; the Lord help them to be faithful, and to endure to the end ; for they have the promise of being saved. Join with his people and cast in your lot with them, and do not stand on the other side ; let his cause be your cause in weal or wo. O noble cause ! O noble work ! O noble heaven ! O noble Christ, that makes it to be heaven ! and he is the owner of the work : O noble Mediator of the new covenant ! O noble Redeemer, who is powerful to help in time of need, and will help such as trust in him ! There was never one that trusted in him that came to loss, he made them always up, sometimes with an hundred-fold in this life, and heaven after.

“ I lay down my life, not as an evil-doer, but as a sufferer for Christ. I shall say no more, but a word or two. One is anent that which some would be informed in, Whether I took the bond that was tendered to the prisoners ? I acknowledge, there was a supplication drawn up, containing two articles : one was, craving the benefit of the act of indemnity : the second was, that I should not lift arms against the king, or any in *lawful* authority : but because it was not authority only, but *lawful* authority, it was not granted. And, at that time, there were pains taken by some persons of note, who persuaded me to take the bond as it was tendered by the bloody council. Indeed it hath been a thing heavier than the sand to me, and hath made me groan. I think for that, and for many other private failings, the Lord did not give me his countenance ; the Lord pardon that, as I hope he will, that I should have put my hand to a pen, and blackened paper in that supplication : but for the bond, I bless the Lord, I did not subscribe it. The second thing I am reputed guilty of is, that I supplicated for a delay some short time, and that I called it rebellion that I was at Airsmoss. Indeed I subscribed no such things : but it was only this, that it might please them to grant us some more time, for we were in confusion, because of the shortness of the time ; we desired some more time, that we might get our soul's case laid to heart, and our peace made with God through Jesus Christ. I shall say no more, but wish that ye would all seek repentance in time, before it be hid from your eyes. I recommend my soul and spirit to him, ‘ that is able to save to the uttermost all that come to him through Christ ;’ and desire to take my leave of all created comforts. Farewell all relations, farewell world, farewell sin. Welcome Christ, welcome heaven, and glory for evermore.

“ Sic Sub.—JOHN MALCOM.”*

IV. JAMES SKENE.

[Mr. James Skene was brother to the Laird of Skene in Aberdeenshire. It was but lately that he had begun to attend upon the gospel, as preached in the fields, but being informed against, he was

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 84—95.

apprehended as a hearer of Mr. Cargill, in the month of November, 1680. Indeed, this fact, which he confessed, together with his expressed opinions in favour of the insurrections of Bothwell-bridge, and Airsmoss, and of the Sanquhar and Queensferry declarations, constituted the whole of his crime. Accordingly, on the 22d of November he was indicted for 'owning the rebels at Bothwell, and Airsmoss, the Rutherglen and Sanquhar proclamations, and the excommunication at Torwood;' and being found guilty on his own confession, was sentenced to be hanged on the 24th of that month. At his own desire, however, his execution was delayed till the 1st of December. His "last words" consist of several letters to his friends, besides his proper testimony. In both, there occur expressions that certainly cannot be defended, and in reference to these, we insert the notes by which the original editor of the Cloud of Witnesses has attempted to explain them.]

1. HIS LETTER TO HIS BROTHER.

"Dear Billy,—To satisfy your desire, I send you this line, to let you know, that when I came before the council, (York and Rothes being there, two bishops, viz. Burnet and Paterson, the advocate, clerk Paterson, Linlithgow, and many more, sitters, and standers, Dalziel the general, being porter, walking proudly up and down, not as a servant) none was admitted to come in with me. I saluted them all civilly and kept off my hat, because they kept off, that they might not say that I was a Quaker. Rothes asked me, Was I at Bothwell, or Airsmoss? I answered, I was at home in the north both these times. They asked, if I did own Sanquhar declaration, and the testimony at Rutherglen? I told them, I did own them both. He asked, Did I own the king's authority? I said, in so far as it was against the covenant and interest of Christ, I disowned it. He asked me, Thought I it not a sinful murder, the killing of the Arch-prelate? I said, I thought it was their duty to kill him, when God gave them opportunity; for he had been the author of much bloodshed. They asked me, Why I carried arms? I told them, it was for self-defence, and the defence of the gospel. They asked me, Why I poisoned my ball? I told them, I wished none of them to recover whom I shot. He asked me, Why I carried a dirk? I told them, they might ask Mr. George M'Kenzie, if it was not our country fashion; and he presently told the chancellor that it was so. They asked, if I knew Cargill? I said, it was my comfort I knew him. Then they reproached him, and me for conversing with him. I said, I blessed God, he gave me sweet peace in it. They asked, Would I kill the soldiers, being the king's? I said, it was my duty if I could, when they persecuted God's people. They asked, if I would kill any of *them*? I said they were all stated enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the declaration at Sanquhar, I counted them *my* enemies. They asked, if I would think it my duty to kill the king? I said, he had stated himself an enemy to God's interest, and there was war declared against him. I said, the covenant made with God was the glory of Scotland, though they had unthankfully counted it their shame. And in direct terms,

I said to the chancellor, I have a parchment at home, wherein your father's name is, and you are bound by that, as well as I. They asked, Why I called the chancellor, Sir? I said, Sir, was a title for a king, and it might serve him. The chancellor asked, if I knew his royal highness? 'I never saw such a person.' York looks out by (for he sat in the shadow of Bishop Burnet) and said, Why did I wish the king so ill? I said, I wish no ill to any; but as they were in opposition to God, I wished them brought down: and he spake no more. The chancellor said, Would I not adhere to the acts of parliament of this kingdom? I said, I would not own any of them which were in opposition to God and his covenant. Mr. M'Kenzie said, if the king were riding by in coach, would you think it no sin to kill him? I said, by the Sanquhar declaration there was war declared against him, and so he needed not put that, in question. So Mr. M'Kenzie came out by to the bar, and said, I know your relations and mine are sib;* be ingenuous in all that is demanded of you, and I will save you from torture. I said, Sir, I know you, and ye know me and my relations; I have been as free and ingenuous as I could imagine, because I reckon it my credit, and my glory, to give a full and free confession for my blessed Lord's interest, that is reproached and borne down. They asked me where I saw Cargill last? I said, I met him last in the West Bow, to my comfort. They asked me, Who were the owners of the house? I said, I really could not tell them, I knew them not. They said, Would I know the house? I said, Yes. They said, Would I show it to some whom they would send with me? I told them I was free in what concerned myself, but to hurt any else, I could not mar my peace with God; but if they were advertised to go out of the house, I should show it to them. Then they desired me to go my ways. The general opened the door, and rounded in my ear, Ye must go down with some soldiers, and show them that house. I said, I will not do it to hurt any; these indwellers must be advertised to flee the house first.

"Then I was ordered to the guard, which was of Linlithgow's soldiers, which took me, and walked (after Archibald Stewart and John Spreul, who were examined) to the Tron, and back to the council-house of the town: I being alone, and only six soldiers with me. I took me to prayer, and was comforted; and then sent money for meat and drink; and then worshipped in public with the soldiers. At night, a person from J—— kindly wakened me, and brought me bread and ale, and sugar, and some confected carvey. After that, I was carried to a committee, where were present the chancellor, Hatton, Paterson, Justice Clerk, Wigtoun and Linlithgow: and they showed me two letters of mine to Mrs. Simpson, wherein I owned the declaration at Sanquhar, and told I would do much to persuade many that it was just, from Mr. M'Ward's advice that was given to the prisoners. I owned the letters, and told them, I did what I could to dissuade professors from paying them the cess, which they

* i. e. kindred.

ordered for bearing down the gospel: at which they laughed. The chancellor said, why did I not call him lord? I told him, were he for Christ's interest I would honour him. Then he said, he cared not for my honour; but he would have me to know he was chancellor. I said, I knew that. He said, I was not a Scotsman but a Scots beast. At which Wigtoun gloomed at him, and he laughed. He then rounded to me, that he would be my friend, would I be ingenuous. I told him, I wished him no ill. They asked me, what Mr. William Alexander was it that I wrote of? I said, Mr. Paterson the bishop, and Mr. Ross at Glasgow knew him, and persecuted him unjustly; I then related to them how it was. Paterson said, I told that which I knew not to be truth; he pitied me. He said to the chancellor, 'certainly I forgot to write.'—I was before the justiciary court, where my confession was read, and after I read it again, and told them, I thought it my honour to subscribe to it. I assented to all that was recorded by the clerk; I owned it, and counted it my honour so to do. The justice clerk, Hatton's son, being there, said, he pitied me, I being a gentleman; he knew my friends. I said, were I an earl's son, I would esteem it my honour. I desired them to canvass well what they did, for they would be pannelled before God for it. He said, I might prepare for another world. I said, I hoped the Lord would prepare me.

"Now, dear Billy, I have given you an account of the truth, as I confusedly remember; but I entreat you take all the praise you give me, and put it upon my Lord, for I am but a poor, simple, sinful worm: it is from him I had this courage. Wigtoun and the Justice Clerk, desired me to show them that house, saying, that I was free enough in all except that; and if I were obstinate, I might belike get the boots. I said, let them do with me what they pleased, in what concerned myself I was free, but to do hurt to others I would not, to bring them under their wrath; I would not mar my peace with God so far. The general said, he would parole to me, that the indwellers of the house should be advertised. I said, I would not have his parole. The chancellor boasted * me for denying his parole. I said to the chancellor, I was a gentleman that had blood relations to his relations, the earl of Mar's mother and I being sisters' bairns. He said, he was sorry I was so related. I said, the cause I was there owning honoured me; and I would it befell my friends. So this, I hope, you will not too critically reflect on my confused writing, since I am in haste; ye know, it may be, I may be cited before these bloody men this forenoon. I will not order for my funeral till I know my sentence; I may possibly be not allowed a burial. My Lord comforts me, and I leave all on him to bear me through this storm, through the valley and shadow of death. Dear Billy, bid all ye see of our serious friends help me with their prayers, that I may be helped of the Lord to be faithful unto the death: and that he will give me the faith of assurance, that I shall enjoy my

* i. e. scolded.

Lord's love through all eternity: the want of this clouds me much, I am so unworthy a wretch. I am, dear Billy, your unworthy friend, and loving brother,

“ JAMES SKENE.”

“ Tolbooth of Edinburgh,
November, 1680.*

“ P. S. I told the chancellor, the cause was just, for which the king and others were excommunicate; though I was not there, yet I adhered to it.”†

2. HIS LETTER TO THREE FRIENDS.‡

“ Dear Friends,—The Lord having dealt so graciously with me, in wonderful free love, as to bring me to the love of himself, his truths, and despised interest; as that he engaged me in a particular covenant with himself, which, by his honouring me to make me a prisoner to evil men for his despised interest, he has evidently confirmed to me; that he accepted of my bargain with himself, when most unworthy and wretched; though many times, by reason of a prevailing body of sin and death, I provoked him to cast the bargain; yet still by new obligations he engaged me to renew it. My mercy has been great, that providence ordered some time my coming south, where most suffering has been for our Lord; and for that reason, most light has been given to professors here, that they might see what was clear duty in these trying, tempting, and backsliding times. And whenever the Lord helped me to see our covenant obligations, which are the glory of Scotland, I was serious and zealous, ye know, to impart to all of you, whom I was acquainted with: the Lord always making my love to him to abound, I thought no travel ill-warded,§ or any hazard too great on any occasion, whereby I might propagate his despised interest among you. You know, how much I have contended with you for paying of that cursed cess, ordered by the convention of estates, for bearing down the gospel; as I was honoured to witness against it at a committee on Saturday last at night: you are not aware how you bring the blood of saints on your heads, by this obedience to the stated enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ: your opposing of that which was, and is the judgment of the most tender professors, in withdrawing from indulged ministers, and from these ministers that favoured them, and so did not, nor would not declare against the indulgence as a sin, that most heinously and rebelliously dishonours

* This letter as given in the *Cloud of Witnesses* is dated thus:—“ From my Lord Jesus' house, which he has made a sweet palace, wherein he shews me his wonderful free love, the close prison above the Iron-house, in the High Tolbooth of Edinburgh, November 1680.”

† *Cloud of Witnesses*, pp. 96—99.

‡ This letter as given in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, is introduced with the following title:—“ Another letter from Mr. James Skene, to all professors in the shire of Aberdeen, especially, Mr. William Alexander, Mr. William Mitchell, and Mr. John Watson, my dear acquaintances. Being the last testimony for the interest of Christ from Mr. James Skene, now in close prison for Christ's interest, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.”

§ i. e. ill-spent.

our blessed Lord as head of the church, and set up a tyrannous usurper in his place,—was a particular I much contended with many of you ; in my hearing you pleading for a sinful union with these who have conspired to dethrone our blessed Lord. Some of you opposed that which was an honourable testimony for our Lord at Rutherglen, and that declaration at Sanquhar, and the testimony or covenant that was taken at the Queensferry, calling those rash and inconsiderate, whom the Lord called out to be valiant contenders for his truth and interest, which is now contemned by a wicked apostate generation, and to seal all of them with blood : by all these the Lord has been calling his people to come from among Babel's brood ;—its cursed brood, who by many subtle Satanical ways,—what by Prelacy, Quakerism, Arminianism, Latitudinarians, and indulged ministers, and ministers, and professors, that love so their quiet, that they will not declare against, and decline that usurping traitor on the throne, Charles Stuart, and all the cursed crew of pretended magistrates in Scotland,—have forfeited their right of government, as appears by their wicked and unparalleled apostasy from that Solemn League and Covenant, upon that foul pretext, that we are not in a probable capacity to extirpate them, or put them out of office. When in our place and station, we give our witness against these usurpations, we so far contend for God, and witness for his trodden-down and despised interest, and testify our unwillingness, that our Lord should totally give up with this poor land. O ! this hath been many times a sad heart to me, ye have looked more to the credit of men than the glory of our great Lord God. I fear this testimony be unacceptable and hazardous to you to maintain, because of that they call treason in it ; but ah ! there is so much done to advance a mortal creature, a stated enemy to Christ, a furious, hasty, cruel murderer of God's saints, there is fear of disowning of God, and a palpable denying of him before men, when you own tyrannous oppressors. Your estates you cannot part with ; your credit, and pleasures, and your quiet in the world you will not part with : you will rather imagine arguments to cheat yourselves in defending your practices that are clear breaches of covenant : if your too great carnal love to the world did not blind you, and your unwillingness to quit your life for Christ, which soon will come to an end, however, with less comfort, than you would certainly have, when you adventure all for our blessed Lord.

As for you, Mr. Alexander, I may say, I have found you willing, on good information, to be for tender cleaving to your dear Master, and on bad information, making it a question, if it was duty to dethrone the pretended king ? which Mr. T. H. and Mr. R. M. opposing, biassed you from that principal duty ;—by which we are singularly known to be true covenanters, and leave those that are blind, and follow our dear Master in the duties he calls his people to ; and he will own them, and I am persuaded he has owned them who have owned him in this duty. You did quarrel at field-meetings,—enemies ordering against them, and consenting that house-meetings be enjoyed ; but here is your testimony, when you keep the fields,—you declare that our Lord's church has liberty to keep her meetings

and ordinances where she pleases, and ought not to be at the arbitrement of men.

“ To Mr. Mitchell I say, I have had a great esteem of you as a true lover of piety ; and I doubt not, the Lord has sealed your ministry sometimes, and some witnesses of it I have known : but, O Sir, what a fearful snare are you in, by complying with curates in hearing them, and taking both sacraments off their hands ! Oh ! if ye quit not all carnal love to the world, to credit, and friends, that will oppose your coming off, the hazard is great ;—the Lord may rank you with them that have opposed the rising of his kingdom : however, I am sure, he will make you mourn for it, and I doubt (if ye shortly come not off from that accursed crew) that the Lord will send you a sorer trial, than sufferers for him meet with.

“ To Mr. Watson, I write this as my last testimony ; O how unfaithful is his ministry ! he dare not, for fear of losing his ministry, declare against the heinous breach of covenant by all the pretended magistrates in the land. I grant your clearness as to other things was much one with my own. O Sir, quit men as they quit Christ’s way and interest, else you will never be clear in truths, as the Lord lets out light, and increaseth it. And this is most dreadful, to be so ensnared to walk in darkness, and so be in opposition to our blessed Lord ! O let love to the Lord Jesus Christ assuredly overcome you, and then admiring of men, and cleaving to them who are out of Christ’s way, will be no small matter, but a heinous sin. Oh ! will you adventure your salvation on it, to cleave to them who are reproaching our Lord, his people and interest, by mixing in with the cursed curates ? That person ye cleave to, draws on him the guilt of all the saints’ blood that is shed in maintaining *His* interest and covenant, whose judgment ye cannot decline, *he* being Judge of all the world. Ye may say much more, every one of you that know me : I was many times negligent of a tender walking, by seeking of settlement, and if that had been my lot ye had not heard of this testimony. You know every one of you, this testimony I gave you formerly ; even when with you, I many times wished from my heart the Lord would not order a settlement to me among you. My heart was broken with your lukewarmness and indifferency. And this I testified to several of you, and I rather choosed, I said often, to be a sheep-keeper in the south, where I might be encouraged in godliness, than to live in pomp and ease at home, with an ill conscience ; and when I came away last, I was sorry at my purpose of leaving Scotland, when I heard all were agreeing to apostasy, in my judgment then, from our best covenanted God ; and I was determined for Ireland then, being ill-informed of every one of the kingdoms, there not being a people tenderly owning the covenant in Ireland, but all some way owning the usurper Charles Stuart ; but in poor Scotland, here in the south, I found a poor handful, and about one faithful minister, whom the Lord called out, viz. Mr. Donald Cargill, to be his messenger to his people, and give witness against the apostasy of ministers and professors. Even those who were great lights in the land are now in obscurity, and avowedly reproaching our Lord’s interest and people,

whom yet the Lord will clothe with shame, and make their peace they boast of, and quiet sleep, to their great confounding. As for the call I have, to suffer, I found it my only peace to quit thoughts of Ireland, that I might not be involved in their guilt of denying to have our Lord Jesus Christ to be king over them. Of that poor party I find, only, for maintaining his prerogative royal, to which I am joined, Mr. Donald Cargill being the only faithful ambassador our Lord has in Scotland, I following the ordinances on Friday last, being as well armed for defending the gospel and myself as I could;—beyond expectation, a party of Linlithgow's soldiers is sent out to my lodging, and not dreading danger in the daytime, I thought our persecutors had never heard of my name; I was apprehended, and now at last brought hither to close prison, the Lord having honoured me to give an ample testimony before the council and lords of justiciary, for my wronged Lord Jesus, and supposing I must seal it with my blood, I leave this testimony to you, my friends and acquaintances in Aberdeenshire, and subscribe it, November 17th, 1680.

“JAMES SKENE.”*

3. HIS LETTER TO A FELLOW-PRISONER, N——.

“Much honoured friend in Christ,—I give it under my hand, I have no cause to rue my sweet bargain. His cross is easy and light yet; and that which is most terrifying, I hope he will make comfortable. O lovely Lord! what could make him to choose me to suffer for him! what is all the world to me if his honour be at stake? If his honour be advanced by my death, O happy me! I have oftentimes wished a suffering lot. I heard and saw so much of God's goodness, that I thought the cross and comforts of Christ could not be separated: and I have no reason to complain; the Lord is oft the joy of my heart, that I am forced to wonder at it; leaving further troubling you, hoping you will be as good as your word. Be much in prayer, for these two or three days. It is likely on Thursday next I will need no help of prayers, being come to the immediate vision of my Lord, to see him as he is: I will be stupified, as it were, and amazed at it. If his merits were not of infinite value, I might question, what would I do? But he has promised, ‘that I shall reign with him.’

“JAMES SKENE.”†

4. ANOTHER LETTER TO THE SAME.

“My dear friend in Christ,—I received yours, encouraging me to hold on in my blessed Lord's way, which he hath pathed to me. I am not unmindful of you, as I can; and I desire you to pray, that none may offend at the Lord's interest for me, there being a willingness

* To this letter the following note is appended in the Cloud of Witnesses: —“From my delectable prison, in which my Lord has allowed me his peace and presence, and comforted me with that, I shall reign with him eternally, for I am his, and bought with his precious blood.”—Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 99—104.

† Cloud of Witnesses, p. 104.

on my part to suffer, though justly they cannot condemn me ; for they offer me a delivery, if I would submit to the duke's and council's mercy ; but it is often evidently seen, that the ' tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.' I find no liberty to deny my Lord for fear of death : I hope he will make up my loss in himself. All I can desire of you is, to pray much for me, that the Lord will own me, for his own cause, before the adversaries, and in my dissolution. I wish the Lord to comfort his people, and tenderly own his despised interest. Mr. Carstairs said, ' He was ashamed of that principle we maintained ; and that we were not sound presbyterians ; and wished the Lord might preserve him from the like.' I am no whit troubled at this, I bless my Lord. They would have me conferring with him : I said, I would not notice him if he came near me. Tell my friend, I would have written, but had no time. I wrote yesternight to him. I need both your helps, by supplications, and strong cries to the Lord, to carry me through the valley and shadow of death. I must leave here ; wishing the Lord to bear you up under all trials. I thought you should have been in eternity before me ; but now I think, I shall leave you in the vallies, when I shall arrive at the blessed harbour. I am, dear friend, your well-wisher, and Christ's prisoner,

“ JAMES SKENE.

“ P. S. A double of my confessions you may have from a friend whom I shall desire to send it to you. I got my summons for eternity with sound of trumpet yesternight ; and my indictment with five shouts of the trumpet, and pursuivants in their coats, at seven of the clock, was a grave sight ; but my Lord helped me not to be afraid at it, since all was from him.”*

5. HIS LAST SPEECH AND TESTIMONY.†

“ Dear people,—I am come here this day, to lay down my life for owning Jesus Christ's despised interest, and for asserting that he is a King, and for averring that he is head of his own church, and has not delegated or deputed any, either pope, king, or council, to be his vicegerents on earth. Since my blessed Lord Jesus Christ has in his love engaged me by a particular covenant, in his own terms, to renounce and resign myself to him, in soul and body,—assuring me by his word, and testifying his acceptance of my resignation by his holy and blessed Spirit,—promising to redeem me from all sins, giving me assurance of a saving interest in himself,—and now having called me in his providence, contriving this my suffering, by permitting his ungodly enemies to apprehend and take me prisoner,—having wickedly plotted my taking, in my going on the way to attend what the Lord had to work on my soul by his preached gospel ;—to give a testimony for his covenant, interest, and people, that are reproached and borne down by a perjured, God-contemning generation, and to

* Cloud of Witnesses, p. 105.

† Of this speech, it is said that he intended to “ have delivered it on the scaffold ;” from which we may infer, that, in point of fact, he did not deliver it.

seal my sufferings and testimony with my blood, I most willingly lay down my life for his interest. I leave my testimony to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, which are founded on the Scriptures, the word of God, which are written by the prophets and apostles in the Old and New Testaments, which has Jesus Christ, the blessed object of our faith, for the chief corner stone of the building. I also leave my testimony to Mr. Donald Cargill's paper taken at the Queensferry, called a New Covenant, according as they agree to the true original copy.

"I adhere to presbyterian government, and the whole work of reformation of the church of Scotland, the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, consulted well, and written by the Assembly of Divines, except that article about magistracy, when ill expounded, in the 23d chapter,* because our magistracy is but pure tyranny, exercised by the lustful rage of men, yea, rather devils in the shape of men, whom God has permitted in his holy and spotless wisdom, for a trial to his people, and a snare to some others, to oppress, tyrannize, and blasphemously tread under foot his truth, interest, and people; yea, that article is expounded in the National Covenant, where we have vowed to the almighty God, not to maintain the king's interest, when he disowns the covenant, and well settled church government by presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies of the church of Scotland. I adhere to the testimony for the interest of Christ at Rutherglen; at which time the wicked acts of parliament, and the blasphemous declarations, by which they have sworn to be enemies to the interest of Christ, were solemnly burnt. I adhere to the Sanquhar declaration, whereby we that were true presbyterians did depose that tyrant, Charles Stuart; who is head of malignants and malignancy, from his exercise of government as to us: and we do no otherwise than the people of Libnah, 2 Chron. xxi. 10. 'The same time, also, did the people of Libnah revolt from under the king of Judah, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers.' And this practice is not so gross that I own, in declaring against that monstrous tyrant on the throne of Britain, as many conjecture, if seriously folk would consider the injustice practised in civil matters, by himself, and all his adherent inferior magistrates (yea, inferior tyrants, for he is the head and supreme tyrant), that no poor man that has a just cause, if he be not as profligate and wicked as themselves, can have justice; and his usurpation in ecclesiastic matters,—which is too great a task for any on earth, since they must take upon them to dethrone our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, 'who is given to be head over all things to the church,' Eph. i. 22. Psal. ii. 8. You would canvass the justice of disowning his authority, which to do, you are engaged by oath to God, he overturning the whole work of reforma

* Let none mistake this sentence, as if this worthy gentleman thereby disowned that unshaken principle of the protestant religion, that "infidelity or difference in religion does not make void the magistrates' just and legal authority;" for it is plain, he rejects only the false sense that was then put upon it, to make it an argument for defence of tyranny and arbitrary power.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

tion, which was the great ground of his enthronement in Scotland, —to maintain the Covenant and work of reformation. His wicked burning of the Covenant, and Causes of God's Wrath, is cause enough to me, to disown his authority, which is so maintained by perjury; Ezek. xvii. 15—19. 'Shall he break the covenant and prosper?' Consider likewise his oppression, in ordering military forces to oppress God's people, to obstruct, impede, and hinder the worship of God, the ordinances in houses or fields, and compel them to join with a cursed crew of prelates, curates, and some indulged ministers. Yea, his tyranny is so great, that he ordered an host of armed men in the year 1678, to invade a peaceable country in the west; who robbed, stole from, and oppressed poor people, for no other reason, but because they would not pollute their consciences, and be subject to prelacy;—which erastian government he has contended for, these several years, and kept up in this land. If there were no other cause of his rejection, these might suffice to justify any, who were engaged by God, having time and place to cut him off: for, by the law of God, murder, adultery, and oppression, are punishable by death, and kings are not exempted, far less tyrants, that are lawfully excommunicated. But to these horrid impieties is added, the shedding of the blood of poor innocents, which aggravateth his guilt; so that though the Lord should make him penitent, he deserves death by the law, according to which, 'blood cannot be expiated, but by the blood of him who shed it.' For confirmation of what I have said, see Ezek. xxi. 25—27. read also Ezek. xliii. 9. 'Put away the carcasses of your kings far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of you for ever.' Consider how our fathers contended for truth, and must we lose what they have gained? Ah! this atheistical generation of perjured, adulterous, and bloody powers, are ripe for God's vengeance! I give my testimony against the cursed persecuting soldiers; the blood of God's saints is on their heads, and mine is laid on them,—especially sergeant Warrock who apprehended me; my blood is on the justiciary,* who subscribed to my sentence, and on the fifteen assizers, James Glen, stationer, being clerk; and on the chancellor, and on Mr. George M'Kenzie, who pleaded for my condemnation; and Thomas Dalziel who ordered my taking; and upon Andrew Cunningham who condemned me; and upon all the rest who are accessory in the least thereto: yea, the privy council are to be accountable for my blood; and my blood is on the head of Mr. J—C— who condemned my testimony against these bloody tyrants, asserting me to be a Jesuit.† I leave my testimony against receiving

* These and the like sentences, which may possibly be met with in some other testimonies, ought not to be mistaken, as the effects of a revengeful ungospel spirit, but rather as a simple declaration of their being guilty of blood in condemning them, to serve as a warning to the persecutors, not to proceed further in these wicked courses, and to waken them to repentance, if possible, for what they had already done; and is much paralleled in its nature with that of Jeremiah, in his apology before the princes, chap. v. 15.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

† The person here referred to was Mr. John Carstairs, himself a sufferer for presbyterian church government. It is certainly on all hands to be re-

that accursed traitor, James, Duke of York, and all papists, quakers, prelates, curates, latitudinarians, indulged ministers, and their favourers,—the Hamilton declaration, and other papers and actings, directly or indirectly against the truth. I leave my testimony against the lukewarm professors, who write and speak grievous things to reproach the truly godly, and who keep silence when God calls them to give a free and full testimony for his despised covenant, and whole work of reformation, against a treacherous, backsliding, and adulterous generation. And as in this place, or any other of my papers, I could not have designed God's enemies, any otherways, than by their pretended offices; thus far, dear people, I crave your liberty, and let none think, that thereby I own them in the least point.

“Likewise, whereas my sufferings were delayed, the Lord, in whose presence I must appear ere long, knows what a soul grief it is to me to remember it. When the day I was sentenced to die for my dear Lord's interest, came, I—vainly expecting that my relations that were great in court, who had seen me, should have procured a reprieve for me, but being disappointed, a fear of death surprised me,—hearing that all were presently making ready for my execution; and then my carnal relations almost weeping on me, engaged me, by their insinuations, to supplicate that bloody crew for it myself. A carnal well-wisher drew it up in these terms: ‘James Skene, prisoner, earnestly desires your lordships to grant him a reprieve for some days, till he canvass these things he was sentenced for, with learned and godly men; and your lordships’ answer.’ After I subscribed it, a great confusion and horror of spirit fell on me; I went to prayer, wishing in my heart it were not granted; but such was my trouble, I could not say any thing but nonsense. My heart was afflicted sore with this straitening, and the more when the reprieve was granted. I thought, I having shifted the cross, my Lord might deny me that credit again, and put a worse on me in requital of my slighting him. I judge the Lord left me thus to slip, to humble me; and that he hid his face to make me exemplarily punished for untender carrying under his cross, which he had chosen for me,—to warn others under the cross, that they should be circumspect and zealous for keeping from being polluted with any compliance with the defections of the times, that they may have a cleanly suffering. From this backsliding I recovered not, for two days after, but found it sad for my soul;—the Lord hid his face from me: but now my God has had compassion on me, and this time of the eight days reprieve, he has preserved me

grieved that Mr. Skene should have employed such strong and offensive language in reference to so good and worthy a man. And therefore we conceive it proper to quote the following very satisfactory explanation of the matter in question, from Wodrow's History. “Mr. Carstairs himself came to some trouble about this time—disowned Mr. Skene's tenets, and owned the king's authority. In charity, I shall believe that Mr. Skene was informed that the Rev. Mr. Carstairs had said [as above alleged]; but the same charity, and Mr. Carstairs' known tenderness and temper forbids me to believe he said so. Some ignorant person had informed Mr. Skene of this, and thereupon he leaves his blood upon Mr. Carstairs as well as the Duke of York, and other persecutors.”—Vol. ii.

from such a backsliding, when the devil by his emissaries has had much artifice to turn me aside from the way of the Lord. Yet I will say this far,—all I have done was not in order to own that wicked council as lawful rulers: but my life being in their tyrannous hands, I thought I might then desire as much favour of them as of a robber, that had the dagger at my breast: and I truly look on all their actings in courts, either higher or lower judicatories, in matters civil or ecclesiastic,—that they act as murderers, oppressors, and tyrants only.

“And now these bloody oppressors say, because I will not sinfully renounce my Lord and his interest, and look on them as magistrates, and say, I spake rashly what I did, (on which terms, craving them pardon, I would soon get remission, and be at liberty,) that they look on me as guilty of my own blood: but I hope my God will not account me guilty, who knows I dare not so, sinfully disown him, for all the hazard of my poor life; there being a dilemma in my case,—either I must sin or suffer,—I have found it my only peace with my Lord, to choose suffering, and hate the way of sinning. And this I thought good to insert in my dying testimony, that others may beware of an untender walk with God, ‘who is a consuming fire to all impenitent sinners.’ Now my Lord has sealed my remission for this extravagance, and has entered into a new covenant with me, and I have resigned myself wholly to him, and to be at his disposal; and it is my rejoicing that he is calling me out to honour me so much as to suffer for his sake. A poor countryman with us, would think it his credit to be called to signify his loyalty to a nobleman who was his master:—whose courage obliges him to fight for his safety to the loss of his life: but O! what a disparity is in my case! I am but a base, wretched, sinful worm, and I am called to signify my love and loyalty to the King of glory, before treacherous and perfidious powers that sit at ease, and disown, yea, declare against my Lord, that he is not our covenanted King and Lord. And the two despised covenants are not despicable, but our glory. I will first declare that *they* are traitors, and ought to be disowned as magistrates or lawful rulers; and so many of them as have imbrued their hands in the blood of the saints, either by commissions, or votes in councils or other courts, or have lived oppressing God’s people, in adultery, uncleanness, wickedness, and witchcraft,—they are guilty of death. And when, there are no other magistrates who will duly punish these impieties, it is my duty, out of zeal to the Lord,—I say it again,—if the Lord would employ me,—to cut them off: as that zeal of Phineas, though mocked at by them in their proclamation, is a good example.

“Thus I end, wishing what I have here penned for a testimony to the Lord’s despised interest, may have weight with any, who consider, that what I have written, I must ere long reckon for; and so I have laboured to be single-hearted before the Lord in it.

“Now, having touched every thing I can remember, concerning my judgment of things controverted, as also some reason of my principles, asserted in face of a great council, and twice before the justiciaries,—which I gladly sign with my subscription, glorifying the Lord, who owned me, so that I was not ashamed, but judged it my glory to give

my full and free testimony for my blessed Lord's despised interest, against that wicked and treacherous pack of God's declared enemies: Now,—farewell all dear friends; I hope the Lord will have a glorious church in Scotland, and he will raise his glory out of the ashes of a burnt covenant. Now, farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell holy scriptures. O! I am going to a life, where I shall no more be troubled with a body of sin and death; O! I am going to a mansion of glory, that my Lord has prepared me. I shall have a crown of life, because I have been, by my blessed Lord's assistance, (though I slipped aside) made faithful to the death. Now, welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, thou hast redeemed me by thy price, and by thy power: O Lord God of hosts, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

“ Sic Sub.—JAMES SKENE.

“ In the close prison of Edinburgh, November 30, 1680, being the day before my execution, according to the unjust sentence of a perfidious court.”*

V. ARCHIBALD STEWART.

[This person belonged to the town of Borowstounness in Linlithgowshire. He seems to have been a follower of Cargill and Cameron, and was with the latter of these Worthies, when killed, in the skirmish of Airmoss. He does not appear to have been apprehended till some time after. But when taken, he was by order of council put to the torture, and a confession of his having been present in that affair, was extorted from him. He was tried along with John Potter, on the 24th of November, and being brought in guilty, was, with him, condemned to suffer on the 1st of December,—the day appointed for the execution of Mr. Skene.—His Testimony is as follows:]

“ MEN and Brethren,—It is like, the most part of you are come here to gaze and wonder upon me, rather than to be edified; but I hope there are some here, that are witnessing and sympathizing with me: but while ye are strangers to God, and ignorant of his word, and what our Lord has suffered for us, and that he has told us that ‘through many tribulations and afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of God,’ it is no wonder ye count us fools; for while I was in black nature myself, I was as mad as any of you all; but blessing to his holy name, ‘that whereas once I was blind, now I see,’ and therefore ‘I abhor myself in dust and ashes:’ and I desire the more to magnify his free grace, for all that he hath done to me; it is nothing in myself. Therefore, why should I not be content to follow the footsteps of my blessed Master that has gone before me from time to eternity, though in this manner it is unpleasant to natural sense?—and he is calling for my mite of a testimony for his despised truth. For it was in the hearing of the

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 96—112.

gospel by his suffering servants, both here and in Holland, that I was brought to the love of God, and his only Son Jesus Christ: since which time he has engaged my heart to seek him in the same way, I found him, where he was most eminently holden forth, and witnessed for, and my sins and the sins of the land holden forth to me: and it is for this that I am accused and condemned of men,—for my following the gospel preached in the fields,—because I was following that poor handful that fell at Airmoss, where Richard Cameron had been preaching, and was to preach, and because, when the bloody soldiers came upon us, we offered to defend ourselves;—whatever other causes they have to lay to my charge.

“And that ye be not mistaken with me, and the Lord’s people, and his way; though they allege that we are of bloody principles (as the indulged ministers give it out that we are of jesuitical and bloody principles,) yet the Lord knows, and I declare, that I have desired to know his will, and walk in it; and I have been studying that which all the land are obliged to, which is, to hear and keep up the gospel,—and defend my own life and the lives of my brethren, who have been so long hunted,—and to defend the gospel, which has been so long borne down. So then, however I and that suffering remnant be mistaken, in that they give out in their declaration, that I said, I would kill the king or any of the council, it is an untruth and forged calumny, to reproach the way of God, more like themselves and their own principles, who have killed so many of the people of God, both in the fields, and upon scaffolds, and us among the rest, to please that bloody tyrant, Charles Stuart’s brother, who has been thirsting for the blood of these three nations; and to make men believe that we have been contriving a plot to murder them: though, indeed, if they were brought to any trial of a just law, according to the word of God, or the laws of the land, most of them have done, or consented to more than might take their lives, both against the people of the Lord, and his borne down truths, and against the commonwealth and laws of the land. But I never said, that I would do it; and when I was before them,—especially in the justiciary court, upon trial of my life,—they would hardly give me leave to speak for, or explain myself; more like men designed to catch advantage, and to cheat me out of my life, than just judges. I know, they must answer to their great Judge for what they do.

“And this being the testimony of a dying man, they that fear the Lord will believe my declaration before their proclamation, which may be easily seen to be a plot in them, and not in us, to blind the eyes of a secure generation, and make strangers approve of their prosecution, and believe they do it justly, and laugh at our calamity,—until they can win to bring about that bloody popish design against all that will not follow them in the three nations:—although they now spare some men, and flatter them to take favours from them, whereby they engage them to lie by, till they destroy his remnant, that dare not but witness against them, and the common sins of the land;—for which I desire to mourn, and pray the Lord’s people to mourn over them, and witness against them, as they desire to be marked with the mourners, when a

holy God shall come to take vengeance on all ranks that have so forsaken and betrayed his Christ, and set up a man in his place :—which will be found to be the great idol of jealousy, besides the many other idols that have drawn away the true and kind love and fear that the generation owes to God. And because we desire to love and fear God, and to follow his sweet Christ, we are reproached and staged with tongues of many, as those that are out of the way, and are of jesuitical principles. I declare, I have in some measure been desiring and intending to know, love, and follow the truth, both in obedience to his commands, and for the hope of glory, though, I confess, through much weakness and infirmity.

“I am a presbyterian in my judgment, though I be looked upon as otherwise, because of my declaring my thoughts freely before men : and I own and adhere to the Work of Reformation, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the National and Solemn League and Covenant, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties, the Causes of God’s Wrath. Also, I own all the testimonies of our worthy sufferers, that have gone before us : as also, I own the Sanquhar Declaration, and that Excommunication at Torwood. At the writing hereof, I prayed that the Lord would open their eyes, and let them see their sins, and grant them repentance, all of them that are of the election of free grace ; and they that are not, I pray that the Lord would ratify in heaven what was done on earth by his faithful servant, as it is according to his will ; which has been all our desire.

“Now, I leave my testimony against the cursed prelates, and all their hirelings, who have been the instigators and drivers on of the council and bloody soldiers, to all the tyranny, oppression, and blood, which they have shed. And I leave my testimony against the woful indulgences, and all that have been either embracers of them, or any that have been strengtheners of their hands, or their favourers : they have broken and divided the people of the Lord, more than all the former persecutions could ever do. I leave my testimony against all lukewarm and unfaithful ministers and professors, that have turned their back upon Christ and his cause, and have fallen away from their first love, and the doing of their first works ; for they are pulling down what they first builded. I leave my testimony against the oppression, tyranny, and robbery done against the people of God, either by one or other, and especially by these wretches, Glencairn and Halyards, whose names shall be recorded for generations to come, as robbers of the widow and fatherless, ‘who have lien in wait against the dwellings of the righteous, and have spoiled his resting place ;’ and have turned many a widow and orphan out of their dwellings.

“I leave my testimony against those tyrants that have forfeited all the rights that they now lay claim to, and usurp over the people of the Lord, and the whole land, and all their unjust laws ; but especially that accursed supremacy, by which they set up a miserable, adulterous wretched man in Christ’s room, who thinks to wrong our Lord, and carry his crown : but it will be too heavy for him ; though all the wicked lords, prelates, malignants, and indulged, be joining

hand in hand to hold it on, down it shall come, and whosoever wears that crown. And it is because of his wearing my lovely Lord and King's crown, and wronging him, that I am contending ; and as he and they have proclaimed me a rebel and traitor to man, so I disown him and them, and declare him and them traitors and rebels to God and his Christ, my desirable and holy Lord and King. But let me entreat you, that desire mercy, to forsake your wicked ways, and fall in love with Christ, and seek peace with God through him, who is the only peace-maker ; for there are sad judgments coming on the land ; and all your peace with these wicked men will not keep you from the dreadful wrath of God coming on the land, because of slighting of the gospel, when it was to be had in God's own way ; and the perjury, covenant-breaking, idolatry, and profaneness, treacherous backsliding, apostasy, and other abominations, that all ranks of the land are guilty of ; and because of their receiving and entertaining of this bloody popish duke, who must be welcomed with a draught of our blood now, as he was the last time with the blood of our brethren.

“ I bless the Lord, I have great satisfaction in my owning this despised way of God, for which I lay down my life ; and also, that the Lord has drawn my heart after him, and made me heartily willing to be at his disposal : and I have sweet peace in what I have done, and would entreat all to more tenderness, and to watch over all their ways ; for there are many looking on us, and waiting for our halting in the way of God : O that the Lord would help you to wait on him, ‘ until the day break, and the shadows,’ and all those clouds, ‘ fly away !’ for this is a heavy day upon the church of God. O ! to be labouring to lie in the dust, and to hide ourselves, and shut our mouths, and be silent ; for the Lord hath rubbed shame on all faces, because of many backslidings, and upsetting in duty, and that both public and private ;—which, I think, the Lord is contending for, this day. O ! dear friends, all ye that desire to keep the way of God, and be carried faithfully through amidst all these tribulations and astonishing dispensations, forsake not your Christian fellowships, wherein so much of the power and presence of God hath been found, among those that meet together out of love and zeal for God, to pour out their hearts before him, and converse one with another. I think, the forsaking and upsetting of Christian meetings, is as sad a token of God's leaving the land, as any that I see ; and therefore I not only exhort you to this duty, but, as a dying man, I charge you, as you will answer at the great day, to set about that duty with fear, love, and zeal to God, having his glory before your eyes : and let love to Christ be the principle and motive to draw you to this, and all other duties. Let none be stumbled at the way of Christ, for what we are suffering (if I durst call it suffering) ; for, all the steps of the way are easy to me, through faith in a slain Mediator : for it is those that keep the word of his patience, that he will keep in the hour of temptation. O ! labour to keep up these lovely field meetings, wherewith my soul has been refreshed. And let it be your work to keep patience, whatever sufferings ye meet with from enemies, or reproaches from pretended

friends, who, I fear, will be found secret and heart enemies to God. This I leave to you as my last advice.

“ And now I bless God for all that he hath done for my soul, and for this way that he hath taken with me, in carrying me to the land of praise, where I shall sing that sweet song throughout the ages of eternity, which shall never have an end. O! long to be with him; for if ye knew what I have got of his love and presence, ye would whiles be giving a look to time, and bidding it be gone. Now, even let it be gone, that I may enjoy my best beloved. Now, I take my farewell of all friends and relations, and all earthly comforts, and all created glory; and welcome sweet Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

“ Sic Sub.—ARCHIBALD STEWART.”*

Upon the scaffold, he sung the second Psalm, and read the third of Malachi; but they would not suffer him to pray publicly, for when he began to speak, saying, “ O Lord, what wilt thou do with this generation? what wilt thou do with bloody Charles Stuart?” incontinent the drums were beaten, and his mouth stopped, that he got no more said.—*Cloud of Witnesses*.

VI. JOHN POTTER.

[John Potter, the person alluded to in the previous notice, was a farmer in the parish of Uphall, in West Lothian. He had not, for any thing that appeared, ever been in arms, and his persecutors had nothing to lay to his charge but his hearing Mr. Cargill, and owning the Sanquhar Declaration. Along with Stewart, however, he was accused of approving of the Bothwell and Airmoss insurrections, the Torwood excommunication, &c. and being in like manner found guilty, was condemned on the 24th November, and suffered on the 1st of December, 1680. The following is his Testimony.]

“ ALL you spectators and auditors, I desire your attention to a few words, and I shall be brief. And before I begin, I must tell you, you must not expect such a testimony from me, as ye have had from some of them that went before me, I not being a learned man, as some of them have been; however, I desire to look to God, who not only can give me what to speak, but can also bless what I speak;—so as it may be for his glory, and the good of them that love him, and wait for his coming; which is the desire of my soul. Now, being to step out of time into eternity, I hope you will not think that I shall say any thing now, but what my conscience binds me to say.

“ In the first place, I must tell you for what I am come here this

* *Cloud of Witnesses*, pp. 112—117.

day to lay down my life : it is for owning and adhering to my sworn principles. I am a presbyterian ; and herein I do rejoice, that I am to suffer for this cause only ;—for adhering to the word of God, and our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, our Covenants, National and Solemn League, together with our Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, wherein all Scotland were once engaged, and thought it their duty and honour to be so : and this is the reason for which I am sentenced to death by men ; but God, to whom vengeance doth belong, will avenge himself for all the wrongs done to his glory, cause, interest, and people. I was born under the pure light of the gospel, and was taught to own Christ as King in Zion only, and head of his own church : and this I own to be my duty : but I am here charged with rebellion, which I deny,—because I was never of that opinion, that it was rebellion to hear the gospel, for the word of God binds us to it, as our duty ; otherwise why should God have told us, that ‘ we should go from sea to sea, to seek the word of the Lord, and should not find it ? ’ And, the practice of our Lord and his apostles in preaching of the gospel to the people that heard them, is a sufficient ground to prove it to be duty to hear the gospel whether in fields or houses, when it cannot be had elsewhere : and if it be duty to hear the gospel, as it is, then certainly it is duty to defend the gospel, when preached in purity ; according to the word of God, and according to the sixth article of the Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we are bound to assist and defend all that enter into covenant with us, and to the utmost of our power, with our lives in our hands,—much more to defend the gospel, which teaches us the fundamental principles of our holy religion.

“ And to take away that vile and malicious aspersion, which they cast upon us, charging us with an intention to have murdered the duke of York, and others with him ; I declare, I had never such a principle as to murder any man ; neither did I ever hear of it, till the council told me ; which I knew to be a vile and hell-hatched aspersion, cast upon the way and people of God : but they judge others by themselves, for that is their principle to murder the gospel of God, as they also do. Next, I was charged, whether or not I adhered to the Sanquhar declaration ? I answered, I not only adhere to it, but also will lay down my life cheerfully and willingly, as I do this day, for adhering thereto ; yea, if every hair of my head were a life, and every drop of my blood were a man, I would willingly lay them all down for him and his cause. I come here to tell you, 1st, That I adhere to all the written will and word of God, and I adhere to the Confession of Faith, and our Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and to our Covenants, National and Solemn League, and to the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and to all the covenants made betwixt God and us, wherein I stand engaged. 2dly, I adhere to all the testimonies that have gone before me. 3dly, I adhere to all that has been done for maintaining and defending the gospel, against a tyrannizing and bloody enemy, when the actors thereof had the glory of God before their eyes, as the chief motive

that drove them thereto, whether at Pentland, Drumclog, Glasgow, Bothwell, Airmoss, or any other place in Scotland, where there has been any rencounter of that kind. 4thly, I adhere to that action of excommunication at the Torwood,—it being according to the word of God, and done by a faithful minister of the gospel, and in as legal a way as the present dispensation and circumstance of time could permit: and also, the persons excommunicate being guilty of such crimes, as justly to deserve that act to be passed against them. 5thly, I adhere to the testimonies of all that have borne testimony against silent and unfaithful ministers, by their withdrawing from them, which is a declaring that they do not own them as faithful ambassadors of Jesus Christ, because of their unfaithfulness: and I hope, none will condemn me for saying, that I have not had clearness to join with them, while they remain so unconcerned with the cause of Christ, and the oppression of his people. 6thly, I adhere to the way of salvation agreed upon between the Father and the Son, before the creation of the world, that through the Son we should be made perfect, which I hope to obtain, before this body of mine be cold, and in his perfection I shall be made perfect, and through his suffering I shall be conformed to him, ‘who suffered without the gate, bearing his reproach.’ And I am well pleased with my lot this day. ‘O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name, for all that he hath done for my soul,’ and for his way of bringing me here this day, to lay down my life for him. I am not afraid of grim death; I know that God has taken away the sting of death through the suffering of his Son.

“In the next place, being here as a dying witness for Christ and his cause, I do therefore leave my testimony against all abominations done in the land against a holy God, and in contempt of his image; particularly, 1. I testify against all that woful and hell-hatched act of supremacy, wherein they acknowledged the king to be head of the church, and thereby have invested a mortal creature with Christ’s crown, sword, and sceptre. 2. I bear witness, and testify against the breaking of the National and Solemn League and Covenant, and making them to be burnt by the hand of the hangman at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and elsewhere through Scotland,—so contrary to their solemn engagements. 3. I witness and bear my testimony against the reception of prelacy,—so contrary to the word of God, and our covenants; for then it was that the covenanters in Scotland should have withstood both king and council, and all that joined with them in that head, and should have testified against them with their swords in their hand, until they had resisted unto blood, according to the 6th article of the Solemn League and Covenant. O! that all that are alive this day, that were men when the covenant was burnt,—were taking with their sin, and were lying in the dust;—every one for his share in that sin, and every one for the land’s guiltiness. 4. I leave my testimony against all the horrid bloodshed that has been in the land, whether of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, or any others, that have suffered in Edinburgh, or any other place, whether on scaffolds, on gibbets, in the open fields, or on the sea; particularly that horrid act of murdering so many men after they had taken them

prisoners, and promised them their lives, which was done by Thomas Dalziel, called general, who took them prisoners, and after promising to set them at liberty, delivered them up to the bloody council, who most cruelly murdered them, against, and without all law and reason, never speaking of conscience,—for, they had lost all of that—that they ever had, when they burnt the covenant, and murdered the Marquis of Argyle, and my lord Warriston, and that eminent minister, Mr. James Guthrie, who were murdered against the very act of their own laws. 5. I bear witness and testimony against the cutting off heads and hands, and setting them up upon the ports of Edinburgh, and elsewhere through the kingdom of Scotland, as if they had been thieves or malefactors. 6. I testify and bear witness against all the imprisonments, finings, and confinings of the people of God, for adhering to his word and our covenants. 7. I testify and bear witness against the pressing of the declaration against our covenants upon the consciences of the Lord's people. 8. I testify and bear witness against the imposing and paying of cess and militia-money, both for oppressing the consciences, and grinding the faces of the poor. 9. I testify and bear witness against that cruel and hell-hatched act of sending the highland host, and the rest of that cabal, to oppress and plunder the people of God. 10thly and lastly, I bear witness against all the oppression, spoiling, robbing, and hunting of the people of God, and that, against all manner of law and reason. I shall be a standing witness against them, aye and until they repent. O! that the Lord would pour out his Spirit upon all that have so grievously turned aside, and make them to lie in the dust, and to take with their sins; but I fear a holy God has given them up to themselves, and sealed their hearts with obduration, and so they are become proof against all dispensations; but sure, such as will not bow to God, shall be broken by the mighty rod of iron that is in his hand to bruise the nations. I have here left my testimony against the perjury, bloodshed, and oppression of the people of God, which has been done by him who is called the king of Britain and Ireland; and the perjury and bloodshed acted by noblemen and gentlemen, that have been assisting and strengthening his hand in bloody and cruel courses; and therefore I leave my testimony against them, and my blood upon their heads, and especially against such as were present in the council when I was examined, and these perjured lords of the criminal court, where I was sentenced to die here in this place of execution; and also, I leave my blood upon the head of assizers, and all others who said *Amen* to my sentence:—whatever they have been, and yet are, except they repent, my blood shall be charged upon them! Likewise, I leave my testimony against all who carried arms to guard me to this scaffold, they shall be guilty of my blood, if mercy and grace prevent it not.

“Likewise, I bear witness, and leave my testimony against the reception of the duke of York, first and last, that professed papist, who has been laying out himself to carry us back to Rome, and that not only by the bloody council, and other perjured noblemen and gentlemen but also by the city of Edinburgh, that went out of the port to receive him, as though he had been a king, with shooting of

guns, sounding of trumpets, beating of drums, and kindling of bonfires ; (which is contrary to the word of God and our covenant,) after he had been cast off justly by the other kingdom of England : I shall be a witness against that action in the great day. And particularly, I leave my blood upon that wretch and bloody tyrant, the duke of York ; for it is to satisfy him, and to quench his implacable thirst after blood, that I am brought hither this day. The last time he came to Scotland, he got a sacrifice of the blood of these five that suffered at Magus-muir, who were indeed highly honoured, and nothing short of these that went before them ; and now, he must have this our blood to quench his thirst upon ; but that heart of his that is so rejoicing at the hearing and seeing of our death, ere long shall tremble, when my heart shall sing Hallelujah to the Lamb of God, and join in my note, and pass my sentence with the great Judge against him, and all the enemies of God, if great repentance and free grace prevent it not.

“ And with respect to that for which I am sentenced to death, because of many mistakes, even among the godly, through wrong information—I here as a dying man declare, that I had before me no design but only the glory of God, and the coming of Christ’s kingdom, and his reigning as King in Zion. And for this I am sentenced, and for this I lay down my life this day, and I do it willingly and cheerfully, and not by constraint ; for if I had been left of a holy God, so far as to quit one hoof of his truth, I might have redeemed my life as some have done, who were as deeply engaged to stand by the truth, even to the resisting unto blood, as I was, and seemed to be as deeply concerned as I was. How they have come out of prison I know not, but God knows, and to him they will, and must give account thereof, and to him I leave it ; but I think there are few that come out of prison now, that can say, they have neither touched, tasted, nor handled the abominations of these times wherein they live : therefore I leave my testimony and witness against all that have come out of prison, by taking of the bond, (if it were but to compear before these bloody enemies of God,) in as far as they were convinced that it was sin, as some of them were ; otherwise their tongue and pen have lied ; which I leave to God and their own conscience to determine, whether or not they have sinned in so doing. Next, I here, as a dying man, do declare, that if the blotting of paper to them would save my life, I would not do it at that rate ; for I see they are setting themselves to ensnare poor things ; and I see neither ministers nor professors to give their advice in this matter, if it be not to make them take the bond, as they did to these poor things in the churchyard. Also, I leave my testimony, and bear witness against all the unfaithfulness of ministers and professors. 1st. I bear witness against the unfaithfulness of these ministers, that were with the public resolutions, to bring in, or keep in, any of these men that were open and avowed malignants and enemies to God,—so contrary to our covenant. 2dly, I bear testimony against that Act at Glasgow, whereby six hundred ministers and upwards did quit their charge and turn their back upon their flock ; and since, many of them are turned

ravening wolves, and greedy dogs that cannot bark, according to that word, Ezek. xiii. 4, 5. ‘O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the desert, who have not gone up to the gap, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle, in the day of the Lord.’ Had it not been their duty to have stood by their charge until they had been driven out of their pulpits? 3dly, I leave my testimony against both Indulgences, first and last, and against all that comply and go on with them in that sinful course, aye and until they repent, I shall be a standing witness against them. Surely, if they be found with clean fingers when God comes to inquire after blood, I am mistaken: but O! what will they answer, when Christ will say, ‘Come here, Sir, give me an account of your talent: what did you do with your ministry? laid ye it aside at the command of Charles Stuart and the bloody council? and had ye more delight to be a Doctor or Chamberlain, than to be a minister?’ O! let the unfaithful minister remember that word in Ezek. xxxiii. 6. ‘But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, and if the sword come and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman’s hand.’ I fear that the blood of many souls will be required at the hands of the most part of the ministers of Scotland.

“I bear witness, and leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of many ministers, who have left their wonted love and burning zeal, which they had when they ventured upon the high places of the earth in preaching the gospel. And now, in the last place, I bear testimony against all that have preached, written against, or reproached that poor party that were occasionally met at Airmoss, only for the hearing of the gospel.

“And now, when I am stepping out of time into eternity, I declare that I adhere to all the doctrines that ever I heard Mr. Richard Cameron, or Mr. Donald Cargill preach; and my soul blesseth God that ever I heard either of them; for my soul hath been refreshed to hear the voice and shouting of a King among these field-meetings, wherein the fountain of living waters has been made to run down among the people of God, in such a manner that armies could not have terrified us. O! I am sure the blood that has been shed in the fields, and on scaffolds in Scotland for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, will have a glorious crop, in spite of devils and men; and I am sure, the seed sown at Airmoss will have as glorious a vintage, as ever any seed in Scotland had.

“And now, O ye that are the poor remnant that are to stay behind, who are the butt of the fury, not only of the open and bloody enemies, but also of many ministers and professors, who have gone out of the way themselves, and will not suffer others to walk in it; I have this to say to you, be earnest and constant in kything of love to Christ; walk with more fear, lest ye offend a holy and jealous God. O beware that ye quit not your integrity; there are many waiting for your halting, yea, and longing for it. Cast not off the way of Christ because of suffering. If ye knew what of his love and comforting

presence I had, since I was called to witness for him against these bloody traitors, that are thirsting after the blood of the Lord's people, ye would long for such proofs of his love; seek him early, and ye shall find him. Be not troubled because of our death, it is not a death unto the soul, but an inlet of life to it; for 'to be dead to the world is to be alive to Christ.' 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.' And rejoice, O ye poor of the flock, that wait with fear and trembling, and with faith and love in exercise; it is to you that he will come: he meeteth him that rejoiceth in, and worketh righteousness. 'Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they that are reproached for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.' O friends, it is only you that have ground to rejoice; if ye be helped by him to keep the word of his patience, he will keep you in the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the face of the earth.

"O dear friends and followers of Christ, hold on your way, weary not, faint not, and you shall receive the crown of life. It is they that overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, that shall stand,—being clothed in white robes, before the throne,—for these are they that come out of great tribulation. Remember, that there is a book of remembrance written, and the names of those are written in it, 'that speak often one to another.' O my friends, let it be your study to keep up private fellowship-meetings, wherein so much of the power and life of religion is to be found. Remember, that here I, as a dying sufferer for Christ, leave this charge to every one of you, that have any love to Christ; set about this and other duties with more fervent love and zeal than heretofore hath been done; and be much in private prayer; wrestle with God upon the account of Jacob's trouble. I will say this, that the more ye seek for Zion, the more ye will get for yourselves. Let not the reproaches cast upon the way of God stumble you. And see that when you are reviled, ye revile not again; but rather with meekness and love, in the fear of the Lord, study ye to gain others; but if they will not hearken when this is done, then be free and faithful in testifying against them for so doing; but especially let your conversation testify your dislike of these sinful courses. And now, my dear friends in Christ, I leave you to him, who has promised to be with you in fire and water, and bear the weight of all your reproaches, and who 'is afflicted in all your afflictions.'

"As for you that are lying in black nature, I exhort you to repent of your sins, and come out of that woful estate, wherein ye are now lying, and close with a slain Mediator upon his own terms. O fall in

love with the way of salvation. O can ye think of the way of redemption, and not stand and wonder at the condescendency of free grace? I tell you, 'Except you repent, ye shall all perish!'

"I have a word to speak to you that are cruel and open enemies to Christ and his cause. Remember, 'the saints shall judge the world;' and then we shall not get leave to stand on equal terms with you; but we shall be set on thrones, with crowns on our heads, and harps in our hands, to sing praise to the Lamb: and then we shall pass our sentence, with the great Judge, upon all the enemies of God, and you 'shall be turned into hell, with all the nations that forget God,' if ye repent not. I pray that the Lord would open your eyes that you may see your sins, and turn from them and live. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done, or can do to me; but for the wrongs done to Christ, in robbing him of his right over his church and people, I know vengeance belongs to God, and he will repay them; therefore I leave them under process, aye and until they repent. And now, I begin to enjoy him who is invisible; for it is but little we can see of him now: but this I am sure of, that I shall be made conform to him through his sufferings. Therefore, I take my leave of all the world, and the enjoyments thereof. I leave my wife and child to my covenanted God, who gave them to me, and willingly quit and give them up to him, hoping, that 'he will be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless,' according to his promise. I hope, that the friends of the Lord will remember the living for the dead's sake. Farewell, wife and child, parents and relations, and all friends and acquaintances! Welcome, heaven, angels, and saints; welcome God and Father; welcome lovely Jesus Christ; welcome Holy Spirit of grace, into thy hands I commend my soul and spirit.

Sic Sub.—JOHN POTTER.*

VII. ISABEL ALISON.

[The trial and execution of this and another young female, Marion Harvie, may, as Wodrow has remarked, be well regarded as "a flaming proof of the iniquity of the period." Isabel Alison belonged to Perth, and was a young unmarried woman of sober and religious habits. She had occasionally heard Mr. Cargill and some others, preach in the fields. And merely for this nonconformity and for speaking against the severity used upon some pious people in the neighbourhood, she was seized and carried before a magistrate. Here, in her simplicity, she confessed having held converse with some who had been declared rebels, and a party of soldiers were forthwith sent to carry her to Edinburgh. When brought before the Council, the most captious and ensnaring questions were put to her, and by means, partly of promises, and partly of

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 117—127.

threats, she was brought to acknowledge acquaintance with Rathillet, Balfour, and others concerned in the Primate's death. She was accordingly, with her companion, sisted before the Justiciary, where having made a similar confession, and having owned the Sanquhar Declaration, and the Queensferry Paper, and having disowned the authority of the Judges,—she was found guilty of treason, and condemned to suffer death. The doom was pronounced on the 20th, and with her fellow-prisoner, she was executed on the 26th of January 1681. Her testimony is contained in the following miscellaneous documents.]

1. HER ACCOUNT OF THE INTERROGATIONS BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

“ WHEN I was brought before the Council, they asked me, ‘where did ye live, at St. Johnstoun?’ *Answer*, ‘Yes.’ ‘What was your occupation?’ To which I did not answer. The bishop asked, if I conversed with Mr. Donald Cargill? I answered, ‘Sir, you seem to be a man whom I have no clearness to speak to.’ He desired another to ask the same question: I answered, ‘I have seen him, and I wish that I had seen him oftener.’ They asked, if I owned what he had done against the civil magistrate; I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I could read the Bible? I answered, Yes. They asked, if I knew the duty we owe to the civil magistrate? I answered, ‘When the magistrate carrieth the sword for God, according to what the scripture calls for, we owe him all due reverence; but when they overturn the work of God, and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of His servants to execute His laws and ordinances on them.’ They asked, if I owned the Sanquhar Declaration? I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I owned the Paper taken at the Queensferry on Henry Hall? I answered, ‘You need not question that.’ They asked, if I knew Mr. Skene? I answered, ‘I never saw him.’ They asked, if I conversed with rebels? I answered, ‘I never conversed with rebels.’ They asked, if I conversed with David Hackston? I answered, ‘I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth.’ They asked, if the killing of the bishop of St. Andrews was a pious act? I answered, ‘I never heard him say, that he killed him; but if God moved any, and put it upon them to execute his righteous judgments upon him, I have nothing to say to that.’ They asked, when saw ye John Balfour, that pious youth? I answered, ‘I have seen him.’ They asked, when? I answered, ‘These are frivolous questions, I am not bound to answer them.’ They said, I thought not that, a Testimony. They asked, ‘What think ye of that in the Confession of Faith, that magistrates should be owned though they were heathens?’ I answered, it was another matter, than when those who seemed to own the truth, have now overturned it, and made themselves avowed enemies to it.’ They asked, ‘Who should be judge of these things?’ I answered, ‘The Scriptures of truth, and the Spirit of God, and not men that have overturned the work themselves.’ They asked, if I knew the two Hendersons that mur-

dered the lord St. Andrews? I answered, 'I never knew any lord St. Andrews.' They said, 'Mr. James Sharp, if ye call him so.' I said, I never thought it murder; but if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked, whether or not I would own all that I had said? for, said they, 'you will be put to own it in the Grass-market:' and they bemoaned me, in putting my life in such a hazard in such a quarrel. I answered, 'I think my life little enough in the quarrel of owning my Lord and Master's sweet truths; for he hath freed me from everlasting wrath, and redeemed me; and as for my body, it is at his disposal.' They said, I did not follow the Lord's practice, in that anent Pilate. I answered, 'Christ owned his kingly office, when he was questioned on it, and he told them, He was a king, and for that end he was born;—and it is for that, that we are called in question this day,—the owning of his kingly government. The bishop said, 'We own it.' I answered, 'We have found the sad consequence of the contrary. The bishop said, he pitied me for the loss of my life. I told him, he had done me much more hurt than the loss of my life, or all the lives they had taken; for it had much more affected me, that many souls were killed by their doctrine. The bishop said, 'Wherein is our doctrine erroneous?' I said, that was better debated already, than a poor lass could debate it. They said, 'Your ministers do not approve of these things; and ye have said more than some of your ministers; for your ministers have brought you on to these opinions, and left you there.' I said, they had cast in baits among the ministers, and harled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that. Then they said, they pitied me; for, (said they) 'we find reason and a quick wit in you:' and they desired me to take it to advisement. I told them, I had been advising on it these seven years, and I hoped not to change now. They inquired mockingly, if I lectured any? I answered, 'Quakers use to do so.' They asked, if I did own presbyterian principles? I answered, that I did. They asked, if I was distempered? I told them, I was always solid in the wit that God had given me. Lastly, they asked my name, I told them, if they had staged me, they might remember my name, for I had told them already, and would not always be telling them. One of them said, 'May ye not tell us your name?' Then another of themselves told it." *

2. HER ACCOUNT OF THE INTERROGATIONS BY THE CRIMINAL JUDGES.

"Being called before the criminal lords, they asked me, if I would abide by what I said, last day? I answered, 'I am not about to deny any thing of it.' They said, ye confessed that ye harboured the killers of the bishop, though ye would not call it murder. I said, I confessed no such thing. The advocate said, I did. I answered, I did not; and I told them, I would take with no

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 127—129.

untruths. He said, did ye not converse with them? I said, 'I did converse with David Hackston, and I bless the Lord for it.' They said, 'When saw you him last?' I answered, 'Never since you murdered him. They desired me to say over what I said the last day. I said, would they have me to be my own accuser? they said, the advocate was my accuser? I said, 'Let him say on then.' Then they went over the things that past betwixt the council and me the other day and put me to it, yea, or nay. I said, ye have troubled me too much with answering questions, seeing ye are a judicature which I have no clearness to answer.' They said, 'Do ye disown us, and the king's authority in us?' I said, 'I disown you all, because you carry the sword against God, and not for him, and have these nineteen or twenty years made it your work to dethrone him, by swearing year after year against him and his work, and assuming that power to a human creature, which is due to him alone; and have rent the members from their head Christ, and one another.' Then they asked, 'Who taught you these principles?' I said, I was beholden to God that taught me these principles. They said, 'Are you a quaker?' I said, 'Did you hear me say, I was led by a spirit within me? I bless the Lord, I profited much by the persecuted gospel; and your acts of indemnity after Bothwell cleared me more than any thing I met with since.' They said, 'How could that be?' I said, 'By your meddling with Christ's interests, and parting them as ye pleased. They said, they did not usurp Christ's prerogatives. I said, 'What then mean your indulgences, and your setting up of prelacy? for there has none preached publicly these twenty years without persecution, but those that have had their orders from you.' Then they caused bring Sanquhar Declaration, and the Paper * found on Mr. Richard Cameron, and the papers taken at the Queensferry, and asked, if I would adhere to them? I said, I would, as they were according to the Scriptures, and I saw not wherein they did contradict them. They asked, if ever Mr. Welch or Mr. Riddel taught me these principles? I answered, I would be far in the wrong to speak any thing that might wrong them. Then they bade me take heed what I was saying, for it was upon life and death that I was questioned. I asked them, if they would have me to lie? 'I would not quit one truth, though it would purchase my life a thousand years, which ye cannot purchase, nor promise me an hour.' They said, 'When saw ye the two Hendersons and John Balfour? Seeing ye love ingenuity, will ye be ingenuous, and tell us, if ye saw them since the death of the bishop?' I said, they appeared publicly within the land since. They asked, if I conversed with them within these twelve months? At which, I kept silence. They urged me to say either yea, or nay. I answered, yes. Then they said, 'Your blood be upon your own head, we shall be free of it.' I answered, 'So said Pilate; but it was a question if it was so; and ye have nothing to say against me,

* This paper being taken from him, at his death, by the enemies who slew him, no copy thereof, for ought I know, has ever been procured, and hence it cannot be certainly known what was the nature of it.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

but for owning of Christ's truths, and his persecuted members. To which they answered nothing. Then they desired me to subscribe what I owned: I refused, and they did it for me." *

3. ACCOUNT OF HER ANSWERS BEFORE THE ASSIZERS.

"Dear friends,—These are to show you what past betwixt the black crew and me. They read my indictment, and asked, if I had ought to say against it? I said, nothing. They read the papers as they did formerly, and asked, if I owned them? I said, I did own them. Then they called the assizers and swore them. Then I told them, all authority is of God, Rom. xiii. 1. and when they appeared against him, I was clear to disown them; and if they were not against him, I would not have been there: 'I take every one of you witness against another, at your appearance before God, that your proceeding against me is only for owning of Christ, his gospel, and members; which I could not disown, lest I should come under the hazard of denying Christ, and so be denied of him.' And when the assize came, they asked, If I had ought to say against them? I said, they were all alike, for there would no honest man take the trade in hand. They said to the assize, it was against their will to take our lives: I said, if that had been true, they would not have brought me so far off, pursuing me for my life. This is the substance of what past, as I remember." †

4. ACCOUNT OF MR. RIDDEL'S EXAMINATION OF HER AND MARION HARVIE.

"About seven of the clock at night the goodman of the tolbooth caused call us down, against our will, to be examined by Mr. Riddel, at the council's order. So we came down, and were brought to the west side of the house, to an empty room, where they brought him unto us: the goodman of the tolbooth being present, and the keepers, and some gentlemen with them, and they caused us sit down. The goodman of the tolbooth said, 'Mr. Riddel, the council caused me bring you to confer with these women; to see if ye can bring them to repentance.' Then we protested, and said, 'As for repentance, we know not what fault we have done:' 'Then' said they, 'you cannot be the worse to have one of your ministers to confer with.' We told them, that these ministers being their servants, we looked no more upon them as ministers of Jesus Christ; and therefore he is no minister to us. Mr. Riddel asked, If the council would send Mr. Cargill to us, would we not confer with him? We said, he was not at their command; 'but if Mr. Cargill would do as ye and the rest of you have done, we would do the like with him.' So he offered to pray; we said, we were not clear to join with him in prayer. He said, wherefore? 'We said, we know the strain of your prayers will be like your discourse.' He said, 'I shall not mention any of your principles in my prayer, but only desire the Lord to let you see the evil of

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 129—131.

† Cloud of Witnesses, p. 131.

that accursed traitor, James, Duke of York, and all papists, quakers, prelates, curates, latitudinarians, indulged ministers, and their favourers,—the Hamilton declaration, and other papers and actings, directly or indirectly against the truth. I leave my testimony against the lukewarm professors, who write and speak grievous things to reproach the truly godly, and who keep silence when God calls them to give a free and full testimony for his despised covenant, and whole work of reformation, against a treacherous, backsliding, and adulterous generation. And as in this place, or any other of my papers, I could not have designed God's enemies, any otherways, than by their pretended offices; thus far, dear people, I crave your liberty, and let none think, that thereby I own them in the least point.

“Likewise, whereas my sufferings were delayed, the Lord, in whose presence I must appear ere long, knows what a soul grief it is to me to remember it. When the day I was sentenced to die for my dear Lord's interest, came, I—vainly expecting that my relations that were great in court, who had seen me, should have procured a reprieve for me, but being disappointed, a fear of death surprised me,—hearing that all were presently making ready for my execution; and then my carnal relations almost weeping on me, engaged me, by their insinuations, to supplicate that bloody crew for it myself. A carnal well-wisher drew it up in these terms: ‘James Skene, prisoner, earnestly desires your lordships to grant him a reprieve for some days, till he canvass these things he was sentenced for, with learned and godly men; and your lordships’ answer.’ After I subscribed it, a great confusion and horror of spirit fell on me; I went to prayer, wishing in my heart it were not granted; but such was my trouble, I could not say any thing but nonsense. My heart was afflicted sore with this straitening, and the more when the reprieve was granted. I thought, I having shifted the cross, my Lord might deny me that credit again, and put a worse on me in requital of my slighting him. I judge the Lord left me thus to slip, to humble me; and that he hid his face to make me exemplarily punished for untender carrying under his cross, which he had chosen for me,—to warn others under the cross, that they should be circumspect and zealous for keeping from being polluted with any compliance with the defections of the times, that they may have a cleanly suffering. From this backsliding I recovered not, for two days after, but found it sad for my soul;—the Lord hid his face from me: but now my God has had compassion on me, and this time of the eight days reprieve, he has preserved me

grieved that Mr. Skene should have employed such strong and offensive language in reference to so good and worthy a man. And therefore we conceive it proper to quote the following very satisfactory explanation of the matter in question, from Wodrow's History. “Mr. Carstairs himself came to some trouble about this time—disowned Mr. Skene's tenets, and owned the king's authority. In charity, I shall believe that Mr. Skene was informed that the Rev. Mr. Carstairs had said [as above alleged]; but the same charity, and Mr. Carstairs' known tenderness and temper forbids me to believe he said so. Some ignorant person had informed Mr. Skene of this, and thereupon he leaves his blood upon Mr. Carstairs as well as the Duke of York, and other persecutors.”—Vol. ii.

from such a backsliding, when the devil by his emissaries has had much artifice to turn me aside from the way of the Lord. Yet I will say this far,—all I have done was not in order to own that wicked council as lawful rulers: but my life being in their tyrannous hands, I thought I might then desire as much favour of them as of a robber, that had the dagger at my breast: and I truly look on all their actings in courts, either higher or lower judicatories, in matters civil or ecclesiastic,—that they act as murderers, oppressors, and tyrants only.

“ And now these bloody oppressors say, because I will not sinfully renounce my Lord and his interest, and look on them as magistrates, and say, I spake rashly what I did, (on which terms, craving them pardon, I would soon get remission, and be at liberty,) that they look on me as guilty of my own blood: but I hope my God will not account me guilty, who knows I dare not so, sinfully disown him, for all the hazard of my poor life; there being a dilemma in my case,—either I must sin or suffer,—I have found it my only peace with my Lord, to choose suffering, and hate the way of sinning. And this I thought good to insert in my dying testimony, that others may beware of an untender walk with God, ‘who is a consuming fire to all impenitent sinners.’ Now my Lord has sealed my remission for this extravagance, and has entered into a new covenant with me, and I have resigned myself wholly to him, and to be at his disposal; and it is my rejoicing that he is calling me out to honour me so much as to suffer for his sake. A poor countryman with us, would think it his credit to be called to signify his loyalty to a nobleman who was his master:—whose courage obliges him to fight for his safety to the loss of his life: but O! what a disparity is in my case! I am but a base, wretched, sinful worm, and I am called to signify my love and loyalty to the King of glory, before treacherous and perfidious powers that sit at ease, and disown, yea, declare against my Lord, that he is not our covenanted King and Lord. And the two despised covenants are not despicable, but our glory. I will first declare that *they* are traitors, and ought to be disowned as magistrates or lawful rulers; and so many of them as have imbrued their hands in the blood of the saints, either by commissions, or votes in councils or other courts, or have lived oppressing God’s people, in adultery, uncleanness, wickedness, and witchcraft,—they are guilty of death. And when, there are no other magistrates who will duly punish these impieties, it is my duty, out of zeal to the Lord,—I say it again,—if the Lord would employ me,—to cut them off: as that zeal of Phineas, though mocked at by them in their proclamation, is a good example.

“ Thus I end, wishing what I have here penned for a testimony to the Lord’s despised interest, may have weight with any, who consider, that what I have written, I must ere long reckon for; and so I have laboured to be single-hearted before the Lord in it.

“ Now, having touched every thing I can remember, concerning my judgment of things controverted, as also some reason of my principles, asserted in face of a great council, and twice before the justiciaries,—which I gladly sign with my subscription, glorifying the Lord, who owned me, so that I was not ashamed, but judged it my glory to give

my full and free testimony for my blessed Lord's despised interest, against that wicked and treacherous pack of God's declared enemies: Now,—farewell all dear friends; I hope the Lord will have a glorious church in Scotland, and he will raise his glory out of the ashes of a burnt covenant. Now, farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell holy scriptures. O! I am going to a life, where I shall no more be troubled with a body of sin and death; O! I am going to a mansion of glory, that my Lord has prepared me. I shall have a crown of life, because I have been, by my blessed Lord's assistance, (though I slipped aside) made faithful to the death. Now, welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, thou hast redeemed me by thy price, and by thy power: O Lord God of hosts, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

“ Sic Sub.—JAMES SKENE.

“ In the close prison of Edinburgh, November 30, 1680, being the day before my execution, according to the unjust sentence of a perfidious court.”*

V. ARCHIBALD STEWART.

[This person belonged to the town of Borowstounness in Linlithgowshire. He seems to have been a follower of Cargill and Cameron, and was with the latter of these Worthies, when killed, in the skirmish of Airmoss. He does not appear to have been apprehended till some time after. But when taken, he was by order of council put to the torture, and a confession of his having been present in that affair, was extorted from him. He was tried along with John Potter, on the 24th of November, and being brought in guilty, was, with him, condemned to suffer on the 1st of December,—the day appointed for the execution of Mr. Skene.—His Testimony is as follows:]

“ MEN and Brethren,—It is like, the most part of you are come here to gaze and wonder upon me, rather than to be edified; but I hope there are some here, that are witnessing and sympathizing with me: but while ye are strangers to God, and ignorant of his word, and what our Lord has suffered for us, and that he has told us that ‘through many tribulations and afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of God,’ it is no wonder ye count us fools; for while I was in black nature myself, I was as mad as any of you all; but blessing to his holy name, ‘that whereas once I was blind, now I see,’ and therefore ‘I abhor myself in dust and ashes:’ and I desire the more to magnify his free grace, for all that he hath done to me; it is nothing in myself. Therefore, why should I not be content to follow the footsteps of my blessed Master that has gone before me from time to eternity, though in this manner it is unpleasant to natural sense?—and he is calling for my mite of a testimony for his despised truth. For it was in the hearing of the

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 96—112.

gospel by his suffering servants, both here and in Holland, that I was brought to the love of God, and his only Son Jesus Christ: since which time he has engaged my heart to seek him in the same way, I found him, where he was most eminently holden forth, and witnessed for, and my sins and the sins of the land holden forth to me: and it is for this that I am accused and condemned of men,—for my following the gospel preached in the fields,—because I was following that poor handful that fell at Airsmoss, where Richard Cameron had been preaching, and was to preach, and because, when the bloody soldiers came upon us, we offered to defend ourselves;—whatever other causes they have to lay to my charge.

“ And that ye be not mistaken with me, and the Lord’s people, and his way; though they allege that we are of bloody principles (as the indulged ministers give it out that we are of jesuitical and bloody principles,) yet the Lord knows, and I declare, that I have desired to know his will, and walk in it; and I have been studying that which all the land are obliged to, which is, to hear and keep up the gospel,—and defend my own life and the lives of my brethren, who have been so long hunted,—and to defend the gospel, which has been so long borne down. So then, however I and that suffering remnant be mistaken, in that they give out in their declaration, that I said, I would kill the king or any of the council, it is an untruth and forged calumny, to reproach the way of God, more like themselves and their own principles, who have killed so many of the people of God, both in the fields, and upon scaffolds, and us among the rest, to please that bloody tyrant, Charles Stuart’s brother, who has been thirsting for the blood of these three nations; and to make men believe that we have been contriving a plot to murder them: though, indeed, if they were brought to any trial of a just law, according to the word of God, or the laws of the land, most of them have done, or consented to more than might take their lives, both against the people of the Lord, and his borne down truths, and against the commonwealth and laws of the land. But I never said, that I would do it; and when I was before them,—especially in the justiciary court, upon trial of my life,—they would hardly give me leave to speak for, or explain myself; more like men designed to catch advantage, and to cheat me out of my life, than just judges. I know, they must answer to their great Judge for what they do.

“ And this being the testimony of a dying man, they that fear the Lord will believe my declaration before their proclamation, which may be easily seen to be a plot in them, and not in us, to blind the eyes of a secure generation, and make strangers approve of their prosecution, and believe they do it justly, and laugh at our calamity,—until they can win to bring about that bloody popish design against all that will not follow them in the three nations:—although they now spare some men, and flatter them to take favours from them, whereby they engage them to lie by, till they destroy his remnant, that dare not but witness against them, and the common sins of the land;—for which I desire to mourn, and pray the Lord’s people to mourn over them, and witness against them, as they desire to be marked with the mourners, when a

holy God shall come to take vengeance on all ranks that have so forsaken and betrayed his Christ, and set up a man in his place :—which will be found to be the great idol of jealousy, besides the many other idols that have drawn away the true and kind love and fear that the generation owes to God. And because we desire to love and fear God, and to follow his sweet Christ, we are reproached and staged with tongues of many, as those that are out of the way, and are of jesuitical principles. I declare, I have in some measure been desiring and intending to know, love, and follow the truth, both in obedience to his commands, and for the hope of glory, though, I confess, through much weakness and infirmity.

“ I am a presbyterian in my judgment, though I be looked upon as otherwise, because of my declaring my thoughts freely before men : and I own and adhere to the Work of Reformation, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the National and Solemn League and Covenant, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties, the Causes of God's Wrath. Also, I own all the testimonies of our worthy sufferers, that have gone before us : as also, I own the Sanquhar Declaration, and that Excommunication at Torwood. At the writing hereof, I prayed that the Lord would open their eyes, and let them see their sins, and grant them repentance, all of them that are of the election of free grace ; and they that are not, I pray that the Lord would ratify in heaven what was done on earth by his faithful servant, as it is according to his will ; which has been all our desire.

“ Now, I leave my testimony against the cursed prelates, and all their hirelings, who have been the instigators and drivers on of the council and bloody soldiers, to all the tyranny, oppression, and blood, which they have shed. And I leave my testimony against the woful indulgences, and all that have been either embracers of them, or any that have been strengtheners of their hands, or their favourers : they have broken and divided the people of the Lord, more than all the former persecutions could ever do. I leave my testimony against all lukewarm and unfaithful ministers and professors, that have turned their back upon Christ and his cause, and have fallen away from their first love, and the doing of their first works ; for they are pulling down what they first builded. I leave my testimony against the oppression, tyranny, and robbery done against the people of God, either by one or other, and especially by these wretches, Glencairn and Halyards, whose names shall be recorded for generations to come, as robbers of the widow and fatherless, ‘ who have lien in wait against the dwellings of the righteous, and have spoiled his resting place ;’ and have turned many a widow and orphan out of their dwellings.

“ I leave my testimony against those tyrants that have forfeited all the rights that they now lay claim to, and usurp over the people of the Lord, and the whole land, and all their unjust laws ; but especially that accursed supremacy, by which they set up a miserable, adulterous wretched man in Christ's room, who thinks to wrong our Lord, and carry his crown : but it will be too heavy for him ; though all the wicked lords, prelates, malignants, and indulged, be joining

hand in hand to hold it on, down it shall come, and whosoever wears that crown. And it is because of his wearing my lovely Lord and King's crown, and wronging him, that I am contending ; and as he and they have proclaimed me a rebel and traitor to man, so I disown him and them, and declare him and them traitors and rebels to God and his Christ, my desirable and holy Lord and King. But let me entreat you, that desire mercy, to forsake your wicked ways, and fall in love with Christ, and seek peace with God through him, who is the only peace-maker ; for there are sad judgments coming on the land ; and all your peace with these wicked men will not keep you from the dreadful wrath of God coming on the land, because of slighting of the gospel, when it was to be had in God's own way ; and the perjury, covenant-breaking, idolatry, and profaneness, treacherous backsliding, apostasy, and other abominations, that all ranks of the land are guilty of ; and because of their receiving and entertaining of this bloody popish duke, who must be welcomed with a draught of our blood now, as he was the last time with the blood of our brethren.

“ I bless the Lord, I have great satisfaction in my owning this despised way of God, for which I lay down my life ; and also, that the Lord has drawn my heart after him, and made me heartily willing to be at his disposal : and I have sweet peace in what I have done, and would entreat all to more tenderness, and to watch over all their ways ; for there are many looking on us, and waiting for our halting in the way of God : O that the Lord would help you to wait on him, ‘ until the day break, and the shadows,’ and all those clouds, ‘ fly away !’ for this is a heavy day upon the church of God. O ! to be labouring to lie in the dust, and to hide ourselves, and shut our mouths, and be silent ; for the Lord hath rubbed shame on all faces, because of many backslidings, and upsetting in duty, and that both public and private ;—which, I think, the Lord is contending for, this day. O ! dear friends, all ye that desire to keep the way of God, and be carried faithfully through amidst all these tribulations and astonishing dispensations, forsake not your Christian fellowships, wherein so much of the power and presence of God hath been found, among those that meet together out of love and zeal for God, to pour out their hearts before him, and converse one with another. I think, the forsaking and upsetting of Christian meetings, is as sad a token of God's leaving the land, as any that I see ; and therefore I not only exhort you to this duty, but, as a dying man, I charge you, as you will answer at the great day, to set about that duty with fear, love, and zeal to God, having his glory before your eyes : and let love to Christ be the principle and motive to draw you to this, and all other duties. Let none be stumbled at the way of Christ, for what we are suffering (if I durst call it suffering) ; for, all the steps of the way are easy to me, through faith in a slain Mediator : for it is those that keep the word of his patience, that he will keep in the hour of temptation. O ! labour to keep up these lovely field meetings, wherewith my soul has been refreshed. And let it be your work to keep patience, whatever sufferings ye meet with from enemies, or reproaches from pretended

friends, who, I fear, will be found secret and heart enemies to God. This I leave to you as my last advice.

“ And now I bless God for all that he hath done for my soul, and for this way that he hath taken with me, in carrying me to the land of praise, where I shall sing that sweet song throughout the ages of eternity, which shall never have an end. O! long to be with him; for if ye knew what I have got of his love and presence, ye would whiles be giving a look to time, and bidding it be gone. Now, even let it be gone, that I may enjoy my best beloved. Now, I take my farewell of all friends and relations, and all earthly comforts, and all created glory; and welcome sweet Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

“ Sic Sub.—ARCHIBALD STEWART.”*

Upon the scaffold, he sung the second Psalm, and read the third of Malachi; but they would not suffer him to pray publicly, for when he began to speak, saying, “ O Lord, what wilt thou do with this generation? what wilt thou do with bloody Charles Stuart?” incontinent the drums were beaten, and his mouth stopped, that he got no more said.—*Cloud of Witnesses*.

VI. JOHN POTTER.

[John Potter, the person alluded to in the previous notice, was a farmer in the parish of Uphall, in West Lothian. He had not, for any thing that appeared, ever been in arms, and his persecutors had nothing to lay to his charge but his hearing Mr. Cargill, and owning the Sanquhar Declaration. Along with Stewart, however, he was accused of approving of the Bothwell and Airsmoss insurrections, the Torwood excommunication, &c. and being in like manner found guilty, was condemned on the 24th November, and suffered on the 1st of December, 1680. The following is his Testimony.]

“ ALL you spectators and auditors, I desire your attention to a few words, and I shall be brief. And before I begin, I must tell you, you must not expect such a testimony from me, as ye have had from some of them that went before me, I not being a learned man, as some of them have been; however, I desire to look to God, who not only can give me what to speak, but can also bless what I speak;—so as it may be for his glory, and the good of them that love him, and wait for his coming; which is the desire of my soul. Now, being to step out of time into eternity, I hope you will not think that I shall say any thing now, but what my conscience binds me to say.

“ In the first place, I must tell you for what I am come here this

* *Cloud of Witnesses*, pp. 112—117.

day to lay down my life: it is for owning and adhering to my sworn principles. I am a presbyterian; and herein I do rejoice, that I am to suffer for this cause only;—for adhering to the word of God, and our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, our Covenants, National and Solemn League, together with our Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, wherein all Scotland were once engaged, and thought it their duty and honour to be so: and this is the reason for which I am sentenced to death by men; but God, to whom vengeance doth belong, will avenge himself for all the wrongs done to his glory, cause, interest, and people. I was born under the pure light of the gospel, and was taught to own Christ as King in Zion only, and head of his own church: and this I own to be my duty: but I am here charged with rebellion, which I deny,—because I was never of that opinion, that it was rebellion to hear the gospel, for the word of God binds us to it, as our duty; otherwise why should God have told us, that ‘we should go from sea to sea, to seek the word of the Lord, and should not find it?’ And, the practice of our Lord and his apostles in preaching of the gospel to the people that heard them, is a sufficient ground to prove it to be duty to hear the gospel whether in fields or houses, when it cannot be had elsewhere: and if it be duty to hear the gospel, as it is, then certainly it is duty to defend the gospel, when preached in purity; according to the word of God, and according to the sixth article of the Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we are bound to assist and defend all that enter into covenant with us, and to the utmost of our power, with our lives in our hands,—much more to defend the gospel, which teaches us the fundamental principles of our holy religion.

“ And to take away that vile and malicious aspersion, which they cast upon us, charging us with an intention to have murdered the duke of York, and others with him; I declare, I had never such a principle as to murder any man; neither did I ever hear of it, till the council told me; which I knew to be a vile and hell-hatched aspersion, cast upon the way and people of God: but they judge others by themselves, for that is their principle to murder the gospel of God, as they also do. Next, I was charged, whether or not I adhered to the Sanquhar declaration? I answered, I not only adhere to it, but also will lay down my life cheerfully and willingly, as I do this day, for adhering thereto; yea, if every hair of my head were a life, and every drop of my blood were a man, I would willingly lay them all down for him and his cause. I come here to tell you, 1st, That I adhere to all the written will and word of God, and I adhere to the Confession of Faith, and our Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and to our Covenants, National and Solemn League, and to the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and to all the covenants made betwixt God and us, wherein I stand engaged. 2dly, I adhere to all the testimonies that have gone before me. 3dly, I adhere to all that has been done for maintaining and defending the gospel, against a tyrannizing and bloody enemy, when the actors thereof had the glory of God before their eyes, as the chief motive

that drove them thereto, whether at Pentland, Drumclog, Glasgow, Bothwell, Airmoss, or any other place in Scotland, where there has been any rencounter of that kind. 4thly, I adhere to that action of excommunication at the Torwood,—it being according to the word of God, and done by a faithful minister of the gospel, and in as legal a way as the present dispensation and circumstance of time could permit: and also, the persons excommunicate being guilty of such crimes, as justly to deserve that act to be passed against them. 5thly, I adhere to the testimonies of all that have borne testimony against silent and unfaithful ministers, by their withdrawing from them, which is a declaring that they do not own them as faithful ambassadors of Jesus Christ, because of their unfaithfulness: and I hope, none will condemn me for saying, that I have not had clearness to join with them, while they remain so unconcerned with the cause of Christ, and the oppression of his people. 6thly, I adhere to the way of salvation agreed upon between the Father and the Son, before the creation of the world, that through the Son we should be made perfect, which I hope to obtain, before this body of mine be cold, and in his perfection I shall be made perfect, and through his suffering I shall be conformed to him, ‘who suffered without the gate, bearing his reproach.’ And I am well pleased with my lot this day. ‘O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name, for all that he hath done for my soul,’ and for his way of bringing me here this day, to lay down my life for him. I am not afraid of grim death; I know that God has taken away the sting of death through the suffering of his Son.

“In the next place, being here as a dying witness for Christ and his cause, I do therefore leave my testimony against all abominations done in the land against a holy God, and in contempt of his image; particularly, 1. I testify against all that woful and hell-hatched act of supremacy, wherein they acknowledged the king to be head of the church, and thereby have invested a mortal creature with Christ’s crown, sword, and sceptre. 2. I bear witness, and testify against the breaking of the National and Solemn League and Covenant, and making them to be burnt by the hand of the hangman at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and elsewhere through Scotland,—so contrary to their solemn engagements. 3. I witness and bear my testimony against the reception of prelacy,—so contrary to the word of God, and our covenants; for then it was that the covenanters in Scotland should have withstood both king and council, and all that joined with them in that head, and should have testified against them with their swords in their hand, until they had resisted unto blood, according to the 6th article of the Solemn League and Covenant. O! that all that are alive this day, that were men when the covenant was burnt,—were taking with their sin, and were lying in the dust;—every one for his share in that sin, and every one for the land’s guiltiness. 4. I leave my testimony against all the horrid bloodshed that has been in the land, whether of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, or any others, that have suffered in Edinburgh, or any other place, whether on scaffolds, on gibbets, in the open fields, or on the sea; particularly that horrid act of murdering so many men after they had taken them

prisoners, and promised them their lives, which was done by Thomas Dalziel, called general, who took them prisoners, and after promising to set them at liberty, delivered them up to the bloody council, who most cruelly murdered them, against, and without all law and reason, never speaking of conscience,—for, they had lost all of that—that they ever had, when they burnt the covenant, and murdered the Marquis of Argyle, and my lord Warriston, and that eminent minister, Mr. James Guthrie, who were murdered against the very act of their own laws. 5. I bear witness and testimony against the cutting off heads and hands, and setting them up upon the ports of Edinburgh, and elsewhere through the kingdom of Scotland, as if they had been thieves or malefactors. 6. I testify and bear witness against all the imprisonments, finings, and confinings of the people of God, for adhering to his word and our covenants. 7. I testify and bear witness against the pressing of the declaration against our covenants upon the consciences of the Lord's people. 8. I testify and bear witness against the imposing and paying of cess and militia-money, both for oppressing the consciences, and grinding the faces of the poor. 9. I testify and bear witness against that cruel and hell-hatched act of sending the highland host, and the rest of that cabal, to oppress and plunder the people of God. 10thly and lastly, I bear witness against all the oppression, spoiling, robbing, and hunting of the people of God, and that, against all manner of law and reason. I shall be a standing witness against them, aye and until they repent. O! that the Lord would pour out his Spirit upon all that have so grievously turned aside, and make them to lie in the dust, and to take with their sins; but I fear a holy God has given them up to themselves, and sealed their hearts with obduration, and so they are become proof against all dispensations; but sure, such as will not bow to God, shall be broken by the mighty rod of iron that is in his hand to bruise the nations. I have here left my testimony against the perjury, bloodshed, and oppression of the people of God, which has been done by him who is called the king of Britain and Ireland; and the perjury and bloodshed acted by noblemen and gentlemen, that have been assisting and strengthening his hand in bloody and cruel courses; and therefore I leave my testimony against them, and my blood upon their heads, and especially against such as were present in the council when I was examined, and these perjured lords of the criminal court, where I was sentenced to die here in this place of execution; and also, I leave my blood upon the head of assizers, and all others who said *Amen* to my sentence:—whatever they have been, and yet are, except they repent, my blood shall be charged upon them! Likewise, I leave my testimony against all who carried arms to guard me to this scaffold, they shall be guilty of my blood, if mercy and grace prevent it not.

“Likewise, I bear witness, and leave my testimony against the reception of the duke of York, first and last, that professed papist, who has been laying out himself to carry us back to Rome, and that not only by the bloody council, and other perjured noblemen and gentlemen but also by the city of Edinburgh, that went out of the port to receive him, as though he had been a king, with shooting of

guns, sounding of trumpets, beating of drums, and kindling of bonfires ; (which is contrary to the word of God and our covenant,) after he had been cast off justly by the other kingdom of England : I shall be a witness against that action in the great day. And particularly, I leave my blood upon that wretch and bloody tyrant, the duke of York ; for it is to satisfy him, and to quench his implacable thirst after blood, that I am brought hither this day. The last time he came to Scotland, he got a sacrifice of the blood of these five that suffered at Magus-muir, who were indeed highly honoured, and nothing short of these that went before them ; and now, he must have this our blood to quench his thirst upon ; but that heart of his that is so rejoicing at the hearing and seeing of our death, ere long shall tremble, when my heart shall sing Hallelujah to the Lamb of God, and join in my note, and pass my sentence with the great Judge against him, and all the enemies of God, if great repentance and free grace prevent it not.

“ And with respect to that for which I am sentenced to death, because of many mistakes, even among the godly, through wrong information—I here as a dying man declare, that I had before me no design but only the glory of God, and the coming of Christ’s kingdom, and his reigning as King in Zion. And for this I am sentenced, and for this I lay down my life this day, and I do it willingly and cheerfully, and not by constraint ; for if I had been left of a holy God, so far as to quit one hoof of his truth, I might have redeemed my life as some have done, who were as deeply engaged to stand by the truth, even to the resisting unto blood, as I was, and seemed to be as deeply concerned as I was. How they have come out of prison I know not, but God knows, and to him they will, and must give account thereof, and to him I leave it ; but I think there are few that come out of prison now, that can say, they have neither touched, tasted, nor handled the abominations of these times wherein they live : therefore I leave my testimony and witness against all that have come out of prison, by taking of the bond, (if it were but to compear before these bloody enemies of God,) in as far as they were convinced that it was sin, as some of them were ; otherwise their tongue and pen have lied ; which I leave to God and their own conscience to determine, whether or not they have sinned in so doing. Next, I here, as a dying man, do declare, that if the blotting of paper to them would save my life, I would not do it at that rate ; for I see they are setting themselves to ensnare poor things ; and I see neither ministers nor professors to give their advice in this matter, if it be not to make them take the bond, as they did to these poor things in the churchyard. Also, I leave my testimony, and bear witness against all the unfaithfulness of ministers and professors. 1st. I bear witness against the unfaithfulness of these ministers, that were with the public resolutions, to bring in, or keep in, any of these men that were open and avowed malignants and enemies to God,—so contrary to our covenant. 2dly, I bear testimony against that Act at Glasgow, whereby six hundred ministers and upwards did quit their charge and turn their back upon their flock ; and since, many of them are turned

ravening wolves, and greedy dogs that cannot bark, according to that word, Ezek. xiii. 4, 5. ‘O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the desert, who have not gone up to the gap, neither made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle, in the day of the Lord.’ Had it not been their duty to have stood by their charge until they had been driven out of their pulpits? 3dly, I leave my testimony against both Indulgences, first and last, and against all that comply and go on with them in that sinful course, aye and until they repent, I shall be a standing witness against them. Surely, if they be found with clean fingers when God comes to inquire after blood, I am mistaken: but O! what will they answer, when Christ will say, ‘Come here, Sir, give me an account of your talent: what did you do with your ministry? laid ye it aside at the command of Charles Stuart and the bloody council? and had ye more delight to be a Doctor or Chamberlain, than to be a minister?’ O! let the unfaithful minister remember that word in Ezek. xxxiii. 6. ‘But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, and if the sword come and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman’s hand.’ I fear that the blood of many souls will be required at the hands of the most part of the ministers of Scotland.

“I bear witness, and leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of many ministers, who have left their wonted love and burning zeal, which they had when they ventured upon the high places of the earth in preaching the gospel. And now, in the last place, I bear testimony against all that have preached, written against, or reproached that poor party that were occasionally met at Airsmoss, only for the hearing of the gospel.

“And now, when I am stepping out of time into eternity, I declare that I adhere to all the doctrines that ever I heard Mr. Richard Cameron, or Mr. Donald Cargill preach; and my soul blesseth God that ever I heard either of them; for my soul hath been refreshed to hear the voice and shouting of a King among these field-meetings, wherein the fountain of living waters has been made to run down among the people of God, in such a manner that armies could not have terrified us. O! I am sure the blood that has been shed in the fields, and on scaffolds in Scotland for the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, will have a glorious crop, in spite of devils and men; and I am sure, the seed sown at Airsmoss will have as glorious a vintage, as ever any seed in Scotland had.

“And now, O ye that are the poor remnant that are to stay behind, who are the butt of the fury, not only of the open and bloody enemies, but also of many ministers and professors, who have gone out of the way themselves, and will not suffer others to walk in it; I have this to say to you, be earnest and constant in kything of love to Christ; walk with more fear, lest ye offend a holy and jealous God. O beware that ye quit not your integrity; there are many waiting for your halting, yea, and longing for it. Cast not off the way of Christ because of suffering. If ye knew what of his love and comforting

presence I had, since I was called to witness for him against these bloody traitors, that are thirsting after the blood of the Lord's people, ye would long for such proofs of his love ; seek him early, and ye shall find him. Be not troubled because of our death, it is not a death unto the soul, but an inlet of life to it ; for 'to be dead to the world is to be alive to Christ.' 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.' And rejoice, O ye poor of the flock, that wait with fear and trembling, and with faith and love in exercise ; it is to you that he will come : he meeteth him that rejoiceth in, and worketh righteousness. 'Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek ; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the merciful ; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness ; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the pure in heart ; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers ; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they that are reproached for righteousness' sake ; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.' O friends, it is only you that have ground to rejoice ; if ye be helped by him to keep the word of his patience, he will keep you in the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the face of the earth.

"O dear friends and followers of Christ, hold on your way, weary not, faint not, and you shall receive the crown of life. It is they that overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, that shall stand,—being clothed in white robes, before the throne,—for these are they that come out of great tribulation. Remember, that there is a book of remembrance written, and the names of those are written in it, 'that speak often one to another.' O my friends, let it be your study to keep up private fellowship-meetings, wherein so much of the power and life of religion is to be found. Remember, that here I, as a dying sufferer for Christ, leave this charge to every one of you, that have any love to Christ ; set about this and other duties with more fervent love and zeal than heretofore hath been done ; and be much in private prayer ; wrestle with God upon the account of Jacob's trouble. I will say this, that the more ye seek for Zion, the more ye will get for yourselves. Let not the reproaches cast upon the way of God stumble you. And see that when you are reviled, ye revile not again ; but rather with meekness and love, in the fear of the Lord, study ye to gain others ; but if they will not hearken when this is done, then be free and faithful in testifying against them for so doing ; but especially let your conversation testify your dislike of these sinful courses. And now, my dear friends in Christ, I leave you to him, who has promised to be with you in fire and water, and bear the weight of all your reproaches, and who 'is afflicted in all your afflictions.'

"As for you that are lying in black nature, I exhort you to repent of your sins, and come out of that woful estate, wherein ye are now lying, and close with a slain Mediator upon his own terms. O fall in

love with the way of salvation. O can ye think of the way of redemption, and not stand and wonder at the condescendency of free grace? I tell you, 'Except you repent, ye shall all perish!'

"I have a word to speak to you that are cruel and open enemies to Christ and his cause. Remember, 'the saints shall judge the world;' and then we shall not get leave to stand on equal terms with you; but we shall be set on thrones, with crowns on our heads, and harps in our hands, to sing praise to the Lamb: and then we shall pass our sentence, with the great Judge, upon all the enemies of God, and you 'shall be turned into hell, with all the nations that forget God,' if ye repent not. I pray that the Lord would open your eyes that you may see your sins, and turn from them and live. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done, or can do to me; but for the wrongs done to Christ, in robbing him of his right over his church and people, I know vengeance belongs to God, and he will repay them; therefore I leave them under process, aye and until they repent. And now, I begin to enjoy him who is invisible; for it is but little we can see of him now: but this I am sure of, that I shall be made conform to him through his sufferings. Therefore, I take my leave of all the world, and the enjoyments thereof. I leave my wife and child to my covenanted God, who gave them to me, and willingly quit and give them up to him, hoping, that 'he will be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless,' according to his promise. I hope, that the friends of the Lord will remember the living for the dead's sake. Farewell, wife and child, parents and relations, and all friends and acquaintances! Welcome, heaven, angels, and saints; welcome God and Father; welcome lovely Jesus Christ; welcome Holy Spirit of grace, into thy hands I commend my soul and spirit.

Sic Sub.—JOHN POTTER.*

VII. ISABEL ALISON.

[The trial and execution of this and another young female, Marion Harvie, may, as Wodrow has remarked, be well regarded as "a flaming proof of the iniquity of the period." Isabel Alison belonged to Perth, and was a young unmarried woman of sober and religious habits. She had occasionally heard Mr. Cargill and some others, preach in the fields. And merely for this nonconformity and for speaking against the severity used upon some pious people in the neighbourhood, she was seized and carried before a magistrate. Here, in her simplicity, she confessed having held converse with some who had been declared rebels, and a party of soldiers were forthwith sent to carry her to Edinburgh. When brought before the Council, the most captious and ensnaring questions were put to her, and by means, partly of promises, and partly of

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 117—127

threats, she was brought to acknowledge acquaintance with Rathillet, Balfour, and others concerned in the Primate's death. She was accordingly, with her companion, sisted before the Justiciary, where having made a similar confession, and having owned the Sanquhar Declaration, and the Queensferry Paper, and having disowned the authority of the Judges,—she was found guilty of treason, and condemned to suffer death. The doom was pronounced on the 20th, and with her fellow-prisoner, she was executed on the 26th of January 1681. Her testimony is contained in the following miscellaneous documents.]

1. HER ACCOUNT OF THE INTERROGATIONS BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

“ WHEN I was brought before the Council, they asked me, ‘where did ye live, at St. Johnstoun?’ *Answer*, ‘Yes.’ ‘What was your occupation?’ To which I did not answer. The bishop asked, if I conversed with Mr. Donald Cargill? I answered, ‘Sir, you seem to be a man whom I have no clearness to speak to.’ He desired another to ask the same question: I answered, ‘I have seen him, and I wish that I had seen him oftener.’ They asked, if I owned what he had done against the civil magistrate; I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I could read the Bible? I answered, Yes. They asked, if I knew the duty we owe to the civil magistrate? I answered, ‘When the magistrate carrieth the sword for God, according to what the scripture calls for, we owe him all due reverence; but when they overturn the work of God, and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of His servants to execute His laws and ordinances on them.’ They asked, if I owned the Sanquhar Declaration? I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I owned the Paper taken at the Queensferry on Henry Hall? I answered, ‘You need not question that.’ They asked, if I knew Mr. Skene? I answered, ‘I never saw him.’ They asked, if I conversed with rebels? I answered, ‘I never conversed with rebels.’ They asked, if I conversed with David Hackston? I answered, ‘I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth.’ They asked, if the killing of the bishop of St. Andrews was a pious act? I answered, ‘I never heard him say, that he killed him; but if God moved any, and put it upon them to execute his righteous judgments upon him, I have nothing to say to that.’ They asked, when saw ye John Balfour, that pious youth? I answered, ‘I have seen him.’ They asked, when? I answered, ‘These are frivolous questions, I am not bound to answer them.’ They said, I thought not that, a Testimony. They asked, ‘What think ye of that in the Confession of Faith, that magistrates should be owned though they were heathens?’ I answered, it was another matter, than when those who seemed to own the truth, have now overturned it, and made themselves avowed enemies to it.’ They asked, ‘Who should be judge of these things?’ I answered, ‘The Scriptures of truth, and the Spirit of God, and not men that have overturned the work themselves.’ They asked, if I knew the two Hendersons that mur-

dered the lord St. Andrews? I answered, 'I never knew any lord St. Andrews.' They said, 'Mr. James Sharp, if ye call him so.' I said, I never thought it murder; but if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked, whether or not I would own all that I had said? for, said they, 'you will be put to own it in the Grass-market:' and they bemoaned me, in putting my life in such a hazard in such a quarrel. I answered, 'I think my life little enough in the quarrel of owning my Lord and Master's sweet truths; for he hath freed me from everlasting wrath, and redeemed me; and as for my body, it is at his disposal.' They said, I did not follow the Lord's practice, in that anent Pilate. I answered, 'Christ owned his kingly office, when he was questioned on it, and he told them, He was a king, and for that end he was born;—and it is for that, that we are called in question this day,—the owning of his kingly government. The bishop said, 'We own it.' I answered, 'We have found the sad consequence of the contrary. The bishop said, he pitied me for the loss of my life. I told him, he had done me much more hurt than the loss of my life, or all the lives they had taken; for it had much more affected me, that many souls were killed by their doctrine. The bishop said, 'Wherein is our doctrine erroneous?' I said, that was better debated already, than a poor lass could debate it. They said, 'Your ministers do not approve of these things; and ye have said more than some of your ministers; for your ministers have brought you on to these opinions, and left you there.' I said, they had cast in baits among the ministers, and harled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that. Then they said, they pitied me; for, (said they) 'we find reason and a quick wit in you:' and they desired me to take it to advisement. I told them, I had been advising on it these seven years, and I hoped not to change now. They inquired mockingly, if I lectured any? I answered, 'Quakers use to do so.' They asked, if I did own presbyterian principles? I answered, that I did. They asked, if I was distempered? I told them, I was always solid in the wit that God had given me. Lastly, they asked my name, I told them, if they had staged me, they might remember my name, for I had told them already, and would not always be telling them. One of them said, 'May ye not tell us your name?' Then another of themselves told it." *

2. HER ACCOUNT OF THE INTERROGATIONS BY THE CRIMINAL JUDGES.

"Being called before the criminal lords, they asked me, if I would abide by what I said, last day? I answered, 'I am not about to deny any thing of it.' They said, ye confessed that ye harboured the killers of the bishop, though ye would not call it murder. I said, I confessed no such thing. The advocate said, I did. I answered, I did not; and I told them, I would take with no

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 127—129.

untruths. He said, did ye not converse with them? I said, 'I did converse with David Hackston, and I bless the Lord for it.' They said, 'When saw you him last?' I answered, 'Never since you murdered him. They desired me to say over what I said the last day. I said, would they have me to be my own accuser? they said, the advocate was my accuser? I said, 'Let him say on then.' Then they went over the things that past betwixt the council and me the other day and put me to it, yea, or nay. I said, ye have troubled me too much with answering questions, seeing ye are a judicature which I have no clearness to answer.' They said, 'Do ye disown us, and the king's authority in us?' I said, 'I disown you all, because you carry the sword against God, and not for him, and have these nineteen or twenty years made it your work to dethrone him, by swearing year after year against him and his work, and assuming that power to a human creature, which is due to him alone; and have rent the members from their head Christ, and one another.' Then they asked, 'Who taught you these principles?' I said, I was beholden to God that taught me these principles. They said, 'Are you a quaker?' I said, 'Did you hear me say, I was led by a spirit within me? I bless the Lord, I profited much by the persecuted gospel; and your acts of indemnity after Bothwell cleared me more than any thing I met with since.' They said, 'How could that be?' I said, 'By your meddling with Christ's interests, and parting them as ye pleased. They said, they did not usurp Christ's prerogatives. I said, 'What then mean your indulgences, and your setting up of prelacy? for there has none preached publicly these twenty years without persecution, but those that have had their orders from you.' Then they caused bring Sanquhar Declaration, and the Paper * found on Mr. Richard Cameron, and the papers taken at the Queensferry, and asked, if I would adhere to them? I said, I would, as they were according to the Scriptures, and I saw not wherein they did contradict them. They asked, if ever Mr. Welch or Mr. Riddel taught me these principles? I answered, I would be far in the wrong to speak any thing that might wrong them. Then they bade me take heed what I was saying, for it was upon life and death that I was questioned. I asked them, if they would have me to lie? 'I would not quit one truth, though it would purchase my life a thousand years, which ye cannot purchase, nor promise me an hour.' They said, 'When saw ye the two Hendersons and John Balfour? Seeing ye love ingenuity, will ye be ingenuous, and tell us, if ye saw them since the death of the bishop?' I said, they appeared publicly within the land since. They asked, if I conversed with them within these twelve months? At which, I kept silence. They urged me to say either yea, or nay. I answered, yes. Then they said, 'Your blood be upon your own head, we shall be free of it.' I answered, 'So said Pilate; but it was a question if it was so; and ye have nothing to say against me,

* This paper being taken from him, at his death, by the enemies who slew him, no copy thereof, for ought I know, has ever been procured, and hence it cannot be certainly known what was the nature of it.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

but for owning of Christ's truths, and his persecuted members. To which they answered nothing. Then they desired me to subscribe what I owned : I refused, and they did it for me." *

3. ACCOUNT OF HER ANSWERS BEFORE THE ASSIZERS.

" Dear friends,—These are to show you what past betwixt the black crew and me. They read my indictment, and asked, if I had ought to say against it? I said, nothing. They read the papers as they did formerly, and asked, if I owned them? I said, I did own them. Then they called the assizers and swore them. Then I told them, all authority is of God, Rom. xiii. 1. and when they appeared against him, I was clear to disown them; and if they were not against him, I would not have been there: 'I take every one of you witness against another, at your appearance before God, that your proceeding against me is only for owning of Christ, his gospel, and members; which I could not disown, lest I should come under the hazard of denying Christ, and so be denied of him.' And when the assize came, they asked, If I had ought to say against them? I said, they were all alike, for there would no honest man take the trade in hand. They said to the assize, it was against their will to take our lives: I said, if that had been true, they would not have brought me so far off, pursuing me for my life. This is the substance of what past, as I remember." †

4. ACCOUNT OF MR. RIDDEL'S EXAMINATION OF HER AND MARION HARVIE.

" About seven of the clock at night the goodman of the tolbooth caused call us down, against our will, to be examined by Mr. Riddel, at the council's order. So we came down, and were brought to the west side of the house, to an empty room, where they brought him unto us: the goodman of the tolbooth being present, and the keepers, and some gentlemen with them, and they caused us sit down. The goodman of the tolbooth said, 'Mr. Riddel, the council caused me bring you to confer with these women; to see if ye can bring them to repentance.' Then we protested, and said, 'As for repentance, we know not what fault we have done:' 'Then' said they, 'you cannot be the worse to have one of your ministers to confer with.' We told them, that these ministers being their servants, we looked no more upon them as ministers of Jesus Christ; and therefore he is no minister to us. Mr. Riddel asked, If the council would send Mr. Cargill to us, would we not confer with him? We said, he was not at their command; 'but if Mr. Cargill would do as ye and the rest of you have done, we would do the like with him.' So he offered to pray; we said, we were not clear to join with him in prayer. He said, wherefore? 'We said, we know the strain of your prayers will be like your discourse.' He said, 'I shall not mention any of your principles in my prayer, but only desire the Lord to let you see the evil of

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 129—131.

† Cloud of Witnesses, p. 131.

your doings.' We told him, we desired none of his prayers at all. They said, would we not be content to hear him? We said, forced prayers had no virtue. Then we said, what means he to pray with us more than he did with our brethren that have gone before us? Mr. Riddel said, Mr. Skene conversed with Mr. Robert Ross. We said, he did not send for him, but he intruded himself upon him. The goodman of the tolbooth said, he conversed with Mr. Meldrum, and we smiled at that, and said, he might talk to him of his perjury, but for no other thing. So, they urged prayer again. We said, it would be a mocking of God. They said, why so? We said, 'Because we cannot join in it.' So Mr. Riddel began to debate with us, and said, we would not find it in all the Scripture, nor any history, to disown the civil magistrate. We answered, 'There were never such magistrates seen as we have.' He instanced Manasseh, who "made the streets of Jerusalem to run with the blood of the prophets." We said, It was a question if he came the length in perjury. He instanced Joash: we answered, 'He was but a child when that covenant was sworn, and it was not so with those he now pleaded for.' He then instanced Nero,—how he set the city on fire, and robbed the churches; and yet notwithstanding the Apostle exhorteth submission to the magistrates then in being. We answered, 'It was in the Lord, and as they were a terror to evil-doers.' He said, although they were wicked, yet they should not be altogether cast off. We said, before their excommunication we would not have been so clear to cast them off. He said, 'There were but only seven in the excommunication, then why do ye cast off all the rest?' We answered, 'These seven carried the great sway, and the rest came in under them.' He said, 'How can one man take upon him to draw out the sword of excommunication, for the like was never heard tell of in no generation?' We answered, 'Why not one man, since there were no more faithful, and the Church hath power to cast out scandalous persons, be they high, be they low?' He said, 'Who is the Church?' We said, If there was a true Church in the world, that little handful was one, though never so insignificant, of which handful we own ourselves a part: and though our blood go in the quarrel, yet we hope, it will be the foundation of a new building, and of a lively Church.

"He said, Thought we all the ministers wrong? We answered, 'We desire to forbear, and not to add; for we desire not to speak of ministers' faults.' And, we desired him to forbear, and let us be gone; but he urged his discourse, and fell upon the papers that were taken at the Queensferry, chiefly on that part of them—'when God gives them power, it is a just law to execute justice upon all persons that are guilty.' And he came to us, and laid by his coat, and said, 'Would ye stab me with a knife in my breast even now?' And we smiled, and said, 'We never murdered any:' but, said he, *they* swore to do so. We said, Why did he not debate these things with men, and not with lasses? for, we told him, we never studied debates. He said again, Thought we all the ministers wrong? We answered, They were wrong, and forbade him to put us to it, to speak of

ministers' faults; for if he knew what we had to say of them, he would not urge us. So we desired to be gone. And he said, 'If ye come to calm blood, desire me or any of the ministers to speak to you, and ye may tell the keepers and ye may have them:' and there was a surgeon among them, and the goodman of the tolbooth said he might draw blood of us, for we were mad. We said, 'Saw ye any mad action in us?' This is all we can mind at present." *

5. HER DYING TESTIMONY.

"I being sentenced to die in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, January, 1681, thought fit to set down under my hand, the causes wherefore I suffer. I being apprehended at Perth, in my own chamber, by an order from the council, and brought to Edinburgh with a strong guard, and there put in prison, and then being examined first by a committee, and then by the criminal court; the manner of my examination was, 1st, If I conversed with David Hackston and others of our friends? Which I owned upon good grounds. 2dly, If I owned the excommunication at Torwood, and the papers found at the Queensferry, and Sanquhar Declaration, and a paper found on Mr. Cameron at Airmoss? All which I owned. Likewise I declined their authority, and told them, that they had declared war against Christ, and had usurped and taken his prerogatives, and so carried the sword against him, and not for him: so, I think, none can own them, unless they disown Christ Jesus. Therefore let enemies and pretended friends say what they will, I could have my life on no easier terms than the denying of Christ's kingly office. So I lay down my life for owning and adhering to Jesus Christ, his being a free King in his own house, for which I bless the Lord, that ever he called me to that.

Now, in the first place, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. And likewise I adhere to the Confession of Faith, because according to the Scriptures; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms; and our solemn Covenants, both National and Solemn League, as they were lawfully sworn in this land; and I adhere to the Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties; I adhere likewise to these fore-mentioned papers, and to the excommunication at Torwood, they all being according to the Scriptures of truth, and so both lawful and necessary. Likewise I adhere to the Rutherglen Testimony, and to all the testimonies of our worthies, who have suffered in Edinburgh, and elsewhere.

In the next place, I enter my protestation against all the violation done to the work of God these twenty years bygone. First, the burning of the covenant made with God, and the Causes of God's Wrath, and the thrusting in of prelates into the Lord's house, contrary to the word of God, and our sworn covenants. I leave my testimony against popery, which is so much countenanced at this day; against the receiving that limb of Antichrist the duke of York. Likewise, I leave my testimony against all the blood shed both on

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 131—134.

scaffolds and in the fields and seas ; and against all the cruelty used against all the people of the Lord. And, I leave my testimony against the paying of that wicked cess, for maintaining these profane wretches, to bear down the work of God. I leave my testimony against all unlawful bonds. And likewise against the shifting of a testimony, when clearly called by the Lord to give it. I leave my testimony against profanity of all sorts, and likewise against lukewarmness and indifferency in the Lord's matters. I leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of ministers, first and last ;—their silence at the first ;—when their Master's work was broken down, for the most part they slipped from their Master's back, without so much as giving one word of a testimony against the wrongs done to him, and now are become a snare to the poor people in going to hear the curates, and poor things following their example are ensnared ;—my finding the sad experience of it, brings it the more into my memory. Yet, notwithstanding their being convinced of their error in this, many of them carry now, as if they rued that ever they came forth to the fields to proclaim their Master a free King in his own house : and now they are fallen in under the shadow of the sworn enemies, and alas they are become profound to lay snares ; yea, 'they are a trap upon Mispah, and a net spread upon Tabor !' Oh, for the sad defection both of ministers and professors in Scotland ! it is like, our carriage may make many of our carcasses to lie in the wilderness, I leave my testimony against the indulgences, first and last, and against all that comply therewith, or connive thereat. I leave my testimony against the censuring of worthy Mr. Cameron, or any other whom God raised up to declare the whole counsel of God, and to witness against the evils of this generation. I fear when God makes inquisition for blood, ministers' hands will not be found free thereof.

" As for charging my blood on any particular person, I cannot, for I have never gotten the certainty of what hath brought me to the stage ; but if any have done it willingly, I leave it to God, and their own conscience. But I may warrantably charge it upon all the declared enemies of God within the land.

" And 1st, I leave it upon the bloody council, that sent an order to take me, for they are guilty of it. 2dly, The sheriff-clerk of Perth, and those that were with him when he took me, are guilty of it : the sheriff-clerk of Kinross, and the men that guarded me, are likewise guilty of my blood : and I leave my blood on Sir George Mackenzie, and the rest of that bloody court ; and I take the Lord to witness against them, whether or not it was on easy terms, that they offered me my life. They said only, they would not trouble me with their bishops ; but I said, that supremacy was as evil as prelacy. And they said, that I behoved to say, that the king was not an usurper, and pass from all my former confession, and that it was my duty to obey authority. I told them, that they were sworn enemies to God, so that it was impossible to obey God, and them both ; so I told them, I would not retract an hair-breadth. They said, thought I ever that he was our lawful king ? I said, yes ; for he entered into

covenant with God, and with the land: but he hath broken and cast off that tie, and hath exercised so much, both tyranny and cruelty, that I had just ground to decline him, and them both: then they bade my blood be upon my own head; but I told them, they would find it on their heads, for it was for my owning of Christ's kingly office, that they put me to suffer, say the contrary who will. Now, I bless the Lord I am free from Jesuitical principles. The Scripture is my rule, and when obedience to men is contrary to obedience to God, I am clear to disown them.

"I leave my testimony against Mr. Riddel, for his obeying these wicked men to ensnare us, and to hold out to us, before these accursed enemies of Christ, that were seeking our lives for our adhering to the truth,—that it was all delusion that we held. I many times rued that I bare so well with him; and now I hear, that he denies that which we wrote. But if ye will believe me, who am in a little to appear before God, there was nothing added, but rather wanting: I wish the Lord may forgive him.* I bless the Lord, what strikes against myself only, I can very heartily forgive; but what strikes against God and his truths,—I leave that to God, who is the Judge of all.

"Now, I would only say this to you, who are seeking to keep your garments clean, 'be sober, be vigilant, for your adversary the devil goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.' And as I would have you be zealous for the truth, and not to quit one hoof; so I would have you labour against a spirit of bitterness: beware of self; and be more ready to mourn for the slips of others, than to make them the subject of your discourse; and labour to make earnest of religion, for I find there is need of more than a good cause, when it comes to the push. O the everlasting covenant is sweet to me now! And I would also say, they that would follow Christ, need not scare at the cross, for I can set my seal to it, 'his yoke is easy, and his burden is light.' Yea, many times he hath made me go very easy through things that I have thought I would never have win through. He is the only desirable master; but he must be followed fully. Rejoice in him, all ye that love him, 'wherefore lift up your heads, and be exceeding glad, for the day of your redemption draweth nigh.' Let not your hearts faint, nor your hands grow feeble. Go on in the strength of the Lord, my dear friends, for, I hope, he will yet have a remnant both of sons and daughters, that will cleave to him, though they will be very few; 'even as the berries on the top of the outmost branches.' As for such

* It would appear from this, that the preceding document had been written sometime previous to the above Testimony, and had been submitted to Mr. Riddel's examination, or at least, that he had been informed of its contents. That there should have been some slight discrepancies between him and our martyr, as to what passed in the conversation which they had held, is not wonderful. There might be inaccuracies on either side, without any breach of honesty or sincerity. And certainly her situation at the time that the above statement was written, as soon about to enter upon eternity, formed a sufficient guarantee against any imposition on her part being practised willingly.

as are grown weary of the cross of Christ, and have drawn to a lee-shore that God never allowed, it may be, ere all be done, it will turn like a tottering fence, and a bowing wall to them, and they shall have little profit of it, and as little credit. But what shall I say to the commendation of Christ and his cross ! I bless the Lord, (praise to his holy name,) that hath made my prison a palace to me ; and what am I that he should have dealt thus with me ! I have looked greedily to such a lot as this, but still thought it was too high for me, when I saw how vile I was ; but now the Lord hath made that scripture sweet to me, Isa. vi. 6, 7. ‘Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand,—And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, lo this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.’ O how great is his love to me ! that hath brought me forth to testify against the abominations of the times, and kept me from fainting hitherto, and hath made me to rejoice in him. Now I bless the Lord that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him. Now, farewell all creature comforts ; farewell sweet Bible ; farewell ye real friends in Christ ; farewell faith and hope ; farewell prayers and all duties ; farewell sun and moon ; within a little I shall be free from sin, and all the sorrows that follow thereon. Welcome, everlasting enjoyment of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, everlasting love, everlasting joy, everlasting light !

Sic sub.—ISABEL ALISON.*

“ Edinburgh Tolbooth, }
Jan. 26, 1681.” }

6. HER LAST WORDS.

Being come to the scaffold, after singing the lxxxiv. Psalm, and reading the xvi. of Mark, she cried over the scaffold, and said, “ Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous ; and again I say, rejoice.” Then she desired to pray at that place, and the major came, and would not let her, but took her away to the ladder foot, and there she prayed. When she went up the ladder, she cried out, “ O be zealous, sirs, be zealous, be zealous ! O love the Lord all ye his servants ; O love him, sirs, ! for in his favour there is life.” And she said, “ O ye his enemies, what will ye do, whither will ye fly in that day ? For now there is a dreadful day coming on all the enemies of Jesus Christ. Come out from among them, all ye that are the Lord’s own people.” Then she said, “ Farewell all created comforts ; farewell sweet Bible, in which I delighted most, and which has been sweet to me since I came to prison ; farewell christian acquaintances. Now, ‘into thy hands I commit my spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost !’ Whereupon, the hangman threw her over. †

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 134—138.

† Cloud of Witnesses, p. 138.

VIII. MARION HARVIE.

[This person, it would appear, was still more humble in station than the preceding witness to the truth. She was only about 20 years of age, a servant! and belonged to Borrowstounness in Linlithgowshire. Being apprehended when on her way to sermon, she was immediately ensnared by the questions put to her. When sisted before the council, they had nothing to lay to her charge but what she owned; viz. her being at field conventicles. When asked about the Sanquhar Declaration and Queensferry Paper, she knew nothing about them; but being read with a view to ensnare her, she owned them, as being in her opinion agreeable to the Scriptures. When empannelled before the Justiciary, she in addition to this, disowned the king's authority—said it was lawful to kill the Archbishop, and approved of the excommunication of the king and his counsellors by Mr. Cargill. And notwithstanding she refused to sign her declaration, and protested her innocence of any actual crime, she was, as already noticed, found guilty of treason, sentenced on the 21st, and executed on the 26th of January 1681. The following papers exhibit her views of the cause for which she suffered.]

1. ACCOUNT OF HER ANSWERS BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

“ They asked first, ‘ How long is it since ye saw Mr. Donald Cargill?’ I said, ‘ I cannot tell particularly when I saw him.’ They said, ‘ Did you see him within these three months?’ I said, ‘ It may be I have.’ They said, ‘ Do ye own his covenant?’* I said, ‘ What covenant?’ Then they read it to me; and I said, I did own it. They said, do ye own the Sanquhar declaration? I answered, yes. They said, ‘ Do ye own these to be lawful?’ I said, ‘ Yes; because they are according to the Scriptures, and our covenants, which ye swore yourselves, and my father swore them.’ They said, ‘ Yea; but the covenant does not bind you to deny the king's authority.’ I said, ‘ So long as the king held the truths of God, which he swore, we are obliged to own him; but when he brake his oath, and robbed Christ of his kingly rights, which do not belong to him, we are bound to disown him, and you also.’ They said, ‘ Do ye know what ye say?’ I said, ‘ Yes.’ They said, ‘ Were ye ever mad?’ I answered, ‘ I have all the wit that ever God gave me; do ye see any mad act in me?’ They said, ‘ Where was you born?’ I answered, ‘ In Borrowstounness.’ They asked, ‘ What was your occupation there?’ I told them, ‘ I served.’ They said, ‘ Did ye serve the woman that gave Mr. Donald Cargill quarters?’ I said, ‘ That is a question which I will not answer.’ They said, ‘ Who did ground you in these principles?’ I answered, ‘ Christ by his word.’ They said, ‘ Did not ministers ground you in these?’ I answered, ‘ When the ministers preached the word, the Spirit of God

* This was the Queensferry Paper as it was called, which was found upon the body of Mr. Henry Hall when killed at that place, and which, as being composed by him and containing his sentiments, was frequently styled ‘ Mr. Cargill's Covenant.’

backed and confirmed it to me.' They said, 'Did ye ever see Mr. John Welsh?' I said, 'Yes;' my soul hath been refreshed by hearing him.' They asked, if ever I heard Mr. Archibald Riddel? I answered, 'Yes; and I bless the Lord that ever I heard him.' They said, 'Did ever they preach to take up arms against, the king?' I said, 'I have heard them preach to defend the gospel, which we are all sworn to do.' They asked, if ever I swore to Mr. Donald Cargill's Covenant? I said, 'No; but we are bound to own it.' They said, 'Did ye ever hear Mr. George Johnstoun?' I said, 'I am not concerned with him; I would not hear him, or he is joined in a confederacy with yourselves.' They said, 'Did ye hear the excommunication at the Torwood?' I said, 'No; I could not win to it.' They asked, 'If I did approve of it?' I answered, 'Yes.' They asked, 'If I approved of the killing the lord St. Andrews?' I said, 'In so far as the Lord raised up instruments to execute his just judgments upon him, I have nothing to say against it; for he was a perjured wretch, and a betrayer of the kirk of Scotland.' Then they asked, what age I was of? I answered, 'I cannot tell.' They said among themselves, that I would be about twenty years of age, and began to regret my case, and said, 'Would I cast away myself so?' I answered, 'I love my life as well as any of you do; but will not redeem it upon sinful terms; for Christ says, he that seeks to save his life, shall lose it.' They said, a rock, the cod and bobbins, were as fit for me to meddle with, as these things. Then one of them asked, when the assize should sit? and some other of them answered, on Monday. Then they asked if I could write? I answered, 'Yes.' 'Will you subscribe,' said they, 'what you have said?' I answered, 'No.' They bade the clerk set down, that I could write, but refused to subscribe. Then they asked, if I desired to converse with one of our ministers? I said, 'What minister?' They said, 'Mr. Riddel.' I said, 'What would ye have me to do with him?' They said, 'He might convince you of that sin.' I said, 'What sin?' They said, 'The sin of rebellion.' I smiled, and said, if I were as free of all sin, as the sin of rebellion, I should be an innocent creature. They asked, if they should bring Mr. Riddel to me? I said, it was an evidence he was not right, since they had him so much at their will. And I told them, I would have none of their ministers. This is all I can remember, at this present." *

ACCOUNT OF HER ANSWERS BEFORE THE JUSTICIARY COURT.

"First, I was brought and set in the pannel, with the murderers, and they read over my indictment, and asked me, if I did confess with these things? I answered, yes. Then they read Sanquhar Declaration, and asked, if I owned it? I answered, yes. They read that paper which they call the New Covenant, and asked, if I owned it? I answered, 'Yes.' Then I protested they had nothing to say against me, as to matter of fact; but only because I owned Christ and his truth, and persecuted gospel, and members, of which ye have hanged some, others you have beheaded, and quartered quick.

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 139—140.

To that they replied nothing; but called the assizers who had no will to appear, till they were about to fine them, and then they came forward. One of them said, he did not desire to be one of the assize, but they would have him. He bade them read our confession; for he knew not what they had to say against us. They bade him hold up his hand, and swear that he would be true, and he could not, but fell a trembling. The advocate bade the assizers look if I had any thing to say against them. I said, I knew none of them, but what were all bloody butchers together. And when the assizers were set in a place by themselves, I said to them, 'Now beware what ye are doing, for they have nothing to say against me; but only for owning Jesus Christ and his persecuted truths; for ye will get my blood upon your heads.' So that man that fell a trembling before, desired them to read my confession to him, and they read it. And after that, the advocate had a discourse to them, and said, 'Ye know these women are guilty of treason.' The assize said, 'They are not guilty of matters of fact?' He said, 'But treason is fact;' and taking himself again, he said, 'Tis true, it is but treason in their judgment: but go on according to our law, and if ye will not do it, I will proceed. And when they had read my confession, they had set down, that I had said, the ministers had taught me these principles, I said, 'That is a lie, and it is like the rest of your lies; for I said, that it was Christ by his word, that taught me.' They answered nothing, to that, but said, would I own the rest of my confession? I answered, 'Yes.' The advocate said, 'We do not desire to take their lives;' for we have dealt with them many ways, and sent ministers to deal with them, and we cannot prevail with them.' I said, 'We are not concerned with you, and your minsters. The advocate said, 'Tis not for religion that we are pursuing you: but for treason.' I answered, 'Tis for religion that ye are pursuing me; for I am of the same religion that ye are all sworn to be of: but ye are all gone blind. I am a true presbyterian in my judgment.' So they put the assize into a room by themselves, and removed me without the guard into another room, then they read this delay till Friday at twelve of the clock: and I charged them before the tribunal of God, as they should answer there; for, said I, 'Ye have nothing to say to me, but for my owning the persecuted gospel.' *"

3. HER DYING TESTIMONY

"Christian Friends and Acquaintances.—I being to lay down my life on Wednesday next, January 26th, 1681, I thought fit to let it be known to the world, wherefore I lay down my life; and to let it be seen, that I die not as a fool, or an evil-doer, or as a busy-body in other men's matters: no, it is for adhering to the truths of Jesus Christ, and avowing him to be King in Zion, and Head of his Church; and the testimony against the ungodly laws of men, and their robbing Christ of his rights, and usurping his prerogative royal, which I durst not but testify against; and I bless his holy name, that ever he called me to bear witness against the sins of the

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 140—142.

times, and the defections of upsetting ministers and professors. 1st, I adhere to the holy and sweet scriptures of God, which have been my rule in all I have done, in which my soul has been refreshed. 2dly, I adhere to the Confession of Faith, because agreeable to the scriptures. 3dly, I adhere to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 4thly, I adhere to the covenants, National and Solemn League, and the work of reformation. 5thly, I adhere to all the faithful testimonies, which have been left by our faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, either on scaffolds, or fields. 6thly, I adhere to the papers found at the Queensferry, on Henry Hall. 7thly, I adhere to the declaration at Sanquhar, and the testimony at Rutherglen, and the papers found on worthy Mr. Richard Cameron. 8thly, I adhere to the excommunication at the Torwood. 9thly, I adhere to the excommunication of the bishops, and their underlings; and I die in the faith of it, that the Lord hath ratified that in heaven, which his faithful servants have done on earth, as to casting out these traitors to God out of the church. And now, I desire to bless the Lord for my lot: 'my lot is fallen to me in pleasant places, and I have a goodly heritage.'

"* I leave my blood upon the traitor that sits upon the throne: then on James duke of York, who was sitting in the council when I was examined the first day. And I leave my blood on the bloody crew that call themselves rulers. And I leave it on James Henderson in the Northferry, who was the Judas that sold Archibald Stewart and Mr. Skene, and me, to the bloody soldiers for so much money. I leave my blood on sergeant Warrock, who took me, and brought me to prison. I leave my blood on the criminal lords, as they call themselves, and especially that excommunicated tyrant, George Mackenzie, the advocate, and the fifteen assizers; and on Andrew Cunningham that gave me my doom; and on that excommunicated traitor Thomas Dalziel, who was porter, that day when I was first before them, and threatened me with the boots.

"I give my testimony against the burning of the covenants, which were solemnly sworn by the three nations, with uplifted hands to the great God of heaven and earth. I leave my testimony against all the bloodshed and massacres of the Lord's people, either on scaffolds or in the fields. I protest against banishments and finings, and cruel murderings, especially the inhuman murder of worthy David Hackston; I leave my testimony against the paying of the cess, employed for the bearing down the preaching of the gospel, and the taking and killing the poor followers of Jesus Christ. I leave my testimony against the professors that say, this is not the truth of God for which I suffer, and call the way of God, delusion. I leave my testimony against Mr. Archibald Riddel, who became servant to the bloody lords, and made it his work to make me deny Christ, and betake myself to the ungodly laws of men, and call the truths of God, delusions, which I am to seal with my blood: and I rejoice that ever he counted me worthy so to do. O! I may say, 'what am I, or what is my father's house, that he should have called me'

* Understand this paragraph with the caution given, in Note, p. 284.—C. W.

out, to seal his truths with my blood? Which truths, both ministers and professors have counted it prudence, to disown and deny, for which, the land will be to mourn and sorely to smart, ere all be done. I leave my testimony against Mr. John Blair, that said, I had no more grace than his staff had, and was witness to my sentence, that day I got it; and his wife, who said, I had no more grace than her old shoes; as if grace were not free, and as though Christ had not enough to give me. I leave my testimony against both ministers and professors, that have joined themselves in any of these courses of defection with the enemies, and are fast in their camps.

“I leave my testimony against popery, prelacy, quakerism, and indulgency, and desire to mourn for it, that ever I joined with them in hearing them, or any of those that connive at them. I leave my testimony against all Jesuitical principles, although our professors say, that I adhere to them; I deny it, and I take God to be my witness, that I hate all opinions that are contrary to the sound truths of God. And since ever God called me to follow his persecuted gospel, it was still my desire to stick close by him, and the rule he has set down for poor sinners to walk by. And it was always my rejoicing to serve him, and to act and do for his truth, and to vindicate it. And many a sore heart I have had with them, in vindicating his truths, when they have been denying them, and casting dirt in the faces of the faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ; and I desire all these that are endeavouring to contend for Christ and his truths, that they would be faithful in their witnessing for him, and eschew the least appearance of sin. For I, a dying witness of Christ, obtest you, as you will answer, when you stand before him in the day of your appearance, that ye be faithful in owning him, in all his truths, and not yield a hoof to these ungodly, perjured, bloody and excommunicated traitors, and tyrants; for there is much advantage to be had in faithfulness for Christ; and that I may set to my seal to the truth of. And I think Christ is taking a narrow view of his followers at this time; for there are few that yield a hairbreadth of the truths of God, that readily win to their feet again; but go from one degree of defection to another.

“And again, I desire to bless and magnify the Lord, for my lot, and may say, ‘he hath brought me to the wilderness to allure me there, and speak comfortably to my soul.’ It was but little of him I knew when I came to prison; but now he has said to me, ‘Because he lives, I shall live also:’ and he has told me, ‘I am he, that hath blotted out thine iniquity, for my own name’s sake.’ Kind has he been to me, since he brought me out to witness for him. I have never sought any thing from him, that was for his glory, since I came to prison, but he granted me my desire. For the most part, I have found him in every thing, that hath come in my way, ordering it himself, for his own glory. And now I bless him, that thoughts of death are not terrible to me. He hath made me as willing to lay down my life for him, as ever I was willing to live in the world. And now, ye that are his witnesses, be not afraid to venture on the cross of Christ. ‘For his yoke is easy, and his burden is light.’

For many times have I been made to think strange, what makes folk cast at the cross of Christ, that hath been so light to me, that I found no burden in it at all, he bore me and it both. Now, let not the frowns of men, and their flatteries, put you from your duty. Keep up your societies, and the assembling of yourselves together: for there is much profit to be found in it. Many times hath it been found comfortable to me, to hear of the few in Scotland, in which Christ was delighting; and that there was much love to God's glory, and zeal for his honour amongst them. Now, be humbled, and lie in the dust, and never give over crying in behalf of the church, which is so small, that it can scarcely be discerned,—never give over till he appear; for I think he is near at hand. O watch, and double your diligence, and 'hold fast till he come, and let none take your crown, for he is good to the soul that seeks him.' If I were to live again, I would let that perjured crew see, that I should be more guilty of that which they call rebellion, in serving my lovely King, and in acting and doing for him and his glory, if he called me to it: and it is my grief, that I have not been more faithful for my master Christ. All his dealings with me have been in love and in mercy. His corrections have been all in love and free grace. O free love! O! I am oft made to wonder, what it was that made him take a blasphemer to witness for him and his truths. I may say, 'I am a brand plucked out of the fire:' I am a limb of the devil plucked out from his fire-side. O! I am made to wonder and admire at his condescending love! Now I leave my testimony against Jean Forrest, for saying, that I am going to the grave with a lie in my right hand, and charging my blood on my own head. O, my friends, 'come out from among them, and touch not the unclean thing.' It will never be well, till there be a separation from sin. I bless the Lord that ever I heard Mr. Cargill, that faithful servant of Jesus Christ; I bless the Lord that ever I heard Mr. Richard Cameron, my soul has been refreshed with the hearing of him, particularly at a communion in Carrick, on these words in Psalm lxxxv. 8. 'The Lord will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints; but let them not turn again to folly.' Now I leave my testimony against all the backsliding ministers, who, when I began to hear the gospel, preached the same truths, which I am to lay down my life for at this time; but now they are joined in a combination against God, and for the most part, are all at the enemies' will, for when I got my sentence, the bloody traitors promised to bring any of our ministers to us, when before them; and so this gives me ground to say, they are become their servants.

"Now the Lord knows, I have a sore heart to mention these things: but when I saw some of them there, and they offering us any of the rest, it gives me ground to set it down with a sore heart. Now what shall I say? I have sinned against him, and I am guilty of the defections, for which my carcase must lie in the wilderness, and not see the King come home to his habitation. But O! I am content, and heartily content, that he gives me my soul for a prey; and well it is for me, I think myself not behind. O my love! O my

love! O my love! My altogether lovely Christ!—The common report through the country is; That I might have had my life on very easy terms; but I could have it on no easier terms, than the denying of my Lord and Master Christ. First, They asked, if I would retract my former confession, and particularized all the papers I had owned before, and if I would not call Charles Stuart an usurper and the devil's vicegerent: I told them, I would not go back in any thing, 'for ye have nothing,' said I, 'to lay to me but for the avowing Christ to be King in Zion, and head of his own church.' And they said, they did not usurp Christ's crown: but I said, they were blinded and did not see. They said, there was but a few of us of these principles. I said, they had all the wyte* of it, and it was most bitter to us, that our ministers had spoken against these truths. And indeed I think they had not been so cruel to me, were it not for these ministers. And so, I think, our ministers are not free of our blood; for when they spake against us and the way, it hardened these bloody traitors, and emboldened them to take our lives.

"I leave my testimony against them, for they have caused many poor things to err from the way of God, and many have made ministers their rule, and so the blind have led the blind, and both have fallen into the ditch together. And some think and say, 'O can we quit so many godly ministers?' We dare not quit them; but I assure you, ye shall get a share of the wrath and stroke, which God hath prepared for these backsliders and betrayers of their trust.

"Now, farewell, lovely and sweet Scriptures, which were aye my comfort in the midst of all my difficulties; farewell faith, farewell hope, farewell wanderers, who have been comfortable to my soul, in hearing them commend Christ's love. Farewell brethren, farewell sisters, farewell Christian acquaintances, farewell sun, moon, and stars. And now welcome my lovely and heartsome Christ Jesus, into whose hands I commit my spirit throughout all eternity. I may say, few and evil have the days of the years of my pilgrimage been, I being about twenty years of age.

"MARION HARVIE.

"From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the Woman-house on the east side of the prison, January 11th, 1681." †

4. HER LAST WORDS.

This martyr, though both young in years and of the weaker sex, was so singularly assisted of the Lord in his cause, and had such discoveries of his special love to her soul, that she was nothing terrified by her adversaries. When she was brought from the tolbooth to the council-house, to be carried to her execution,—as she came out of the tolbooth door, several friends attending her,—she was observed to say with a surprising cheerfulness and air of heavenly ravishment, "Behold, I hear my beloved saying unto me, Arise, my

* i. e. Blame.

† Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 142—147.

love, my fair one, and come away." And being brought to the council, bishop Paterson being resolved,—seeing he could not destroy her soul,—yet to grieve and vex it, said,—“Marion, you said, you would never hear a curate, now you shall be forced to hear one;” upon which, he ordered one of his suffragans, whom he had prepared for the purpose, to pray.* So soon as he began, she said to her fellow-prisoner Isabel Alison; “Come Isabel, let us sing the xxiii. Psalm;” which accordingly they did,—Marion repeating the Psalm line by line, without book,—which drowned the voice of the curate, and extremely confounded the persecutors. Being come to the scaffold, after singing the lxxxiv. Psalm, and reading the iii. chap. of Malachi, she said, “I am come here to-day for avowing Christ to be head of his church, and King in Zion. O seek him, Sirs! seek him, and ye shall find him; I sought him and found him, I held him, and would not let him go.” Then she briefly narrated the manner how she was taken, and recapitulated in short the heads of her written testimony, saying to this effect; “I going out of Edinburgh to hear the persecuted gospel in the fields, was taken by the way with soldiers, and brought into the guard; afterwards I was brought to the council, and they questioned me, if I knew Mr. Donald Cargill? Or if I heard him preach? I answered, I bless the Lord I heard him, and my soul was refreshed with hearing him, for he is a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. They asked if I adhered to the papers gotten at the Ferry? I said, I did own them, and all the rest of Christ’s truths. If I would have denied any of them, my life was in my offer; but I durst not do it, no, not for my soul. Ere I wanted an hour of His presence,

* This fact gives us a very characteristic idea, not only of the Bishop himself, but also of the period when such outrageous insolence and wanton cruelty were practised with impunity, and under the colour of justice and of law. But this was not the only circumstance which was calculated to disturb and annoy these humble sufferers, in their dying hour. “I am informed,” says Wodrow, “they were executed with some three or four wicked women, guilty of murdering their own children, and other villanies; which was very grievous to them. One of the Episcopal ministers of the town, who waited upon the others to the scaffold, railed bitterly upon the sufferers, and assured them they were on the road to damnation, while, without any evidence of penitence, he was sending the other wicked wretches straight to heaven.” “However,” it is added, “they were not commoved, but sang some suitable psalms on the scaffold, and prayed; and thus died with much composure and joy!”

Indeed, it is impossible to reflect on the conduct of these female martyrs without a mixture of admiration and pity,—nor upon that of their persecutors, both lay and clerical, without the strongest feelings of indignation and contempt. Throughout the whole of their examination and trial, as detailed in the above documents, their behaviour was marked by a propriety and decorum above their station;—whilst that of the Managers, in some instances, displayed a levity and coarseness, at once inconsistent with the dignity of a court and the rank of councillors. “The language of these sufferers,” says a distinguished historian, still alive, “is such as might be expected from unlettered females, but it is such as does not disgrace the common people of Scotland. The inquisitorial interrogatories of the court discovered, that they had imbibed one or two opinions of an extravagant and dangerous nature; but their manner of avowing these was sober, and even dignified, compared with the behaviour of their judges and accusers.”

I had rather die ten deaths. I durst not speak against Him, lest I should have sinned against God. I adhere to the Bible and Confession of Faith, Catechisms and Covenants, which are according to this Bible.' The most of her discourse was of God's love to her, and the commendation of free grace; and she declared, she had much of the Lord's presence with her in prison, and said, "I bless the Lord the snare is broken, and we are escaped;" and when she came to the ladder foot she prayed. And going up the ladder, she said, "O my fair one, my lovely one, come away;" and sitting down upon the ladder, she said, "I am not come here for murder, for they have no matter of fact to charge me with, but only my judgment. I am about twenty years of age; at fourteen or fifteen I was a hearer of the curates and indulged, and while I was a hearer of these, I was a blasphemer and sabbath-breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me; but since I heard this persecuted gospel, I durst not blaspheme, nor break the Sabbath, and the Bible became my delight." With this the major called to the hangman to cast her over, and the murderer presently choked her.*

IX. WILLIAM GOUGAR AND OTHERS.

[These THREE persons—William Gougar, Robert Sangster, and Christopher Millar, were, as they inform us, natives of Stirlingshire; to the inhabitants of which, their Joint Testimony† which follows is specially addressed.—Millar, the last of them, was tried on the 2d of March, in company with another individual, who was afterwards pardoned. He acknowledged his being in arms at Bothwell, and declared it to be, in his opinion, lawful to rise against the king in defence of the Covenant; and was found guilty accordingly.—It was not till the 8th of the same month, that Gougar and Sangster were impannelled. But, as in the previous instance, they were indicted for treason in the common form, and their confessions adduced in proof. The first acknowledged his being at Bothwell-Bridge, and refusing the bond; and also that he was at Torwood; that he owned the Excommunication by Mr. Cargill, the Sanquhar Declaration and the Queensferry Paper, and that he thought it lawful to kill the king's servants as being enemies to Christ. The second, in like manner, owned the Bothwell rising and the Torwood Excommunication—disowned

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 147—149.

† There are extant particular testimonies of these three martyrs, but because it is doubted, that they may not be genuine, but vitiated by John Gib, or some of those that were tainted with his errors, therefore they are here omitted. And, moreover, whereas some are suspicious, that these three martyrs themselves, or at least the two last, were in some danger from the errors of John Gib; yet, in regard that it was not upon any such account they suffered, but for testifying against the ecclesiastical supremacy, they ought to be recorded among the rest, as dying witnesses for Jesus Christ.—*Cloud of Witnesses*.

the king's authority, and declared it lawful to put him and his servants to death, as being opposed to God. They were accordingly brought in guilty, and the whole Three were, in conformity with their sentence, executed on the 11th of March 1681.]

“ THE Lord in his holy providence having singled us out of that shire to seal his controverted truths with our blood, we could not but leave a line behind us, (we being Stirlingshire men), to let you know wherefore we are come here this day, to this place of execution; that it is for adhering to that which ministers and professors are disowning. And the Lord seeing it fit to honour us beyond others, now, in this day of defection and backdrawing from the truth, we tell you, that it is truth we are to suffer for. Although ye condemn us in it, and say that we have a hand in our own death, yet we durst not, for our souls, do otherwise, or else we would have been sure of the broad curse of God on us and our life both. You may think that it is a novelty of our head that we are brought hither for; but if any of you had that love to the Lord, that you seemed to have once a-day, you would count it your duty, as well as ours, to contend for the sweet truths of God, when you see him so wronged, and his rights so usurped and taken from him, who was both sweet and kind to poor things at hill-sides, and especially among you of that shire. O Sirs! you may take shame to you, for all that you have done against the honour of God, that have seen his goings so stately among the meetings of his people; that will not contend for lovely Christ. O! do you not think that a sad day will come on you, for joining with God's enemies, who have broken covenant with him, and shed the blood of the saints, and trampled on the honour of God, and ye will not fear to join with them for all the blood they have shed, you will still go on with them; and though you profess that you have love to the Son of God, and that your zeal for the Lord God of hosts is not abated, yet you will go on with them, and bond and comply in paying of cess and militia-money to maintain a party against God and his work, which once in a day you were forward to maintain, and would have ventured your life in the maintaining of it against all the Lord's enemies. You may justly take shame to yourselves, for your preferring the things of time to the sweet cross of lovely Christ. O Sirs! what think you will your doom be, that have done so much against the honour of a holy God? Indeed, you may look out for wrath, and that of the saddest sort.

“ Now, as dying men we tell you, that there are sad days abiding you, for what you have done against the honour and glory of God, if ye get not speedy repentance. Therefore, as you would answer in the great day, make conscience of what ye do. Remember that you will count and reckon for all that you have done, and will be reckoned as guilty of the blood of the saints as the worst enemies amongst them all. Therefore, as dying men, we charge you to take with guilt, or else it will be worse for you. O Sirs! fear the Lord's wrath, and fall to and mourn for what you have done. O cry mightily for repentance, or else you will get Judas's reward. For you are the persons that have betrayed the Son of God, and expelled him out of your coasts. You

were thinking that he was like to prove a costly Christ, and therefore you of that shire would consent to banish him away from among you. You would not hear of a field preaching for fear of hazard. O Sirs! take it to consideration, and lay it to heart what a hand you have in banishing Christ and the gospel out of Scotland; and we are sure it was not your parts to have done so. No, no, it was not your part to have given lovely Christ such an affront; the sweet days that you have had long since might have made you give royal Jesus better quarters, though you should go to the gibbet for it, and lose your gear. For, your doing as you have done is a denying of him before men!—Take it as ye will, we must tell you, as in the sight of a living God, before whom we are now to appear, and get our sentence for all that we have done,—you are the only shire that has denied lovely Christ quarters; for, he sent an offer to you to the Torwood, and ye would not hear it. Well, it is likely there are many of you that will never get another; there are some of you that would not go to hear, but forbade others to go, and thought it was not duty to go; and some of you were at that preaching and made a bad use of it. O remember, Sirs, you have rejected Christ. We tell you it, as dying men, you will count for it ere it be long, for our Lord did not send the gospel to the Torwood for nought, but it will accomplish that for which it was sent. O Sirs, be afraid and tremble, for judgment is at the door, and indeed your sentence will be sore to abide, it will be more tolerable for open enemies in the day of judgment than for you. We are afraid, when we think what judgments will be on you shortly, for considering what pains has been taken on you of that shire, and how tender the Lord has been of you, in training you up for suffering, and has given you trials, and you have endured them; and he has taken them off again, and given you sorer trials, and he has delivered you out of these. It had been better for you that you had been at that preaching though you should have gotten the gallows the very next day, than to have done what ye did, and that you will find ere it be long.

“O what of his kindness have you met with at such places! You dare not say, ‘That he hath been a barren wilderness, or a land of drought’ to you. Testify against him if he was not kind to you, so long as ye abode by him he abode by you, and he was tender of you so long as ye kept faithful to him; but after ye turned into the enemies’ camp, then he turned to be your enemy, and fought against you, and in all you do God will be seen to be against you. You may thrive in the world, but it will be a dear thriving to you, you will get the wrath of God with it. But ye have done with thriving in the worship of God. Indeed there are many of you that hold your life no more of God. Remember we tell you of it, who are within a few hours of eternity. Now, it is like you will not notice what the like of us say, but will allege that we are dying as fools, and have no Presbyterian principles, but notions; but we say the contrary: we say, we are not fools as to that, however the world may think and look on us as such: we say, we have Presbyterian principles, and are Presbyterians in our judgments, and will make it appear that we die as Christians, and as those that own the truths of God, and are standing to what ministers

once taught us ; although this day, they are turned to the contrary, and condemning us, and saying,—that we have nothing but notions of our own heads, that make us do such things, but they will not find it so in the day of accounts.

“ And 1st, you may say, that it is not a Presbyterian principle to cast off magistrates. We grant with you ; but where are the magistrates ? Indeed they were once placed such ; but they cast out themselves when they brake the covenant, and set up a cursed supremacy, insulting over the Lord’s inheritance ; and when they have done that, we think they are no more to be owned as magistrates by Presbyterians ; but to be cast off and witnessed against ; and when it comes to that part of the play, do ye not think that it was our part to contend for truth ? O Sirs ! do ye not believe Jesus Christ to be the eternal Son of God, and ‘ that all things were made for him and by him, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers ? ’ What is not his ? And that by free gift and donation, by an eternal decree intimate to us in the ii. Psalm, where, in a more particular manner, he is declared to be King in Zion, and all the heathen promised to the enlargement of his kingdom. O Sirs, do ye not believe that Scotland became his with its own consent, as the product of that decree, and the fruit of his intercession and purchase ; and that he allows no authority to be owned and submitted unto in Scotland, but only so far as they keep the line of subordination to the Son of God ? Or do you believe, that Scotland should have no other magistrates, but such as should be of God’s choosing,—‘ Men of truth, able men, fearing God, hating covetousness ; ’ and that the land was bound by covenant to have such, ‘ under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of soul and body in the day of the Lord’s fearful appearance to judgment ? ’ We believe, many a man’s wit in that day shall be counted foolishness. Then if this be a ground, we are sure ye must say, That day that Charles Stuart was crowned, perjury became national ; only professors as to this point were free.

“ Do ye think, we would without perjury and treachery to God, own Charles Stuart’s authority any longer, when he held not his authority as of God ? But it being manifest, that in Middleton’s parliament, he disclaimed *that* title to authority, we think, we were bound to witness our loyalty to another, and that we were freely absolved from obedience and fidelity to him *then*, and could not own his authority without gross perjury ;—he declaring, he would have no homage upon account of the covenant,—would ye not count him a distracted man that would cleave to him upon that account whether he would or not ? Yea, and whoever does it, we know they will find themselves fools. Do you believe, that in the day that, that covenant was taken, any within the nation was not bound to perform and prosecute it, and that God would punish the destroyers of that covenant ? Do ye think that the Act, explanatory of the supremacy is not a plain renunciation of the word of God, the law of nature, the covenant, and human society, and setting up devilism and confusion,—without a full, free, and direct testimony to the contrary ? We are sure that every public breach of covenant requires public repentance. We think, there can none be

absolved without this, for in express terms our Lord says : ‘ Whosoever denies me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven.’ Now there should not only be a testimony given, but a walking according to it afterwards. O Sirs, would ye have none to witness against the abominations of this day ? Indeed you are all mistaken, for our Lord will not want witnesses to witness for him, however few and feckless they be ; yet ‘ He will make the things that are not, confound the things that are.’ O Sirs, think ye it not a sin, to join with them that have rejected the living God, and will not have him to reign over them ? Do ye not think it duty, to protest against them that are trampling our Lord’s glory under foot ? O Sirs, do not you think yourselves guilty of breach of covenant, that have connived at these men, that have their hands reeking in the blood of the saints, when you are strengthening their hands in the doing of it ? We think you guiltier than these wretches,—because ye join with them in sin ; whereas, you should have protested against them in the committing of such acts. We wot well, if ye read the Bible, ye will count yourselves as guilty as they are, and the guiltiest of the two ; for it was your part to have contended for the truth, and stood in defence thereof, unto the losing of lives and liberties, and all that you had. The Lord has cast them off, and yet you will do what in you lies to hold *them* up, who shed the blood of those who were once in a day your dear brethren. It may be, you will say, That Samuel knew that Saul was rejected of God, and yet he did not cast him off ? We answer, He did what lay in his power to get him cast off ; for he went and anointed David in his stead, and durst not do it publicly, but secretly for fear of Saul ; neither did Samuel converse much with Saul after that. Next you say, That David’s heart smote him, for taking, and cutting off the lap of Saul’s garment, and said, ‘ That he would not stir the Lord’s anointed.’ Now, we say, he had two reasons that we have not. 1st, He had that reason, that he was the Lord’s anointed. 2dly, It was his own particular quarrel ; because he was to reign in his stead. So we say, that Charles Stuart is not the Lord’s anointed, neither is it our particular quarrel, but in defence of the gospel, and in so far as he is an enemy to God and the way of salvation ; which is sufficient ground to cast out any person out of the church, and witness against him in defence of the gospel, unto the losing of life, liberty, and all other things. And believe us as ye will, we do not think them Christians, that will not contend for lovely Christ and his sweet truths, in witnessing against this bloody excommunicated traitor, and disowning them as rulers, seeing they have disowned ‘ the Just and Holy One,’ and are trampling on his sweet truths, and would never have them to rise again ; but would have the stone sealed, that there might be no more mention made of the honour of God. And you have a deep hand in this, because ye are not faithful and free in witnessing for his despised glory : and if ye will not do it, ‘ Delivery to the church shall come from another airth,’ and you shall be destroyed ; for he will be up again in spite of all your hearts, and he will make your fears and theirs both come on you ; for he will make inquisition for all his truths ; and when he comes, indeed we would not abide the reproof that you

the professors of Stirlingshire will get, for all the gold in Europe; there will be no excuse heard then; your wife and children, or lands, will be no excuse; for he hath told in express terms, that 'Whosoever will not forsake all, and follow him, cannot be his disciple.' Wife and children, houses and lands, must all go for him; and you must take up his cross daily, and wander through at his back,—it may be, hard be-
stead, with a borrowed bed, and a borrowed fire-side,—and live upon providence: we wot well, there are some of you that can say to your sweet experience, that you never lived better than on God's providence, although now ye have rejected and betaken yourselves to the world. Have you done so? well you may be doing; but ere long you will rue it. Remember, we told you it, when we were going into eternity, that you would meet with much wo and sorrow, for what you have done against the honour of God, if you repent not.

"2dly, You say, It is not a Presbyterian principle to own the party that is jeoparding their lives for the honour of God, and witnessing for his despised truths, that this day is so abused and nicknamed by you and others: but we say, it is, and maintain it to be, a Presbyterian principle, to own that despised party, for they are the party that are only designing the glory and honour of God, and have no other view before them but his sweet truths, which are dear to them; and they will quit with life and liberty, before they quit with an hoof of truth; which has been made out by their valiant sufferings. O but truth has been sweet and dear to them! They have not counted their lives dear unto them on the account of it. They have cheerfully gone to the scaffold for truth, and have been honourably carried through, and the Lord's presence seen in their through-bearing; as we hope, shall be made out on us, ere it be long: also they study to spend their time and strength for God. When all other means have failed them, they study to keep up that mean of reading, singing, and praying, as the Lord will assist and help them; although the indulged and their consorts have a great envy at them, and do what they can to get them off the earth; for they are the main actors in taking of that poor party; and all is, because their practices condemn theirs;—although they take the Scriptures for their rule, and study to walk, so as they may get God's approbation in the day of accounts.

"3dly, You say, It is not a Presbyterian principle, to own these papers, that our worthies have set out, or the work that they have done, which many of them have sealed with their blood: but we say, that it is a Presbyterian principle; because all that they did was agreeable to the word of God, and our covenants. For, consider these papers when you please, you will find them consonant to the Scriptures, and just and lawful for Presbyterians to own; and say the contrary who will, we do not think them Presbyterians, nor yet covenanters, that will not own them; for there is nothing in them, but what we will with all our hearts seal with our blood as Presbyterians, and as having these principles.

"4thly, You say, It is not a Presbyterian principle, to confess all these things: but we say, it is a Presbyterian principle, to confess and avouch him and His truths, before this adulterous generation: now

when the quarrel is thus stated, we should not put them to prove what is truth. Stephen made a free confession of his faith, and so have all our worthies. And now, seeing we own these things, and they being the controverted truths of the day, and the Lord calling us to own and maintain them; we never thought it our part to smother and hide them, but with courage to avouch them, to the losing of our lives in the quarrel;—we seeing our dearest Lord's truths trampled on, and a pack of you that seemed to be fair before the wind, for owning of truth, and witnessing for him,—never so much as putting to your hand to help; but turning your back on truth, and the way of God. Indeed we fear, that ye shall never be honoured to witness for God any more; it is like, you care not for that honour; but we tell you, that you will rue it, when you will not get it mended; and remember we tell you it here, as dying witnesses for truth, you will meet with as sad a judgment as ever a shire met with;—if you repent not, your judgment will be unparalleled for your denying him before men.

“ We are come here this day, to witness freely and faithfully against you, and all others, for their complying with the enemies against the word of God. And we say, as in the sight of a living God, you will count for it ere it be long. O! but we think it a sweet thing to be honoured this day to contend for truth, and to be ‘overcomers by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of our testimony.’ Indeed we are called to it, ‘to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.’ And we think, if we had not been free and faithful, before these bloody wretches, we would have held our life no more of God;—if we did not speak for his truths before them, when he bade us speak. For, he sought a proof of our love to him, and his nicknamed despised way, and to poor Zion, whom no man is seeking after; and think you that we durst hold our tongue and not speak, when he bade us? Indeed, our life was not dear to us, when his truth came in question. We might have gone away with our life, and the broad curse of God upon it, to go with us; if we had denied him at this time, we would have held our life no more of him, of whom we held it all our days; and now that we might cheerfully lay it down at his command and bidding: for this we knew that devils or men could not stir a hair of our head, without our Lord's determination; and therefore we are the less afraid of what they could do.

“ And now, as dying men, we charge you not to speak of that poor party, that this day is so reproached and spoken against by a party of them that are called ministers and professors. O take shame to you altogether; and as you will be answerable, in the day of accounts, we tell you, not to have a wrong thought of them, for all the reproaches that can be said against them: for they are a godly people, and have much of His mind. And if you go on with enemies, and others that have turned their backs on the way of God, go your ways; but ‘it were better that a millstone were hanged about your neck, and ye cast into the midst of the sea,’ than that ye should speak at such a rate as ye do. For do you and others reproach as you will, they design nothing but the honour of God, and have the Scriptures to be their rule, and to walk as becomes the gospel, and they study a holy carriage:

although there be many among them that have an unsuitable carriage, by reason of whom 'the way of God is evil spoken of:' yet the way of God is not a hair the worse to be liked. It may be there is a Judas among the twelve; and what of that? We say, the rest are not to be cast at for all that, seeing they keep the truth. We know there are many of you that say, that we do not keep by the Scriptures; but we declare the contrary; for with all our heart, we set to our seal and testimony to the Holy Scriptures, which have been sweet to us; and our testimony to the National and Solemn League and Covenant, and to the Confession of Faith, as agreeable to the word of God, and to the Catechisms Larger and Shorter, and to all that our worthies have done in the defence of the gospel: we join our hearty testimony to all their appearances in the fields, both first and last.

"And we protest against all the actings of the enemies against the Lord's people in all their proceedings, both first and last, and every thing that they have done against our worthies, when they were in defence of the gospel; and we abhor and testify against Popery, Prelacy, Quakerism, Erastianism, Indulgency, and all the connivers with them, be they who they will; and against Jesuitish principles, which you say we hold, which sect we most basely abhor, and give our testimony against all such erroneous sects and principles; we give our testimony against all you that say we have such principles, and that we have got new principles and new light; and we say the contrary, and declare, that we hold by those principles, which ministers did teach both you and us to stand to in the defence of, until we had lost our lives and all in that quarrel. Now, you that say such things of us, we exhort you to repent, or else you will meet with a sore day of wrath, for it is not a light thing to speak of sufferers as you do: therefore we obtest you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be sober in your speeches against that party, and make a right choice, and fairly side yourselves, and come out from among the tents of the wicked, and be separated from among them, and join yourselves to the poor suffering remnant, and be not at ease now in the day of Zion's trouble. Do not think that you will enjoy your ceiled houses and your warm firesides in such a day as this. If you be single for God, he will have you out from all these things, and denied to them all, for 'wo to him that is at ease' when Zion is in trouble, and is not concerned in all the afflictions of Joseph; you must either now get a wakening, or else you will get a wakening when the wrath of an angry God comes on the land for sins.

"Indeed, Sirs, we think, that religion has not cost you much heart-work. We think, you have not been at much pains in seeking God, for as fair a shew as you seem to have. Indeed when the gospel was in its purity, and many seeking to preachings, the Lord seemed to be kind to you, and you seemed to have much love to him, and his despised way, and you seemed as if you would have ventured your life in the defence of the gospel; but when we would have looked through you at preachings, and going to them, and coming from them, it would have made some of us a sore heart to see your unconcernedness and unsuitable carriage, even among you that seemed to be heads of them.

And when we would have been in some of your companies, either coming or going, your talk did always smell of the world, and so is come of it. O! repent, and come out from among your lusts and idols, that you are so wedded to, and take hold of a Mediator, and seek the Lord with all your heart. O you, town of Stirling, and the shire, repent, for sentence is past against you for what you have done, although it be not put in execution yet; but it will be put in execution ere long, if you repent not. Though the Lord is seeing it fit to take us away from the evils which are coming on this land, for breach of covenant, and a slighted gospel; we tell you, it may be, you will find it when we are gone, it is better to endure all torments that devils and men can inflict on you here, than to endure one drop of the wrath of an angry God, that will be poured out without mixture on all ranks, that have not the work of the day upon their spirits, be they who they will, ministers or professors, indulged or not indulged; for if they be not taken up and concerned with the case of the church of God, this day, as it is stated, He will come and reckon with them all, and count them all turners aside, and 'will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity, when peace shall be on Israel.' Therefore we would desire you to have a care, and look well about you what you are doing, and beware of speaking against that party.

"There are some of you that say, they are of bloody principles. You should beware of speaking these things; for the contrary is known, that they are not murderers, nor have any such intentions, as some of yourselves know, although ye be speaking the contrary; for you never heard of their killing any, except it was in defence of the gospel, and their own defence.

"Likewise you say, that we are cursers and criers for vengeance on the land. Now, we must not stay to argue this out, we being this day to lay down our lives, but we think any that has tender love to the Son of God, and his cause, cannot but be grieved to see ministers and professors so avowedly betray the truth, that is sweet and dear to us, yea, dearer than our lives; and when we think on what ye have done to the sweet truths of God, we cannot but pray against your courses: and as for any thing ye can do to us, we heartily forgive you; but the wrongs ye have done to a holy God, we cannot get them borne, for they are weighty to us. If it were our enemies, we would bear with it, but when it comes from the like of you, we cannot get it borne. Truly, Sirs, we think ye will embrace Popery ere it be long: your entertaining of that excommunicated Duke of York, a professed Papist, says, that you would do more yet. There was not one of you all in town, or shire, that moved your tongue against him, but, as if you had been all professed Papists, you let him come in among you, and kindly entertained him; we leave our testimony against your so doing.

"But we break off, having no more time, and request you to take these things to your consideration, and lay sin to heart, and mourn bitterly before the Lord, for what you have done. We here obtest you to come off these ways of yours, and make conscience of duty, as in the sight of a holy God, before whom you must shortly appear. Slight not time, for it is precious; wrath is at the door: O! make haste,

and lay these things to heart, and study to have a more tender respect to the honour of God. We desire to leave it on you now, when we are going into eternity, that you would mind your engagements and vows to God. And so we bid you farewell, and bid you mind the poor groaning kirk that we are to leave behind us, which was dear to us. Now, we bid farewell to poor desolate Zion, and pray the Lord may mind her case. Farewell all things in time, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

"Subscribed at the Iron-house, a little before we went out to the scaffold, March 11, 1681." } WILLIAM GOUGAR.
CHRISTOPHER MILLAR.
ROBERT SANGSTER."

It is remarkable, that this martyr, William Gougar, had a little paper in his Bible, which he minded to throw over the scaffold; but when he was taken into the council-house with the other two, it was someway got by the murderers, who having read it, commanded the executioner to tie him straiter than ordinary, so that he could scarcely go up the ladder, and afterwards they stopped him from praying. When he was upon the ladder, he began to speak, and said, "I am come here for owning Christ to be Head and King in Zion," whereupon they caused to beat the drums, seeking to damp and astonish him, that they might trample upon his conscience; and when they offered him his life, upon condition he would own the king, he replied, "I will own none but Christ to be King in Zion." Then they said, "Will ye not retract any thing, Sir?" He answered, "No, no; I own all, I adhere to all." Upon which they immediately called the executioner to throw him over, which he did incontinent, not allowing him to recommend his spirit to the Lord.*

X. LAURENCE HAY.

[This Martyr was one of three who were executed on the 13th of July 1681. He was by trade a weaver, and belonged to the shire of Fife. He was charged with no act of rebellion. But having, with his two companions, joined a society which had been instituted for prayer and conference—they were indicted for having signed and published a paper agreed upon by that society, and entitled, "A Testimony against the Evils of the Times." In this paper they disowned the king and all the ministers of the Church, except Mr. Cargill. Being found guilty of treason, they were condemned accordingly; and the following Testimony is said to have been left by the above named individual.]

"MEN and Brethren,—Having by serious consideration, joined in giving a testimony against the enemies of God, and all that have joined with them in any thing which tended to the overthrow of the

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 149—161.

work of reformation;—for which, I am come, in your sight, to lay down this life of mine, which I engaged to do in that testimony, through His strength, if he called me to it,—because it was according to the word of God, and the covenanted reformation; and seeing, I engaged in the strength of the Lord to seal it with my blood, and now he in His holy and wise providence has put me to seal it; although I be the fecklessest and unworthiest of all that society,—I here in your presence, with all my heart, set to my seal to it with my blood, as was promised at the end of the paper. And, if all the hairs of my head were men, having lives, I would think them all little enough, to seal the cause of my dearest and sweetest Lord Jesus, who has been sweet and kind to me, in carrying me through every step of the work, which he put into my hand. O love him, Sirs! O but he is worth the loving! O but he has been kind to me since I was apprehended! For, he told me then, that Satan would cast some in prison, that they might be tried; and he bade me ‘be faithful to the death,’ and he promised me ‘a crown of life;’ and he hath helped me since to fulfil the conditions, and hath also given me a right to the promise. And this was all my desire, ‘That the trial of my faith might be found precious, to the praise of his sweet name:’ that his cause might not be wronged, nor his ark get a wrong touch by me. And herein, he hath heard my desire, according to that scripture, ‘He will hear the desires of the humble, and the expectation of the poor will not be lost.’ For, ‘he keeps the covenant with thousands of them that love him, and keep his commandments:’ and his commandments are not grievous, but ‘his yoke is easy, and his burden light.’ And he has said, ‘He that forsaketh wife, or children, houses or lands, for my name’s sake and the gospel’s shall receive in this life an hundred fold, and in the world to come, life everlasting. And he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.’

“Therefore, dear friends, give not over to contend for his borne down truths, that this day are in debate betwixt him and his enemies in covenanted Scotland, according to that scripture,—‘Contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.’ O contend, contend, and give not over; for ‘he will arise for the oppression of the poor, and for the sighings of the needy;’ for he will have an opportunity to be about with all his enemies, and he is weary with forbearing. Therefore, trust in the Lord, ‘trust in him at all times:’ for ‘they that trust in him shall not be ashamed; for they shall stand in the gate unashamed to speak unto their foes.’ O Sirs! give him much credit; for he hath disappointed me of my fears, in that wherein I feared appearing before men, and helped me to stand before them; so that I had no terror or amazement, more than they had been the meanest of creatures; although I cannot say, that I have fought the good fight,’ as that eminent apostle said; yet I can say (praised be God) ‘He hath given me the victory through Jesus Christ my Lord,’ over principalities; and hath confirmed me, that ‘neither death nor life, nor any creature, shall separate me from the love of my sweet Lord Jesus Christ; who is love-worthy, praise-

worthy, worthy to be feared and honoured; who in his absolute sovereignty, set apart poor me, to give a testimony for his glorious and honourable work of reformation, 'who am less than the least of all saints,' but he is an absolute Lord, and 'shows mercy to whom he will show mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth; and he keeps the souls of the faithful and plentifully rewards the proud doer.'

"Therefore, being called to suffer this day, in this place, for the following of my duty, and for that in particular,—in giving a testimony against the dreadful defections of these times, by the means of these backsliding ministers, who have left our sweet Lord Jesus, with his back at the wall, and his poor flock 'scattered upon the mountains, as sheep having no shepherd.' But, dear friends, comfort yourselves in this, that in his own time, 'he will search his sheep, and find them out;' although, alas! I fear lest they shall be sorer scattered than yet they are: but wait on him; 'for he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. And, his reward is with him, and his work is before him. And, the Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant.' But, O dear friends, labour to be 'stedfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. And, give all diligence to make your calling and election sure; and if you do these things, you shall never fall. And, commit the keeping of your souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator: for, he is able to keep that which is committed to him, against that day, and present it spotless before the Father;'—although, alas! I was loath to adventure, or to credit in his hand; but now he hath discovered to me, that he is the best hand that I can venture on; and has gained my consent, and has become the surety for me of a better covenant, 'well ordered in all things and sure.'

"Therefore, considering my engagements to him, I leave my testimony to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the version of the Psalms in metre, and to the work of reformation, Covenants National and Solemn League, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Causes of God's Wrath, the Confession of Faith, as being conform to the Scriptures, and the Catechisms Larger and Shorter; I give my adherence to all the faithful testimonies given by the worthies, to the maintenance of the work of reformation, from the year 1660, until this day, either by their appearances in the fields, or on scaffolds, or in the seas; I adhere to the Sanquhar Declaration, the Torwood Excommunication, and the papers found at the Ferry, and to that joint Testimony given in the shire of Fife, by that society, whereof I was a member, though a worthless one, and I adhere to all things contained therein, because they are according to the Scriptures. And, I give my testimony to the faithful preaching in the fields, and to the keeping up of societies, and Christian fellowships, commanded in the word of God; 'not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is, and so much the more as you see the day approaching;' especially now when his glory is at stake, which is of more worth than our souls; and when men are seeking to get his work razed, and the name of Israel blotted out, that it may be no more in remembrance.

“ Likewise, I leave my testimony against all those, who have joined with the declared enemies of the Lord Jesus Christ, both ministers and professors; and against all those, who maintain any principle contrary to the word of God, especially those who deny the authority of the Scriptures, and all the work of reformation, and have razed the fundamentals of true Christianity; some of them the Lord has given up to strong delusions, to believe lies, and to deny Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and to maintain new lights, in meddling with the decrees of God, which his word never approved;—and against every one of their principles. Likewise, I leave my testimony against all who brand us with an implicit faith; which, one declared to myself in my hearing in the room below where I was a prisoner; whom I questioned, if he durst in conscience say, that I lived by an implicit faith, or the example of others? So he said, that there were some in the room with me that had been murderers of others who had suffered. And I told him, that the xv. Psalm reached him a very sad reproof, ‘for speaking evil against his neighbour:’ and also I said, ‘We speak what we do know, and testify what we have heard.’ And I declared, that I had seen no such thing of any that was in the room with me; but you have wronged (said I) God and his cause, by shifting his cross, and therefore you will not stand to wrong your neighbour.

“ And as for our being branded, that we hold our principles of men, and are dying to please men,—I altogether abhor such aspersions, for I hold my principles of none but of God and his word; and that which carries the sway with me, is the controverted truths of Jesus Christ;—they are at this day in debate betwixt him and his enemies; especially his kingly office, on which I dare venture life and liberty, and my salvation also, because the Father hath declared him to be ‘King on his holy hill of Zion by an unalterable decree; and there to reign till all his enemies be brought under his feet.’ Therefore, as I have left my testimony against all who cast such aspersions on me, or any other who have suffered in this manner; I leave my blood also, to witness against them, who will adventure to do it, whether enemies or pretended friends. Likewise, I leave my testimony against the encroachments made upon the rights of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the privileges of his church, by that usurper Charles Stuart, and all the bloody crew under him. Likewise, I leave my testimony against that excommunicated traitor the duke of Monmouth, for his appearance against the work of God and his people, joined for the defence of the gospel and interest of Jesus Christ, and all that joined with him. Likewise I leave my testimony against that avowed Papist, York. Also, I leave my testimony against that designed parliament to put power in his hand. Also, I leave my testimony against those abominable wretches that sat in these associations and falsely accused and sentenced me to death, and against these fifteen assizers who gave me my sentence, and against that wretch called the clerk, and Andrew Cunningham who gave me my doom. Likewise, I leave my testimony against all who have joined with the declared enemies, whether ministers or professors, especially

in the shire of Fife, who have delivered up the *Testimony* to these abominable wretches;—particularly Balgrumma and Vederstar. Likewise, I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and that woful Erastian supremacy and indulgencies, first and last, which have been the ‘dagger, the haft whereof hath gone in after the blade,’ and hath wounded the Church in the innermost part of the belly, and the dart that has stricken her through the liver. O! how sharp are the wounds of a friend! They go down ‘to the innermost parts of the belly. If it had been an enemy, I would have borne it.’ And it is evidently seen that our Mother-Church hath been, and is this day wounded in the house of her friends;—for which, the Lord will sadly reckon with all such as have done so, if they do not repent and mourn for it. Likewise I leave my testimony against all them, that are any way instrumental in bearing down our poor Mother-Church, either by appearance in arms, or furnishing of others for that effect, by paying of cess or militia-money, or any other way, homologating the acts, or strengthening the hands of her declared and avowed enemies.

“Now, dear friends, being straitened for want of time, I am forced to draw to a close; only, desiring you to be earnest in contending for the broken-down work of reformation, that this day is brought very low: but be not discouraged, although his ark be tossed this day upon the waters, like the poor ship in the midst of the sea, and the poor disciples afraid lest they should sink, and the Master asleep (as it were) upon a pillow; yet go to him and cry, ‘Master, Master, save us, else we perish;’ for he is easy to be entreated, and he likes well to have his poor people coming to him in the time of their distress; for ‘he is a present help in the time of need, a God rich in mercy, and near to all that call upon him in truth.’ But, O dear friends, beware of backdrawing, for he hath said, ‘If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him; and he that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is not fit for the kingdom of heaven; but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.’ Be not ashamed of him; ‘for, if any man be ashamed of him, or his words, of him also will he be ashamed before the Father and the holy angels.’ O dear friends, the more that ye see a perverse generation crying him down, be ye the more at the work of crying him up; for he is well worth the commendation of all that can commend him. O dear friends, ‘in all things let him have the pre-eminence, and count all things loss and dung that ye may win Christ; and press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus; looking unto Jesus, who is the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for many shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able.’ Now friends, beware of sinning, and beware of snares; for they are at this day very thick and many; but our God has promised that he will not suffer his poor people ‘to be tempted above what they are able, but will with the temptation make a way that they

may escape.' So I bid you all farewell; desiring you to be kind to my wife and children when I am gone; farewell sweet Bible by his blessing; farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell meat and drink; farewell all created comforts and enjoyments, wherewith I have been abundantly supplied; farewell my dear wife and children,—the Lord be better to you than ten husbands, when I am gone; farewell mother, brethren, and sisters; farewell sweet societies, and preached gospel, whereby I have been begotten by the seed of the word; farewell sweet prison and reproaches for sweet Christ and his cause. And welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; welcome, everlasting life, and the spirits of just men made perfect. Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit.

“LAURENCE HAY.”*

“At the Iron-house, July 13, 1681.”

XI. ANDREW PITILLOCH.

[Andrew Pitilloch was a land-labourer, belonging to the parish of Largo, in Fifeshire. He was the second of the three, who, as already noticed, were executed together on the 13th of July 1681. The third, by name Adam Philip, has left no Testimony. The ground on which they were condemned has already been specified. The Paper in question being produced on the trial, they acknowledged having signed it. Of this Paper Wodrow observes, that, judging by the citations from it contained in their process, it “was very wild, and seemed to savour of Gib and his delusions.” It may still farther be stated, that in addition to suffering the ordinary sentence of death, these three persons had their heads severed from their bodies and affixed to the Tolbooth of Coupar.]

“MEN and brethren,—Wherefore are you come here this day? will you tell me, if it be your intention, to be edified by the words of a poor thing, witnessing for my lovely Lord Jesus Christ? And if that be your intention in your coming hither, it is well: Now, when I am going off time, to bid farewell to you all, O that I could commend my lovely Lord Jesus and his sweet cross to you. O Sirs, will you come ‘taste and see that God is good.’ You will never do better, than come and see; for, since the Lord honoured me to be his prisoner, he has let me know nothing but love; he has made my prison no prison. O Sirs, ‘All his ways are ways of pleasantness, and his paths peace.’ And his cross is sweet and easy; although, worthless I cannot commend it to you. But, O Sirs, scare not at the sweet cross of royal and sweet Jesus; but contend for him and his noble cause, for I can assure you, I had never such a sweet life as I have had since he brought me to the like of these trials. O sweet indictment! O sweet sentence, for my lovely Lord! O sweet

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 161—167.

scaffold, for contending for the cause, covenant and work of reformation ! O Sirs, quit all for holy Jesus, for I can promise you that you will never die better, than for contending for King Christ. Indeed, Sirs, ministers and professors, as they call them, say, That we are dying as fools, and giddy headed professors ; but glory to his holy and sweet name, that has made it out to my soul that it is otherwise : and now, that my conscience doth not condemn me, how dare any mortal creature condemn me ?

O friends ! what is the reason that you will not take him, who is the 'chief among ten thousands, and is altogether lovely,' and without compare ? 'There is no spot in him.' O prefer him to your chief joy ! There are many of you who have preferred other things to him. O fear and tremble for wrath will be upon you very suddenly ! O be afraid, for our Lord has said, if you will not quit all for him, you cannot be his disciple. And so you have neither part nor lot in our sweet Lord ; you may read the x. of Matt. from the 16th verse to the end. O Sirs, go not with the Indulged, nor yet side with them ; cleave to the Lord with all your heart, and be not put off with any but himself. O he is sweet to be with : O his way is sweet to keep, but I cannot commend him to you ; his sweetness is without compare. O take him, and be restless till ye get him to 'your mother's house, and to the chamber of her that bare you.' Pray much for your Mother-Church, that ministers and others have wronged : I witness and testify against them, for their unrighteousness, both first and last.

1st, For leaving their kirks, without a public Testimony against enemies, at the incoming of Prelacy. 2dly, For their conniving at one another's sins. 3dly, For their leaving the fields when there was so much need of preaching to poor things ; when wrath and judgment were coming on the land, they did not set the trumpet to their mouth, and give the people a faithful warning. They say, we have cast them off, but they are mistaken, for they have cast themselves off, by changing their head ; and the Scriptures have cast them off, and I cannot join with them. I would with all my heart have a ministry ; but I would have it according to the word of God ;—men that will 'preach in season, and out of season,' whether people will hear, or whether they will forbear ; that will be faithful in preaching against sin of all sorts, and will hide nothing of the mind of the Lord ; but they that do play fast and loose in the matters of a holy God, and will not witness against enemies ; I own none of these, but I leave my testimony against them for their unfaithfulness. They will preach to poor things to stand for God and his truths and not to yield a hair for the saving of their lives ; and yet, *they* yield and comply themselves ; and when they come before enemies, never a word of a testimony before them, but pass the sworn covenant and work of reformation in silence, and for fear of their lives will not hit them on the sore. Indeed they will wale* their words so, as they may not give their enemies offence. You condemn us, because we do that, which once a day you would have accounted it your honour to do ; and say, that

* i. e. Choose or select.

we are all distracted, and have distracted notions in our heads. And say you so? Wilt thou tell me, man, if thou thinkest *that* a distracted notion, to confess the covenant and work of reformation? But you will say, it is not for *that*, that I lay down my life, but for the subscribing of that paper:—and I do think *it* well worth the sealing with my blood; and will you tell me what could we do less? You ran away and left the work, and the enemies were carrying all before them; and we durst not but leave a testimony against them. My heart was like to bleed, when I saw enemies carry the day, and robbing the Lord of his rights, his crown and kingdom, and not so much as one to move their tongue against them, and say, *that* is ill done that they have done. I leave it to God and your own conscience, whether or not it be duty to contend for truth this day, when it is so much neglected. I leave my testimony against you and your hearers, and the joiners with you, aye and until they repent. I bid you repent and come off. and witness for the Lord; and if you will not do it, as sure as God is in heaven, he will be about with you; escape who will, ye will not escape; for it is like he will begin at the sanctuary.

Take warning in time, I leave it on you now, when I am going into eternity; for, I am persuaded, this is the way to the kingdom of heaven; for the Lord hath confirmed it to my soul, and hath made my life a sweet life to me. O read Isaiah xli. for it was sweet to me when I was taken,—and O that I had as many lives to lay down for him as there are hairs on my head, I would think them all too little! O what is my life? Nothing in comparison of his glory. O wo to you, idle shepherds, for ye deceive poor things! ‘If it were possible,’ I think, ‘ye would deceive the very elect;’ you take God to be your witness, that ye are in his way yet, and have not quit one hoof; but your practice condemns you. You may read Malachi ii. 1—3. ‘And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you. If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory to my name, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings: yea, I have cursed them already, because ye do not lay it to heart.’ Therefore, ‘behold I will corrupt your seed, and spread dung upon your faces, even the dung of your solemn feasts, and one shall take you away with it.’ Matt. vii. 15, 16. ‘Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?’ And that xxxiv. of Ezek. ver. 2. ‘Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves,—should not the shepherds feed the flocks.’ I leave my testimony against them that say, We hold our principles of men, and that we die for pleasing men; but it is not so, for I never thought that little of my life as to lay it down for the pleasing of any; for it is a most base aspersion of some, cast on us, because our practice condemns theirs, and they can get no other thing to brand us with but that. And glory to the Lord, the contrary is seen both by our practices, and our through-bearing: and it is made out, that we hold our principles of none, but of God and his word.

“ I leave my testimony against the four men in the Canongate tolbooth, or any other that join with them, for wronging the holy and sweet Scriptures. Some brand me with this, that I am of their judgment; which thing I exceedingly abhor and detest, as the mire in the streets: and I count them guilty to death, for wronging of the Scriptures. If we had judges in the land, that were for God, they should not live. I leave my testimony against that tyrant on the throne, and all his underlings; and, I say, it will never be right with our land, ‘till Haman and his ten sons be hung up before the sun.’ I leave my testimony against them that rule as judges; and I leave my blood on the assizers, doomster, soldiers, and all of them, and all that acknowledge or aid them as magistrates, ay and until they repent. I leave my testimony against all enemies of all sorts; and against all sorts of compliance in less or more, and against all that has been done against the work of God these twenty years bygone; against the test, and compliance with, or compearing before God’s enemies in less or more. I leave my testimony against the ministers and professors in Fife, for the wrongs they have done to my lovely Lord and his sweet cause; and my head shall be a standing witness against them, and preach to them from Cupar tolbooth, aye and until they repent. As for any thing that they have done to me, I freely forgive them, and pray that the Lord may forgive them. I leave my testimony against all them that will not hear Mr. Donald Cargill, and own him as a faithful minister of the gospel, and none but he is faithful this day. I leave my testimony to the holy and sweet scriptures, which, many a day I have been refreshed with; I bless the Lord, that ever I could read a line of them. Now, I adhere to the faithful preached gospel, and to all that our worthies have done, which I need not particularly mention here.

“ And you that are the people of the Lord, O be ye busy and improve your time, and make use of your Bibles, while you have them, for it is like there may be a bonfire made of them yet, as well as of the Covenant. And covenant with Him and contend for him to the utmost of your power; for, I have found more of his sweet love, in contending for him, than ever I got in prayer, or hearing the word. O his sweet work! let it not slip through your fingers. It is like ye will have sad days of it, when I am gone. Popery is begun, and it is likely to overspread the whole land, and there is none to move their tongue against it, although the land be sworn in solemn oath against it. O Sirs! ‘lift up your voice for the remnant that is left.’ Fast and pray, cry and weep, let not the apple of your eye cease, the wrath is like to be great, that will overtake us. O cry, that the days may be shortened, for the elect’s sake, lest no flesh should be saved. O look out for sad days, dear friends; it may be you will get the saddest stroke that ever a poor land was trysted with: ye may read through the Scriptures, and ye will find what judgments followed such sins,—pestilence, sword, and famine,—which, ye may look for. I leave it on you, that ye be not slack-handed, for it may come to that, that ‘the tender and delicate women

may eat their own children for straitness, in the siege.' It is to be feared, that the plagues that are coming on Scotland, for a broken and burnt covenant, will make their ears to tingle that hear of them; but I will not be to see it. The Lord is taking me away from the evil to come, which was often my desire; for the sad hearts that ministers and professors have made me, with their complying and wronging his glory, made me oft wish to be away; and now it does not trouble me to lay down my life in your presence this day. O it is sweet to be a sufferer for truth! I wonder what doth ail the generation to scare at him or his sweet cross; for there is no cause of rueing or wearying, for all that is come. There is a beauty in holiness. O! commend him, Sirs! O bless and praise him that ever he honoured such a wretch as I am, to be a martyr for his sweet truth! O sweet honour he puts on poor things! O Sirs, cast in your lot with the suffering remnant that this day is in the furnace. Sink and swim with his church. O prefer Jerusalem to your chief joy! But O be persuaded to come and taste of his goodness: This is the way, although the whole world should condemn it. It will not be the learned clergy, or great heads of wit, that he will honour with carrying on his work, for they have all denied him. There are none of the ministers that will witness for him, nor yet any that the Lord has bestowed great parts on; their wit leads them by the cross, and beyond suffering. They will not suffer if petitioning will do it, or hiring of advocates, or learned speakers; they can put in petitions, and say, They never intended the death of any man, but in the defence of their life; but never a word of the defence of the gospel, the work of reformation, or the sworn covenant. Nay, if they had done *that*, their life would go. But they were bound by covenant to own and maintain religion against Popery and Prelacy, Quakerism, Indulgence, and whatsoever else is contrary to sound doctrine, with their lives in their hands; and to quit with all 'for the faith once delivered to the saints.' And though they never mention a word of all this, yet they will say, they came clearly off. But I say, now when I am going into eternity, that God's wrath will be on such a liberty, and God will count with them for what they have done against his honour; for there can none come clearly out from among their hands, that are once before them, without wronging his glory. O fear and tremble, Sirs! you that get the favour of God's enemies, and yield your conscience to the lusts of men. I leave it on all persons, now when I am to appear before my Judge, that they do nothing but what is according to the holy and sweet Scriptures; take them to be your rule, and go no farther than they allow you. They do not bid you petition enemies for your liberty, nor yet hire advocates.

"Now, my advice to you that are taken prisoners, is, that you seek no favour of God's enemies; black not paper with them, in good, cheap, nor dear; stand for your sweet Lord, with your life in your hand; own and avouch him to be 'King and Head of his own church. Count not your life dear unto you, when it comes in competition with truth. And now, as for you that are the poor

seekers of the Lord, O act faith on him, give him much credit. Live as brethren, dwell in unity; let peace and truth be among you; but good Lord, let never peace be without truth. Keep up fellowship and society meetings; for my soul hath been often refreshed in the fellowship of the saints. O stand for your despised Lord, and his wronged glory.

“Now, I being straitened for want of time, it being short, I forbear, and bid you ‘be strong in the Lord, and the power of his might.’ Now, farewell my dear friends; farewell holy and sweet Scriptures; farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell sweet reproaches and crosses for my sweet Lord Jesus; farewell all things in time, reading, praying, and all duties; farewell my dear wife, the Lord be to you better than ten husbands. Glory be to his great name, that made me so sweetly to submit to his will, whatever he trysted me with. Farewell mother and sisters, and all relations; farewell all my Christian acquaintances for a while; farewell sweet society in Fife, the Lord’s blessing be on you all. And now, welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; welcome sweet company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect; welcome everlasting songs of praise. Now, into thy hands, holy Father, I commit my spirit.

Sic sub.—ANDREW PITILLOCH.”*

XII. DONALD CARGILL.

[Few names are so prominent in the history of the Scottish persecution as that of Donald Cargill. He was born in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, in 1610, and was sent to pursue his studies for the ministry at the University of St. Andrews. Having at length received license, he was called to the Barony Parish, Glasgow; and in this situation remained till the establishment of Prelacy in 1662. About this period he became particularly obnoxious to the dominant party in the state; and henceforth his life was one of continual jeopardy and peril. After having frequently escaped, in the most dangerous circumstances, he was apprehended in January 1669. Upon this occasion, however, he was liberated by the interest of his friends; and during the ten years subsequent, was diligent, as opportunity offered, in preaching the gospel in the fields. He was at the battle of Bothwell, and received several wounds; and having sided with what is generally styled the *stricter* party among the Presbyterians, he afterwards united with Richard Cameron, in preaching against the Indulgence and other contested points. He is especially famous for having excommunicated the King and his principal officers, in the year 1680. In October that year, a reward of 5000 merks, was offered for his person; and in the following summer he was apprehended at St. John’s Kirk, Lanarkshire, by a party of dragoons, under the command of Irvine

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 167—174.

of Bonshaw. What followed may be easily conceived. He was brought before the Council and examined, first on the 15th, and then again on the 19th of July, 1681. On the 26th of that month, he was, with some others, tried by the Justiciary, and being found guilty, was executed on the following day.]

1. HIS TESTIMONY.

“THIS is the most joyful day that ever I saw in my pilgrimage on earth ; my joy is now begun, which I see shall never be interrupted. I see both *my* interest, and *His* truth, and the sureness of the one, and the preciousness of the other. It is near thirty years since He made it sure ; and since that time, (though there has fallen out much sin, yet) I was never out of an assurance of mine interest, nor long out of sight of his presence. He has dandled me, and kept me lively, and never left me behind, though I was oft-times turning back. O He has showed the wonderful preciousness of his grace, not only in the first receiving thereof, but in renewed and multiplied pardons ! I have been a man of great sins, but he has been a God of great mercies. And now, through his mercies, I have a conscience as sound and quiet, as if I had never sinned. It is long since I could have adventured on eternity, through God’s mercy and Christ’s merits ; but death remained somewhat terrible, and that is now taken away ; and now death is no more to me, but to cast myself into my husband’s arms, and to lie down with him. And however it be with me at the last, though I should be straitened by God, or interrupted by men, yet all is sure, and shall be well. I have followed holiness, I have taught truth, and I have been most in the *main* things ; not that I thought the things concerning our times little, but that I thought none could do any thing to purpose in God’s great and public matters, till they were right in their conditions. And O that all had taken this method, for then there had been fewer apostasies. The religion of the land, and zeal for the land’s engagements, are coming to nothing, but a supine, loathsome, and hateful formality ; and there cannot be zeal, liveliness and rightness, where people meet with persecution, and want heart-renovation. My soul trembles to think, how little of regeneration there is amongst the ministers and professors of Scotland. O the ministers of Scotland, how have they betrayed Christ’s interest, and beguiled souls ! ‘ They have not entered in themselves, and them that were entering in, they hindered.’ They have sold the things of Christ, and liberties of his church, for a short and cursed quiet to themselves, which is now near an end : and they are more, one and at peace, with God’s enemies, after they have done all their mischiefs, than they were at first, when they had put hand to them. And I much fear that though there were not one minister on all the earth, He would make no more use of them ; but there will be a dreadful iudgment upon themselves, and a long curse upon their posterity.

“As to our professors, my council to them is, that they would see well to their own regeneration, for the most part of them has that yet to do ; and yet let never one think, that he is in the right exercise of true religion, that has not a zeal to God’s public glory. There is a

small remnant in Scotland, that my soul has had its greatest comfort on earth from. I wish your increase in holiness, number, love, religion, and righteousness; and wait you, and cease to contend with these men that are gone from us, for there is nothing that shall convince them but judgment. Satisfy your consciences, and go forward; for the nearer you are to God, and the further from all others, whether stated enemies, or lukewarm ministers and professors, it shall be the better. My preaching has occasioned persecution, but the want of it will, I fear, occasion worse. However, I have preached the truths of God, to others, as it is written, 'I believed, and so I preached;' and I have not an ill conscience in preaching truth, whatever has followed; and this day I am to seal with my blood all the truths that ever I preached: and what is controverted of that which I have been professing, shall ere long, be manifested by God's judgments in the consciences of men. I had a sweet calmness of spirit, and great submission as to my taking, the providence of God was so eminent in it; and I could not but think, that God judged it necessary for his glory, to bring me to such an end, seeing he loosed me from such a work. My soul would be exceedingly troubled anent the remnant, were it not that I think the time will be short. Wherefore hold fast, for this is the way that is now persecuted.

"As to the causes of my suffering: the main is, 'Not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the supremacy and explanatory act.' This is the magistracy that I have rejected, that was invested with Christ's power. And seeing *that* power taken from Christ, which is his glory, and made the essential of the crown, I thought this was, as if I had seen one wearing my husband's garments, after he had killed him. And seeing it is made the essential of the crown, there is no distinction we can make, that can free the conscience of the acknowledger, from being a partaker of this sacrilegious robbing of God, and it is but to cheat our consciences, to acknowledge the civil power, for it is not civil power only that is made of the essence of the crown: and seeing they are so express, we ought to be plain; for otherwise, it is to deny our testimony, and consent to this robbery."*

2. HIS LAST WORDS.

After he was come to the scaffold,—standing with his back towards the ladder, he fixed his eyes upon the multitude, and desired their attention; and after singing a part of the cxviii. Psalm, from verse 16th to the close, he looked up to the windows on both sides of the scaffold with a smiling countenance, requesting the people to compose themselves, and hear a few words that he had to say, "which, (said he) I shall direct to three sorts of folk, and shall endeavour to be brief. First, all you that are going on in persecuting the work and people of God, O beware, for the Lord's sake! and refrain from such courses, as you would escape wrath eternally, which will be a torment far beyond what we are to endure by the hands of cruel and bloody murderers." Upon this the drums were beaten, at which he smiling said, "Now ye

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 33—35.

see we have not liberty to speak, or at least to speak what we would ; but God knoweth our hearts. But, O ye that are called ministers, and professors of the church of Scotland, who are wearied in waiting upon the Lord, and are turned out of his way, and run into a course of gross defection and backsliding ; truly, for my part, I tremble to think what will become of you ; for either you shall be punished with sore affliction, I mean, in your consciences, because of sin, or else you shall be tormented eternally without remedy, which shall be shortly, if mercy prevent it not, which, I pray God, may be the mercy of all these to whom he has thoughts of peace. All ye that are the poor remnant, who fear sinning more than suffering, and are begging for his returning to Scotland to wear his own crown, and reign as King in Zion, in spite of all who will oppose him, whether devils or men : I say to you that are thus waiting, wait on, and ye shall not be disappointed : for either your eyes shall see it, or else ye shall die in the faith of it, that he shall return, and ‘if you suffer with him, you shall also reign with him,’ which reign shall be glorious and eternal. I come now to tell you for what I am brought here to die, and to give you an account of my faith, which I shall do as in the sight of the living God, before whom I am shortly to stand. First, I declare I am a Christian, a Protestant, a Presbyterian in my judgment, and whatever hath been said of me, I die testifying against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all manner of defection from the truth of God, and against all who make not the Scriptures, which are the word of God, their rule, that so they may commend Christ and his way to strangers, by a holy and gospel conversation. The cause for which I am sentenced to die here this day, is my disowning of authority in the unlawful exercise thereof, when they, instead of ruling for God, are fighting against him, and encroaching upon his prerogatives, by that woful supremacy which my soul abhors, and which I have testified against since I was apprehended ; and now again, I disown all supremacy over the consciences of men, and liberties of Christ’s church.” Whereupon, the drums were again beaten, and he kept silence a little, and then said, “Of this subject I shall say no more ; only I think the Lord’s quarrel against this land is, because there has not been so much heart-religion and soul-exercise among either ministers or professors, as there seemed to be, when the land owned Christ and his truths. I wish there were more true conversion, and then there would not be so much backsliding, and, for fear of suffering, living at ease, when there are so few to contend for Christ and his cause.

“Now, for my own case, I bless the Lord, that for all that hath been said of me, my conscience doth not condemn me ; I do not say, I am free of sin, but I am at peace with God through a slain Mediator ; and I believe that there is no salvation, but only in Christ ; and I abhor that superstitious way of worshipping of angels and saints, contrary unto the word of God ; as also I abhor the leaning to self-righteousness, and Popish penances. I bless the Lord, that these thirty years, and more, I have been at peace with God, and was never shaken loose of it ; and now I am as sure of my interest in Christ, and peace with

God, as all within this Bible, and the Spirit of God, can make me; and I am no more terrified at death, nor afraid of hell, because of sin, than if I had never had sin; for all my sins are freely pardoned, and washed thoroughly away, through the precious blood and intercession of Jesus Christ; and I am fully persuaded, that this is His way for which I suffer, and that he will return gloriously to Scotland, but it will be terrifying to many; therefore I entreat you, be not discouraged at the way of Christ, and the cause for which I am to lay down my life, and step into eternity, where my soul shall be as full of him, as it can desire to be. And now, this is the sweetest and most glorious day that ever my eyes did see. Now I entreat you, study to know and believe the Scriptures, which are the truths of God, these I have preached, and do firmly believe them. O! prepare for judgments, for they shall be sore and sudden. Enemies are now enraged against the way and people of God, but ere long they shall be enraged one against another, to their own confusion." At this the drums were beaten a third time. And then being taken to the north side of the scaffold, he stood a little, during the time that one of the rest was singing. And then being carried to the south side of the scaffold, he prayed. Thence he was brought to the east side of the scaffold, and then he said, "I entreat you prepare presently for a stroke, for God will not sit with all the wrongs done to him, but will suddenly come and make inquisition for the blood that has been shed in Scotland." Then he was commanded to go up the ladder, and as he set his foot on the ladder, he said, "The Lord knows I go up this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach." And when he was up, he set himself down, and said, "Now I am near to the getting of my crown, which shall be sure; for I bless the Lord, and desire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, and makes me triumph over devils, and men, and sin; they shall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, and pray the Lord may forgive all the wrongs that any of the elect has done against him. I pray, that sufferers may be kept from sin, and helped to know their duty." Then having prayed a little within himself, he lifted up the napkin, and said, "Farewell all relations and friends in Christ; farewell acquaintance, and all earthly enjoyments; farewell reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproaches, and sufferings. Welcome, joy unspeakable, and full of glory. Welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into thy hands I commit my spirit." Then he prayed a little, and the executioner turned him over praying.*

Because this dying testimony and last speech are but short, which was occasioned through want of time, and the persecutors' severity, who took his larger testimony from him the day before he died, (paper and ink being conveyed to him secretly, by a cord through the window, the night before his death,) it is thought proper to subjoin these following letters of his (they being all of public concern), to give a more full discovery of the testimony which he held: and particularly,

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 35—38.

of his witnessing against the errors, about that time, broached by the infamous John Gib, as the letter written to the prisoners in the correction house manifests.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

3. HIS LETTER TO MR. SKENE.

“Dearest Friend,—There is now nothing upon earth, that I am so concerned in (except the Lord’s work), as in you and your fellows; that you may either be cleanly brought off, or honourably and rightly carried through. He has begun in part to answer me, though not in that which I most affected, yet in that which is best. My soul was refreshed to see any that had so far overcome the fear and torture of death, and were so far denied to the affections of the flesh, as to give full liberty to the exoneration of conscience, in the face of these bloody tyrants, and vile apostates; and yet these, by our divines, must be acknowledged as magistrates, which very heathens, endued with the light of nature, would abominate, and would think it as inconsistent with reason, to admit to, or continue in magistracy, such perjured, bloody, dissolute, and flagitious men, as to make a wolf the keeper and feeder of the flock. But every step of their dealing with God, with the land, and with yourself and brethren, is a confirmation of your judgment anent them, and sufficient ground of your detestation and rejection of them; and it is the sin of the land, and of every person in it, that they have not gone along with you, and these few in that action; but since they have not done that, *they* shall not now meet with the like honour, if ever they meet with it, till vengeance be poured out upon them; and they and their king shall either be kept together in wrath, or divided in wrath, that they may be one another’s destruction. But go on, valiant champion, you die not as a fool, though the apostate, unfaithful and lukewarm ministers and professors of this generation think and say so; they shall live traitors, and most of them die fools; I say, traitors, as some men live upon the reward of treachery, for their quiet and liberty; if it may be called a liberty, as it is redeemed with the betraying of the interest of Christ, and the blood of his people. But he himself hath sealed your sufferings, and their thus saying, condemns God, and his sealing condemns them. But neither regard their voices, nor fear, for God will neither seal to folly nor iniquity; he then not only having sealed your sufferings, but your remission, go on to finish and perfect your testimony, not only against them, but against all that subject unto them, side with them, or are silent at them. And as for these men that will be our rulers, though they have nothing of worth or virtue in them, I am persuaded of this, that none can appear before them, and acknowledge them as they have now invested themselves (standing on a foundation of perjury, which is an act recissory of their admission to the government) with Christ’s crown on their head, and a sceptre of iniquity and a sword of persecution, in their hand, but must deny Christ. And in effect, the whole land generally hath denied Christ, and desired a murderer. And as for that unsavoury salt that lately appeared,—acknowledged *them*, and was ashamed of this testimony, and in so doing, gave the first vote to your condemnation, and proclaimed a lawfulness to the rest

of the assizers and murderers, to follow, in their condemnations ;—God shall require this with his other doings at *his* hands ; and I am somewhat afraid, if he be not suddenly made the subject of serious repentance, he shall be made the subject of great vengeance.* But forgive and forget all these private injuries, and labour to go to death and eternity, with a heart destitute of private revenges, and filled with zeal to God's glory ; and assign to him the quarrel against his enemies, to be followed out by himself in his own way, against the indignities done to God, and against the mocking perfidiousness, impieties, and lukewarmness, of this generation. And for yourself, whatever there has been either of sin or duty, remember the one and forget the other : and betake yourself wholly to the mercy of God, and the merits of Christ ; ye know in whom ye have believed, and the acceptableness of your believing, and the more fully you henceforth believe, the greater shall be His glory, and the greater your peace and safety. Farewell, dearest friend, never to see one another any more, till at the right hand of Christ. Fear not, and the God of mercies grant a full gale, and a fair entry into his kingdom, that may carry sweetly and swiftly over the bar, that you find not the rub of death. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you.

“ Yours in Christ,

“ D. CARGILL.”†

3. HIS LETTER TO JOHN MALCOLM AND ARCHIBALD ALLISON.

“ Dear Friends,—Death in Christ, and for Christ, is never much to be bemoaned, and less at this time than any other ; when these that survive have nothing to live among but miseries, persecution, snares, sorrows, and sinning ; and where the only desirable sight, viz. Christ reigning in a free and flourishing church, is wanting ; and the greatly grieving and offensive object to devout souls, viz. devils, and the worst of the wicked, reigning and raging, is still before our eyes ; and though we had greater things to leave, and better times to live in, yet eternity does so far exceed and excel these things in their greatest perfection, that they who see and are sure, (and we see indeed, being made sure), will never let a tear fall, or a sigh go, at the farewell ;

* It is difficult to discover to whom this passage alludes, unless it was to the excellent and venerable John Carstairs. And if so, it must surely be regretted that both Mr. Cargill, and Mr. Skene should have left upon record, with regard to *him*, language of such severe and condemnatory import. It is true, he acknowledged the authority of the king and the then civil government, but in other respects his presbyterian principles and his zeal for the covenanted Church of Scotland were just as pure, and fervent, and consistent, as their own. Besides, he was, a man of highly respectable talents and acquirements as a theologian, and whose personal piety was altogether above suspicion. For a short vindication of him, from the aspersions of Mr. Skene, the reader is referred to Note p. 285.

† Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 38—40.—Between this and the subsequent article, there is inserted in the Cloud of Witnesses, a short letter by Mr. Cargill, addressed “ To some Friends, before he went abroad,” but, as it did not seem to the Editor to be at all expressive of his dying Testimony, it was thought unnecessary to include it in the present Collection.

but would rather make a slip to get death, than to shun it,—if both were not equally detestable to them upon the account of God's commandments,—whom they neither dare nor are willing to offend, even to obtain heaven itself. And there are none who are his, but they must see themselves infinitely advantaged in the exchange; and accordingly hasten, if sin, the flesh, and want of assurance, did not withstand: and there is no doubt, but these must be weak and poor spirits, that are bewitched or enchanted, either with the fruitions or hopes of the world. And as earth has nothing to hold a resolute and reconciled soul, so heaven wants nothing to draw it; and to some to live here, has been always wearisome, since their peace was made, Christ's sweetness known, and their own weakness and unusefulness experienced; but now it is become hatefully loathsome, since devils and the worst of men are become the head, and dreadful by their stupendous permissions, loosings and lengthenings in their reigning; and friends are become uncomfortable, because they will neither Christianly bear and bide, nor rightly go forward to effectuate their own delivery. But for you, there is nothing at this time, (if you yourselves be sure with God, which, I hope, either you are, or will be,) which can make me bewail your death; though the cause of it doth both increase my affection to you and indignation against these enemies. Yet for you, notwithstanding the unjustness of the sentence,—go not to eternity with indignation against them upon your own account. Neither let the goodness of the cause ye suffer for, found your confidence in God, and your hope of well-being; for were the action ever so good, and performed without the least failing,—which is not incident to human infirmity—it could never be a cause of obtaining mercy, nor yet commend us to that grace from which we are to obtain it.* There is nothing now which is yours, when you are pleading and petitioning for mercy, that must be remembered, but your sins; for in effect, there is nothing else ours. Let your sins then be on your heart, as your sorrow;—which we must bewail, before we be parted with them, as the captive her father, not because she was to leave him, but because she had been so long with him. And let these mercies of God, and merits of Christ, be before your eyes, as your hopes, and your winning to these as the only rock upon which we can be saved; if there be any thing seen or looked to in ourselves but sin, we cannot expect remission and salvation allenarly through free grace,—in which expectation only it can be obtained: neither can we earnestly beg, till we see ourselves destitute of all that procures favour, and full of all that merits, and hastens vengeance and wrath.

“And besides, it heightens the price of that precious blood, by which only we can have redemption from sin and wrath;—it being the only

* The editor cannot but observe the coincidence between this statement of Mr. Cargill and the observations made in Note p. 271,—in reference to a sentiment contained in the testimony of John Malcom, one of the persons here addressed. It is evident from this, that Mr. Cargill had supposed him liable to give place to such erroneous views of revealed truth, and there can be only one opinion as to the soundness of the principles, and the propriety of the advice, which he thus attempts to press upon his attention.

sufficient in itself, and only acceptable to the Father; and so it must be,—being the blessed and gracious device and result of infinite wisdom, which makes the eternal God to be admired in his graciousness and holiness, having found out the way of his own payment without our hurt, and which makes all return to their own desires, and there to rest in an eternal complacency; for this way returns to God his glory, to justice its satisfaction, to disquieted consciences of men, frightened and awakened with the sight of sin and wrath,—ease, peace, and assurance; and to the souls of men,—fellowship with God, and hope of eternal salvation. Now, the righteousness of Christ being made sure to us, secures all this for us, and this both is believed and apprehended by faith,—*it* being the hand by which we grip this rock, and if it be true, it cannot but be strong, and we saved. Look well then to your faith, that it be a faith growing out of regeneration, and the new creature, and have Christ for its righteousness, hope and rejoicing, and be sealed by the Spirit of God: and what this sealing is, when it comes it will abundantly show itself; and there can be no other full satisfaction to a soul than this. But seek till ye find, and whatever ye find for the present, let your last act be to lay and leave yourselves on the righteousness of his Son, expecting life through his name, according to the promise of the Father. Dear friends, your work is great, and time short; but this is a comfort, and the only comfort in your present condition, that you have a God infinite in mercy to deal with, who is ready at all times to forgive, but especially persons in your case, who have been jeopardizing your lives upon the account of the gospel, whatever failings or infirmities in you, that action hath been accompanied with; for it is the action itself which is the duty of this whole covenanted kingdom, and not the failing, for which you are brought to suffering. Seek not then the favours of men, by making your duty your sin; but confess your failings to God, and look for his mercy through Jesus Christ, who has said, ‘Whosoever loseth his life for my sake, shall keep it unto eternal life.’ And though it will profit a reprobate nothing to die after this manner, (for nothing can be profitable without love, which only is, or can be, in a believer,) yet it should be no disadvantage, but, in a manner,—the best way of dying; for, it would take some from his days that he might have lived, and so prevent many sins that he would have committed, and so the sin is lessened that is the cause of eternal sufferings.

“And let not this discourage you, or lay you by, that the work is great, and the time short, though this indeed should mind you of your sinful neglect,—that were not better provided for such a short and peremptory summons,—which you should always have expected. It also shows the greatness of the sin of these enemies, that not only take away unjustly your bodily life, but also shorten your time of preparation, and so do their utmost to deprive you of eternal life. Yet, I say, let not this either discourage, or lay you by, for God can perfect great works in a short time, and one of the greatest things that befall men, shall be effectuate in the twinkling of an eye, which is one of the shortest. I assure you he put the thief on the cross through all his desires, convictions, conversion, justification, sanctification, &c.

in a short time, and left nothing to bemoan, but that there did not remain time enough to glorify *Him* on earth, that had done all these things for him. Go on then, and let your intent be seriousness; the greatness of your sorrow, and the height of love, in a manner, make a compensation for the shortness of time, and go on though ye yourselves have gone a short way; for where these things are, one hour will perform more than thousands, where there were not either such enforcements or power; and be persuaded in this, you have Him as much and more hastening than yourselves; for you may know His motion by your own, they being both set forward by Him. And dear friends, be not terrified at the manner of your death, which to me seems the easiest of all, where you come to it without pain, and in perfect judgment, and go through so speedily; before the pain be felt the glory is come: but pray for a greater measure of His presence, which only can make a pass through the hardest things,—cheerful and pleasant. I bid you farewell, expecting, though our parting be sad, our gathering shall be joyful again. Only your great advantage in the case you are in, is to credit Him much, for that is His glory, and engages Him to perform whatever you have credited Him with. No more, but avow boldly to give a full testimony for His truths, as you die to be avowed of Him. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you.

“DONALD CARGILL.” *

4. HIS LETTER TO THE PRISONERS IN THE CORRECTION-HOUSE.

“DEAR Friends,—I think ye cannot but know that I am both concerned and afflicted with your condition; and I would have written sooner, and more, if I had not feared that you might have been jealous (under your distempers,) that I had been seducing you to follow *me*, and not God and truth. It has been my earnest and frequent prayer to God, (as he himself knows,) to be led into all truths; and I judge I have been, in this, graciously answered; but I desire none, if they themselves judge it not to be truth, to adhere to any thing that I have either preached, written, or done, to any hazard, much more to the loss of life. But I have been afflicted with your condition, and could not but be more, if God’s great graciousness in this begun discovery, and your sincerity and singleness,—gave me not hope,—that God’s purpose is to turn this to the great mercy of his poor church, and yours, if ye mar it not; and yet the great sin and pillar of Satan that is in this snare, makes me tremble. It was God’s mercy to you that gave such convictions, that made you, at least some of you, once to part with these men; and it was undoubtedly your sin that you continued not so, but after convictions, did cast yourselves into new temptations; for convictions ought to be tenderly guided, lest the Spirit be grieved from whom they come; but this second discovery, though it be with a sharper rebuke, as it makes God’s mercy wonderful, so it shall render your perseverance in that course, sinful and utterly inexcusable; for God has broken the snare, and it will be your great sin, if you go not out with great haste, joy,

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 41—45.

and thankfulness, when God's wonderful discovery has made such a way for your delivery; for God having now shown you the ring-leaders and authors of these opinions to be persons of such abominations, calls you not only to deny credit to them, but also to make a serious search of their tenets, which will, I know, by his grace, bring you undoubtedly to see that these things are contrary both to God's glory and truth, that they so much pretend to.

"And now, dear friends, as I cannot be tender enough of you, who in your zeal and singleness have been misled; for though this did bewray a great simplicity and unwatchfulness, yet it did also betoken some zeal and tenderness, that being beguiled, it was in things that were veiled and busked with some pretences to God's glory and public reformation. And, on the other hand, I cannot have great enough abhorrence of these persons, who, knowing themselves to be of such abominations, did give out themselves to be of such familiarity with God, and of so clear illumination, to make their delusions more passing with devout souls. Let nothing make you think this is malignity, or natural enmity against the power of godliness, or progress in reformation, that is venting itself in me; for, though I cannot win forward as I ought, yet I have rejoiced to see others go forward. And I am sure, there lies in this bed within you, a viper and a child. Satan transforming himself into an angel of light, has put these two together, to make it passing with some, and to be spared of others, who are of tenderness. But my soul's desire is, to kill the serpent and keep the child alive; and God is calling you loudly to sever the good from the bad, that the wit of Satan's subtilty has mixed together, and to deliver yourselves speedily, as a roe from the hand of the hunter; and not only return, but bitterly mourn for your high provoking of God, in offering such foul sacrifices to his glory, and sewing your old clouts upon that new garment; in your making the enemy more to despise that cause and company, who are enough despised already, and discouraging those who were following, and going forward with joy in that which was right, so that now, neither have they heart nor hand for the work, nor can they look out, till God recover them again. There is much in the whole of those, that may, and does weight and overwhelm some spirits; but there is nothing in all their cogitations about it, that they found comfortable, unless it be, that he is cleared in afflicting us, and continuing to afflict us, because there were such persons among us. I speak this but of some of you, and beloved by us, though ignorantly; and we wish that this be the last and great stop that was to be removed before his coming to revenge himself and reign. I would not say, but by this also, he shewed his tenderness, of preserving integrity of doctrine, and sound reformation, and his purpose not to suffer errors and heresies to prosper. This I told you, when I met with you, that there were some things ye were owning, which were highly approved of God; such as an inward heart-love and zeal to God's glory, which I perceived to be in some of you, so far as it can be perceived, and setting up of that before you, as your end, in pursuing it always as your work, and a forgetting of all other things in regard to it, excepting only these things, without which we cannot glorify

him, (as a workman that intends his work, must mind his tools), even our own salvation, and the salvation of all others, as if they were not things wherein he is greatly glorified, for his glory is in righteousness and mercy, and in, and by these, is the salvation of man infallibly advanced, and with these it is inseparably connected.

“Next I would advise you, to set apart more, yea, much more of your time, for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, in such an exigence, when the judgments of God appear to be so near, and so great, so that it be done without sin, for God cannot be glorified by sin; ‘For if my lie hath more abounded to his glory, why am I judged as a sinner?’ I was against such as deny nature, and others, their right dues; for he that allows dues to others, allows them to be paid also: and we must be like prisoners, who are of great debt, and honest hearts, who know they cannot pay every one their full sums, yet are resolved to give every one some, and to the greatest most, and to the rest accordingly. And as there cannot be a total abstinence from meat, without self-murder, so there cannot be a total denying others their due, such as the benevolence of husband to wife, and a total abstaining from work, without a transgression of God’s commandments and laws, which can never be a glorifying of him,—which the more impartially they are kept, the more he is glorified. Next, ways are allowed of him, that ye may make yourselves free, so much as in you lies, of all the public defections: whatever may involve you in these, or contribute to their upholding, without either an overpowering force, or an indispensable necessity: for I may buy meat and drink, in necessity, whatever use the seller may make of the money I give for my meat and drink. Next, he allows these particulars of reformation, such as change of the names of days, of weeks, of terms of the year, and such like, warranted by the word, and example of the Christians in scripture, that have been neglected before in our reformation; so that there be not too much religion placed in these things, and other things more weighty, (which, undoubtedly, have more moral righteousness in them) made little in regard of them: but in these good things, Satan will quickly, if it be not—already, over-drive you in your progress, and leave you only to hug a spurious birth. But there are other things that ye maintained, when I spoke with you (and the viper has more since appeared) as truths, and part of God’s glory, that are utterly contrary to, and inconsistent with the glory of God. As, first,—laying aside of public preaching; some of them saying no less, than they had no missing of it: so that ye thought, ‘ye had reigned as kings without us, and would to God ye had reigned.’ Your flourishing should have delighted, though we had not been the instruments and means thereof. But alas! this your liberty, that you so much bragged of, would have lasted but a little while, and was among your other beguiles; and was nothing else but Satan stirring you about to giddiness, and raising of fantastic fumes to the tickling of the imagination; but leaving you altogether without renovation of heart, or progress in sanctification: so that I cannot compare this your liberty to any thing else, but to an enchanted fabric, where the poor guests,

only placed in imagination, imagine themselves to be in a pleasant place, and at a royal entertainment; but when God comes, and delusion vanisheth, they will find themselves cast in some remote wilderness, and they left full of astonishment and fears.

“ I told you, while I was with you, that the devil was sowing tares among your thin wheat; but I was not long from you, exercised in thoughts about you, but I saw clearly, there was sorcery in the business: and now I tell you, I fear sorcerers also. I know I have spoken this against mine own life, if they get the power they desire; but I am in a defiance of them, and I know also in a defence by him who hath preserved, and I know will preserve me, till my work be finished. But if your liberty that you talked of had been true, it would at least have stayed till it had brought you to other thoughts, other works, and other comforts; and it might have been easily discerned not a true liberty, but a temptation that led you from public preaching, the great ordinance of God's glory, and men's good; as the apostle has that word, ‘ Forbidding us to preach to the Gentiles.’ But especially to leave public ordinances at this time, when they are the only standards standing, which shows Satan's victory against Christ's kingdom in Scotland not to be complete.

“ Yet, dear friends, when you hear this, let not Satan cast you so far to the other side, (for it is rare to see the most devout souls altogether out from under his delusions and temptations,) as to make you believe, that it is impossible to attain unto any thing of certitude of truth, liberty, manifestations and communion with God, if that which seemed to be so firm, be delusions; but shall Satan have such power to make men believe lies, and shall not God go infinitely beyond him, in making men to see and believe truth? There were many that thought themselves at the height of assurance, when under the greatest temptations, as Psal. lxxiii. 13. ‘ Verily I have cleansed my hands in vain.’ And yet, they have a greater certainty when they come to see, that there is no such unquietness of spirit under this, as they found in the former. And seeing it is so, rest not till ye attain that assurance of your own interest, and of His main truths, which is both above doubt and defect, that ye may be able to say, ‘ Now we believe, and are sure.’

“ But in the next place, you will join with none in public worship, but those who have infallible signs of regeneration. This seems fair, but it is both false and foul; *false*, because of its false foundation, viz. That the certainty of one's interest in Christ may be known by another; whereas the scripture says, ‘ That none knows it, but he that has it:’ *foul* also, for this disdain has pride in it, and pride is always foul; and though there be a difference amongst men, and that we should have regard of repentance and brokenness of heart, yet those who have well sought and seen their own filthiness, will judge themselves the persons, of any, that should be thrust out of the assemblies of God's people; and that not only in regard of what they have been, but also in regard of what they daily are. Next, ye would have all to be prayed to eternal wrath, who have departed and made defection

in this time : alas ! we need not blow them away, the great part is going fast enough that way ; but this, I am sure, is not to give God his glory, but to take from him, and limit him in his freedom and choice, in the greatness of his pardon. It is remarkable, that the angels in their 'glory to God,' joined also with it, 'good will to men.' Next, ye have rejected the Psalms, with many other things, by a paper come from some of you ; and I cannot see upon what account, except it be, because it is man's work, in turning the Psalms out of prose into metre. Then, you must reject all the other Scriptures, because the translation of them is man's work ; ye have not yet learned the original languages, ye must betake yourselves altogether to the spirit, and what a spirit will that be, that is not to be tried by the Scriptures ! I told some of you, when I last saw you, that ye were too little led by the Scriptures, and too much by your own thoughts and suggestions, which indeed opens a wide door to delusion, and alas ! lays yourselves open to Satan's temptations.

" As for the rest, of your denying all your former covenants and declarations ; this cannot be from God,—they containing nothing but lawful and necessary duties ; and suppose they did not contain and include a complete reformation, yet they did not exclude it ; so that, still holding them, we might have passed on to more perfection, and they might be inviolable obligations with us. And next, your cutting off all that were not of your mind, and delivering them up to devils, was not justice and religion,—it being done neither in judgment nor righteousness, upon conviction of their crimes, but in unbridled rage and fury. But these things I cannot fully speak to, now : yet there is somewhat that I cannot pass ; but must tell you, that I fear there shall remain some of the leaven within, that shall not only spoil an orthodox Protestant, but also a true, tender, and humble Christian, and give us nothing instead of it, but a blown bladder : for I am persuaded, if Satan should have the tutory but a while, he should bring it to this ; for it has been his way with some, first to make them saint-like, and afterwards to settle them in atheism ;—like a cunning fisher, running a fish upon an angle, who at last casts it on dry ground. God is my witness, my soul loves to see holiness, tenderness, and zeal, in such a generation, where there is nothing but untenderness, unconcernedness, and lukewarmness ; and by his grace, I shall ever cherish it. I desire you then, in the bowels of Christ, to retain your zeal ; but see well to this, that it be for his glory. Indeed, the more that you are zealous, and the further ye go forward, so that the word of God direct your course,—ye are the more pleasing to God, and shall be the dearer to us. And persuade yourselves, that though I cannot equal or go before ; yet it is the sincere desire of my heart to follow such. And my soul wishes you well, though it may be I cannot here point, nor lead you the way to well-being ; yet this I must say, that if I could lead you the way that he has led me, I should let you see eternal life, without these things that I am desiring you to relinquish. Hold truth, glorify God, be zealous to have him glorified : but think not to

desire the condemnation of any man, simply upon that account, that they dare not come and continue where you are; or to put a bar by prayer between them and a return, is a glorifying of God: we glorify him in this kind, when, as he himself desires, we acquiesce in his sentence, when it is past, though we wrestle against it, before it be known to us.

“I cannot bid you go forward in all, but I desire you to go forward in that which is surer and better. And, dear friends, let not the world have that to say, that when ye are become right, ye are become the less zealous; only take the right object, and let your zeal grow. O let not your sufferings be stained with such wildness, and think it not strange that ye have not such liberty in your return, as ye seemed to have before; if ye take the right way, and hold on, ye shall find it, in his time, greater and better, and surer. I shall only add, that there must be an express owning of his truths, whereof ye have been persuaded before now, which now are either denied or doubted, otherwise you will come to nothing of religion, or worse; this will either state your sufferings right, or be a mean to obtain a cleanly liberty from God, in his due time. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you. Amen.

“DONALD CARGILL.” *

XII. WALTER SMITH.

[Mr. Smith was a native of St. Ninians, in Stirlingshire. After the usual preliminary education, he went to Holland, and studied divinity under the famous Leusden. Upon his return, he became eminent among the suffering presbyterians, was Clerk to the council of war, and a commanding officer at the battle of Bothwell-bridge. After this, he became the constant attendant, as he was the intimate friend, of Mr. Cargill,—in his wanderings over Scotland. He was along with that venerable person, in the neighbourhood of Lanark, when taken; and shared his fate. It does not appear that he was ever licensed as a preacher, though he had this in prospect at the time of his apprehension. He seems to have been highly esteemed, by those who knew him, as a young man of good learning and genuine piety. Being brought before the council upon two several occasions, on the 14th and 19th of July, he was thereafter tried on the 26th, and executed on the 27th of that month. His testimony and last words, follow.]

1. HIS TESTIMONY.

“DEAR Friends and Acquaintances,—As I desire, while in the body, to sympathize somewhat with you in lamenting your various cases, and the case of the church, whereof we are the sons and daughters; so I must lay this request upon you, and leave it with you, that ye

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 45—52.

take some of your time, and set it apart particularly, to solace your souls, in blessing and magnifying your God and my God, for the lot he hath decreed and chosen out for poor unworthy me, from eternity, in time, and to eternity; in the immediate enjoyment of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, incomprehensible and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth; and that, because he hath made me a man and a Christian. And now, I set to my seal to all his truths, revealed in his word; and particularly these: 1st, That he is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. But alas! who can think of him? who can hear of him, or write of him aright? O he is God! he is God! 2dly, That he made man perfect; and though we have destroyed and incapacitated ourselves to do any thing that is right, while out of Christ,—yet we are under the obligation of the whole law, which is the perfect rule of righteousness. 3dly, That my Lord, (yea through free grace, I can say, my Lord Jesus Christ) came to the world to save sinners: and though I cannot say that I have been the greatest of sinners, yet I can say, that he hath covered, pardoned, prevented and hid from the world, sins in me that have been heinous by many aggravations. 4thly, That ‘except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ My friends, this is the new birth, this is regeneration, that I am speaking of, to which the great part, even of professors, I fear, will be found strangers. 5thly, I set to my seal to the truth of that precious promise, Josh. i. 5. repeated Heb. xiii. 5. ‘For he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;’ together with all the other promises to that purpose: and I am sure he hath carried me through divers conditions of life, many various and singular difficulties and damping discouragements. But, omitting these things whereof the profane persecutors may as much boast (as to the outward) as any, He hath led me through the several steps of soul exercise, and the pangs of the new birth, *unto* himself. This, this my friends, is the cognizance and distinguishing character of a saint indeed; and by this, and this only, ‘we pass from death to life.’

“And as I adhere to the Confession of Faith and work of reformation, (as I shall afterwards speak to)—so particularly, I set to my seal to these truths in the eighteenth chapter thereof, anent the assurance of grace and salvation. Alas! the ignorance of this generation is great! My dear friends, I leave this as my last advice to you, make use of that book which contains the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Practical Use of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the Causes of God’s Wrath, &c. And let none think this work below them; for, the spiritual enlightening of the mind, which requires the literal with it, is the first work of the Spirit, after we first begin to come to ourselves, or rather to what we were in innocency, and ought to be by grace. But as to this, I do confidently refer you to Shepard’s Sound Believer; which, in my poor apprehension, is the surest ye can meet with. And, 6thly, I set to my seal to the covenant of grace, particularly that clause of it, Isa. lix. 21. ‘As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put

in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.' And here I leave my testimony against all atheists, speculative (if there be any such) and practical; and all mockers of godliness, all formalists and hypocrites, Quakers and enthusiasts, who either pretend to the Spirit, neglecting the word, or lean upon the word, neglecting the teaching of the Spirit. And what shall I more say, but by what of truth I have in experience seen, I am bold to believe what I have not seen: His testimony is a ground sufficient, and there can be no deceit under it.

"And now I am to die a martyr; and I am as fully persuaded of my interest in Christ, and that he hath countenanced me in that, for which I am to lay down my life, as I am of my being. And let the world and biassed professors say their pleasure, I am here in no delusion; I have the free and full exercise of reason and judgment; I am free of passion and prejudice, and, excepting that I am yet in the body, I am free of Satan's fire and fury: I have no bitterness nor malice at any living; so that what I am owning and dying for, I am solidly and firmly persuaded to be truth and duty, according to my mean capacity. And this is the main point, this day, in controversy, upon which I was peremptorily questioned, and desired positively to answer, yea, or nay, under the threatening of the boots, viz. Whether I owned the king's authority as presently established and exercised? which, I did positively disown, and denied allegiance to him, as he is invested with the supremacy—proper to Jesus Christ only. And who knoweth not, that at first he was constituted and crowned a covenanted king, and the subjects sworn in allegiance to him, as such, by the Solemn League and Covenant? This was the authority wherewith he was clothed, and the exercise of it was to be for God, religion, and the good of the subjects; and is not all this, as to God and his people, overturned and perverted? But, secondly, The whole of this pleaded for authority at present, is established on the ruin of the land's engagements to God, and to one another. But I say no more as to this. Consider things seriously, and ponder them deeply; zeal for God is much gone: look to it, and labour to recover it; your peace shall be in it, as to duty; though Christ's righteousness, I see, is the only sure foundation.

"I leave my testimony against malignancy, ungodliness, and profanity, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine,—professed and owned by the reformed anti-erastian Presbyterian party in Scotland—whereof I die a member and professor;—being fully satisfied and content with my lot. And as to my apprehending, we were singularly delivered by Providence into the adversaries' hand, and, for what I could learn, were betrayed by none; nor were any accessory to our taking, more than we were ourselves: and particularly let none blame the lady St. Johns-kirk in this. I have no time to give you an account of the Lord's kindness and tenderness to us, in restraining the adversaries' fury; for they began very brisk, by making us lie all night bound, and expressly refused to suffer us to worship God, or pray with one another, until we came to Linlithgow. But the Lord

hasteneth to come; beware of going back, wait for him, be not anxious about what shall become of you, or the remnant; He is concerned, his intercession is sufficient: get him set up, and kept up in his own room in your souls, and other things will be the more easily kept in theirs. Be tender of all who have the root of the matter; but beware of compliance with any, whether ministers, or professors, or adversaries. As to my judgment, insignificant as it is, I am necessitated to refer you to the draught of a paper, which I drew, at the desire of some societies in Clydesdale, entitled, ‘Some Steps of Defection,’ &c. Beware of a spirit of bitterness, peremptoriness, and ignorant zeal, which hath been the ruin of some, and will be the ruin of more, if mercy prevent not. I was withdrawn from by some,—as having given offence to them by my protesting against their way in particular, wherein, I am sure,—as to the manner,—they were wrong; and though they had been right, it was not a ground to have made such a separation from me, much less from those who joined with me: and if any division be longer kept up upon that account, they will find it a great iniquity, if rightly considered. I can get no more written, nor see I great need for it; for the testimonies of martyrs are not your rule. Farewell.

Sic sub.—WALTER SMITH.*

“From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, {
July 27th, 1681.” }

2. HIS LAST WORDS.

Being come to the scaffold, he accosted the multitude to this purpose: “All ye beholders, who are come here upon various designs, I entreat you, be not mistaken anent the cause of my suffering this day; for, however ye may be misinformed, yet it is of verity, that we are brought here upon the matters of our God;—because we testified against the supremacy, and would not consent to the setting of Christ’s crown upon the head of him who had by usurpation aspired thereto, contrary to his former engagements.” Upon this they caused beat the drums, which obliged him a little to silence; but beckoning with his hand, he said, “I shall only say something to three particulars: and *first*, anent *that* which some are apt to believe,—that we are against authority;—we detest that, and say, that we own all the lawful exercise of authority; and we hope there are none that are Christians will allow us to own the unlawful exercise, or rather tyranny of authority.” At this the drums were again beat; and so, he sung a part of the ciii. Psalm from the beginning, and prayed; which done, he turned his face to the Cross, and said, “I bless the Lord, I am not surprised, neither terrified with this death or the manner of it. I confess the thoughts of death have been sometimes very terrible to me, when I have been reflecting upon my mis-spending of precious time; yea, sometimes the strength of temptation, and my own weakness, have made me herein to raze the very foundation of my interest; but my God builds faster than he permits the devil

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 52—55.

small remnant in Scotland, that my soul has had its greatest comfort on earth from. I wish your increase in holiness, number, love, religion, and righteousness; and wait you, and cease to contend with these men that are gone from us, for there is nothing that shall convince them but judgment. Satisfy your consciences, and go forward; for the nearer you are to God, and the further from all others, whether stated enemies, or lukewarm ministers and professors, it shall be the better. My preaching has occasioned persecution, but the want of it will, I fear, occasion worse. However, I have preached the truths of God, to others, as it is written, 'I believed, and so I preached;' and I have not an ill conscience in preaching truth, whatever has followed; and this day I am to seal with my blood all the truths that ever I preached: and what is controverted of that which I have been professing, shall ere long, be manifested by God's judgments in the consciences of men. I had a sweet calmness of spirit, and great submission as to my taking, the providence of God was so eminent in it; and I could not but think, that God judged it necessary for his glory, to bring me to such an end, seeing he loosed me from such a work. My soul would be exceedingly troubled anent the remnant, were it not that I think the time will be short. Wherefore hold fast, for this is the way that is now persecuted.

"As to the causes of my suffering: the main is, 'Not acknowledging the present authority, as it is established in the supremacy and explanatory act.' This is the magistracy that I have rejected, that was invested with Christ's power. And seeing *that* power taken from Christ, which is his glory, and made the essential of the crown, I thought this was, as if I had seen one wearing my husband's garments, after he had killed him. And seeing it is made the essential of the crown, there is no distinction we can make, that can free the conscience of the acknowledger, from being a partaker of this sacrilegious robbing of God, and it is but to cheat our consciences, to acknowledge the civil power, for it is not civil power only that is made of the essence of the crown: and seeing they are so express, we ought to be plain; for otherwise, it is to deny our testimony, and consent to this robbery."*

2. HIS LAST WORDS.

After he was come to the scaffold,—standing with his back towards the ladder, he fixed his eyes upon the multitude, and desired their attention; and after singing a part of the cxviii. Psalm, from verse 16th to the close, he looked up to the windows on both sides of the scaffold with a smiling countenance, requesting the people to compose themselves, and hear a few words that he had to say, "which, (said he) I shall direct to three sorts of folk, and shall endeavour to be brief. First, all you that are going on in persecuting the work and people of God, O beware, for the Lord's sake! and refrain from such courses, as you would escape wrath eternally, which will be a torment far beyond what we are to endure by the hands of cruel and bloody murderers." Upon this the drums were beaten, at which he smiling said, "Now ye

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 33—35.

see we have not liberty to speak, or at least to speak what we would ; but God knoweth our hearts. But, O ye that are called ministers, and professors of the church of Scotland, who are wearied in waiting upon the Lord, and are turned out of his way, and run into a course of gross defection and backsliding ; truly, for my part, I tremble to think what will become of you ; for either you shall be punished with sore affliction, I mean, in your consciences, because of sin, or else you shall be tormented eternally without remedy, which shall be shortly, if mercy prevent it not, which, I pray God, may be the mercy of all these to whom he has thoughts of peace. All ye that are the poor remnant, who fear sinning more than suffering, and are begging for his returning to Scotland to wear his own crown, and reign as King in Zion, in spite of all who will oppose him, whether devils or men : I say to you that are thus waiting, wait on, and ye shall not be disappointed : for either your eyes shall see it, or else ye shall die in the faith of it, that he shall return, and ‘if you suffer with him, you shall also reign with him,’ which reign shall be glorious and eternal. I come now to tell you for what I am brought here to die, and to give you an account of my faith, which I shall do as in the sight of the living God, before whom I am shortly to stand. First, I declare I am a Christian, a Protestant, a Presbyterian in my judgment, and whatever hath been said of me, I die testifying against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all manner of defection from the truth of God, and against all who make not the Scriptures, which are the word of God, their rule, that so they may commend Christ and his way to strangers, by a holy and gospel conversation. The cause for which I am sentenced to die here this day, is my disowning of authority in the unlawful exercise thereof, when they, instead of ruling for God, are fighting against him, and encroaching upon his prerogatives, by that woful supremacy which my soul abhors, and which I have testified against since I was apprehended ; and now again, I disown all supremacy over the consciences of men, and liberties of Christ’s church.” Whereupon, the drums were again beaten, and he kept silence a little, and then said, “Of this subject I shall say no more ; only I think the Lord’s quarrel against this land is, because there has not been so much heart-religion and soul-exercise among either ministers or professors, as there seemed to be, when the land owned Christ and his truths. I wish there were more true conversion, and then there would not be so much backsliding, and, for fear of suffering, living at ease, when there are so few to contend for Christ and his cause.

“Now, for my own case, I bless the Lord, that for all that hath been said of me, my conscience doth not condemn me ; I do not say, I am free of sin, but I am at peace with God through a slain Mediator ; and I believe that there is no salvation, but only in Christ ; and I abhor that superstitious way of worshipping of angels and saints, contrary unto the word of God ; as also I abhor the leaning to self-righteousness, and Popish penances. I bless the Lord, that these thirty years, and more, I have been at peace with God, and was never shaken loose of it ; and now I am as sure of my interest in Christ, and peace with

God, as all within this Bible, and the Spirit of God, can make me; and I am no more terrified at death, nor afraid of hell, because of sin, than if I had never had sin; for all my sins are freely pardoned, and washed thoroughly away, through the precious blood and intercession of Jesus Christ; and I am fully persuaded, that this is His way for which I suffer, and that he will return gloriously to Scotland, but it will be terrifying to many; therefore I entreat you, be not discouraged at the way of Christ, and the cause for which I am to lay down my life, and step into eternity, where my soul shall be as full of him, as it can desire to be. And now, this is the sweetest and most glorious day that ever my eyes did see. Now I entreat you, study to know and believe the Scriptures, which are the truths of God, these I have preached, and do firmly believe them. O! prepare for judgments, for they shall be sore and sudden. Enemies are now enraged against the way and people of God, but ere long they shall be enraged one against another, to their own confusion." At this the drums were beaten a third time. And then being taken to the north side of the scaffold, he stood a little, during the time that one of the rest was singing. And then being carried to the south side of the scaffold, he prayed. Thence he was brought to the east side of the scaffold, and then he said, "I entreat you prepare presently for a stroke, for God will not sit with all the wrongs done to him, but will suddenly come and make inquisition for the blood that has been shed in Scotland." Then he was commanded to go up the ladder, and as he set his foot on the ladder, he said, "The Lord knows I go up this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach." And when he was up, he set himself down, and said, "Now I am near to the getting of my crown, which shall be sure; for I bless the Lord, and desire all of you to bless him, that he hath brought me here, and makes me triumph over devils, and men, and sin; they shall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, and pray the Lord may forgive all the wrongs that any of the elect has done against him. I pray, that sufferers may be kept from sin, and helped to know their duty." Then having prayed a little within himself, he lifted up the napkin, and said, "Farewell all relations and friends in Christ; farewell acquaintance, and all earthly enjoyments; farewell reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproaches, and sufferings. Welcome, joy unspeakable, and full of glory. Welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; into thy hands I commit my spirit." Then he prayed a little, and the executioner turned him over praying.*

Because this dying testimony and last speech are but short, which was occasioned through want of time, and the persecutors' severity, who took his larger testimony from him the day before he died, (paper and ink being conveyed to him secretly, by a cord through the window, the night before his death,) it is thought proper to subjoin these following letters of his (they being all of public concern), to give a more full discovery of the testimony which he held: and particularly,

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 35—38.

of his witnessing against the errors, about that time, broached by the infamous John Gib, as the letter written to the prisoners in the correction house manifests.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

3. HIS LETTER TO MR. SKENE.

“Dearest Friend,—There is now nothing upon earth, that I am so concerned in (except the Lord’s work), as in you and your fellows; that you may either be cleanly brought off, or honourably and rightly carried through. He has begun in part to answer me, though not in that which I most affected, yet in that which is best. My soul was refreshed to see any that had so far overcome the fear and torture of death, and were so far denied to the affections of the flesh, as to give full liberty to the exoneration of conscience, in the face of these bloody tyrants, and vile apostates; and yet these, by our divines, must be acknowledged as magistrates, which very heathens, endued with the light of nature, would abominate, and would think it as inconsistent with reason, to admit to, or continue in magistracy, such perjured, bloody, dissolute, and flagitious men, as to make a wolf the keeper and feeder of the flock. But every step of their dealing with God, with the land, and with yourself and brethren, is a confirmation of your judgment anent them, and sufficient ground of your detestation and rejection of them; and it is the sin of the land, and of every person in it, that they have not gone along with you, and these few in that action; but since they have not done that, *they* shall not now meet with the like honour, if ever they meet with it, till vengeance be poured out upon them; and they and their king shall either be kept together in wrath, or divided in wrath, that they may be one another’s destruction. But go on, valiant champion, you die not as a fool, though the apostate, unfaithful and lukewarm ministers and professors of this generation think and say so; they shall live traitors, and most of them die fools; I say, traitors, as some men live upon the reward of treachery, for their quiet and liberty; if it may be called a liberty, as it is redeemed with the betraying of the interest of Christ, and the blood of his people. But he himself hath sealed your sufferings, and their thus saying, condemns God, and his sealing condemns them. But neither regard their voices, nor fear, for God will neither seal to folly nor iniquity; he then not only having sealed your sufferings, but your remission, go on to finish and perfect your testimony, not only against them, but against all that subject unto them, side with them, or are silent at them. And as for these men that will be our rulers, though they have nothing of worth or virtue in them, I am persuaded of this, that none can appear before them, and acknowledge them as they have now invested themselves (standing on a foundation of perjury, which is an act recissory of their admission to the government) with Christ’s crown on their head, and a sceptre of iniquity and a sword of persecution, in their hand, but must deny Christ. And in effect, the whole land generally hath denied Christ, and desired a murderer. And as for that unsavoury salt that lately appeared,—acknowledged *them*, and was ashamed of this testimony, and in so doing, gave the first vote to your condemnation, and proclaimed a lawfulness to the rest

of the assizers and murderers, to follow, in their condemnations ;—God shall require this with his other doings at *his* hands ; and I am somewhat afraid, if he be not suddenly made the subject of serious repentance, he shall be made the subject of great vengeance.* But forgive and forget all these private injuries, and labour to go to death and eternity, with a heart destitute of private revenges, and filled with zeal to God's glory ; and assign to him the quarrel against his enemies, to be followed out by himself in his own way, against the indignities done to God, and against the mocking perfidiousness, impieties, and lukewarmness, of this generation. And for yourself, whatever there has been either of sin or duty, remember the one and forget the other : and betake yourself wholly to the mercy of God, and the merits of Christ ; ye know in whom ye have believed, and the acceptableness of your believing, and the more fully you henceforth believe, the greater shall be His glory, and the greater your peace and safety. Farewell, dearest friend, never to see one another any more, till at the right hand of Christ. Fear not, and the God of mercies grant a full gale, and a fair entry into his kingdom, that may carry sweetly and swiftly over the bar, that you find not the rub of death. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you.

“ Yours in Christ,

“ D. CARGILL.”†

3. HIS LETTER TO JOHN MALCOLM AND ARCHIBALD ALLISON.

“ Dear Friends,—Death in Christ, and for Christ, is never much to be bemoaned, and less at this time than any other ; when these that survive have nothing to live among but miseries, persecution, snares, sorrows, and sinning ; and where the only desirable sight, viz. Christ reigning in a free and flourishing church, is wanting ; and the greatly grieving and offensive object to devout souls, viz. devils, and the worst of the wicked, reigning and raging, is still before our eyes ; and though we had greater things to leave, and better times to live in, yet eternity does so far exceed and excel these things in their greatest perfection, that they who see and are sure, (and we see indeed, being made sure), will never let a tear fall, or a sigh go, at the farewell ;

* It is difficult to discover to whom this passage alludes, unless it was to the excellent and venerable John Carstairs. And if so, it must surely be regretted that both Mr. Cargill, and Mr. Skene should have left upon record, with regard to *him*, language of such severe and condemnatory import. It is true, he acknowledged the authority of the king and the then civil government, but in other respects his presbyterian principles and his zeal for the covenanted Church of Scotland were just as pure, and fervent, and consistent, as their own. Besides, he was, a man of highly respectable talents and acquirements as a theologian, and whose personal piety was altogether above suspicion. For a short vindication of him, from the aspersions of Mr. Skene, the reader is referred to Note p. 285.

† Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 38—40.—Between this and the subsequent article, there is inserted in the Cloud of Witnesses, a short letter by Mr. Cargill, addressed “ To some Friends, before he went abroad,” but, as it did not seem to the Editor to be at all expressive of his dying Testimony, it was thought unnecessary to include it in the present Collection.

but would rather make a slip to get death, than to shun it,—if both were not equally detestable to them upon the account of God's commandments,—whom they neither dare nor are willing to offend, even to obtain heaven itself. And there are none who are his, but they must see themselves infinitely advantaged in the exchange ; and accordingly hasten, if sin, the flesh, and want of assurance, did not withstand : and there is no doubt, but these must be weak and poor spirits, that are bewitched or enchanted, either with the fruitions or hopes of the world. And as earth has nothing to hold a resolute and reconciled soul, so heaven wants nothing to draw it ; and to some to live here, has been always wearisome, since their peace was made, Christ's sweetness known, and their own weakness and unusefulness experienced ; but now it is become hatefully loathsome, since devils and the worst of men are become the head, and dreadful by their stupendous permissions, loosings and lengthenings in their reigning ; and friends are become uncomfortable, because they will neither Christianly bear and bide, nor rightly go forward to effectuate their own delivery. But for you, there is nothing at this time, (if you yourselves be sure with God, which, I hope, either you are, or will be,) which can make me bewail your death ; though the cause of it doth both increase my affection to you and indignation against these enemies. Yet for you, notwithstanding the unjustness of the sentence,—go not to eternity with indignation against them upon your own account. Neither let the goodness of the cause ye suffer for, found your confidence in God, and your hope of well-being ; for were the action ever so good, and performed without the least failing,—which is not incident to human infirmity—it could never be a cause of obtaining mercy, nor yet commend us to that grace from which we are to obtain it.* There is nothing now which is yours, when you are pleading and petitioning for mercy, that must be remembered, but your sins ; for in effect, there is nothing else ours. Let your sins then be on your heart, as your sorrow ;—which we must bewail, before we be parted with them, as the captive her father, not because she was to leave him, but because she had been so long with him. And let these mercies of God, and merits of Christ, be before your eyes, as your hopes, and your winning to these as the only rock upon which we can be saved ; if there be any thing seen or looked to in ourselves but sin, we cannot expect remission and salvation allenarly through free grace,—in which expectation only it can be obtained : neither can we earnestly beg, till we see ourselves destitute of all that procures favour, and full of all that merits, and hastens vengeance and wrath.

“And besides, it heightens the price of that precious blood, by which only we can have redemption from sin and wrath ;—it being the only

* The editor cannot but observe the coincidence between this statement of Mr. Cargill and the observations made in Note p. 271,—in reference to a sentiment contained in the testimony of John Malcom, one of the persons here addressed. It is evident from this, that Mr. Cargill had supposed him liable to give place to such erroneous views of revealed truth, and there can be only one opinion as to the soundness of the principles, and the propriety of the advice, which he thus attempts to press upon his attention.

sufficient in itself, and only acceptable to the Father; and so it must be,—being the blessed and gracious device and result of infinite wisdom, which makes the eternal God to be admired in his graciousness and holiness, having found out the way of his own payment without our hurt, and which makes all return to their own desires, and there to rest in an eternal complacency; for this way returns to God his glory, to justice its satisfaction, to disquieted consciences of men, frightened and awakened with the sight of sin and wrath,—ease, peace, and assurance; and to the souls of men,—fellowship with God, and hope of eternal salvation. Now, the righteousness of Christ being made sure to us, secures all this for us, and this both is believed and apprehended by faith,—*it* being the hand by which we grip this rock, and if it be true, it cannot but be strong, and we saved. Look well then to your faith, that it be a faith growing out of regeneration, and the new creature, and have Christ for its righteousness, hope and rejoicing, and be sealed by the Spirit of God: and what this sealing is, when it comes it will abundantly show itself; and there can be no other full satisfaction to a soul than this. But seek till ye find, and whatever ye find for the present, let your last act be to lay and leave yourselves on the righteousness of his Son, expecting life through his name, according to the promise of the Father. Dear friends, your work is great, and time short; but this is a comfort, and the only comfort in your present condition, that you have a God infinite in mercy to deal with, who is ready at all times to forgive, but especially persons in your case, who have been jeoparding your lives upon the account of the gospel, whatever failings or infirmities in you, that action hath been accompanied with; for it is the action itself which is the duty of this whole covenanted kingdom, and not the failing, for which you are brought to suffering. Seek not then the favours of men, by making your duty your sin; but confess your failings to God, and look for his mercy through Jesus Christ, who has said, ‘Whosoever loseth his life for my sake, shall keep it unto eternal life.’ And though it will profit a reprobate nothing to die after this manner, (for nothing can be profitable without love, which only is, or can be, in a believer,) yet it should be no disadvantage, but, in a manner,—the best way of dying; for, it would take some from his days that he might have lived, and so prevent many sins that he would have committed, and so the sin is lessened that is the cause of eternal sufferings.

“And let not this discourage you, or lay you by, that the work is great, and the time short, though this indeed should mind you of your sinful neglect,—that were not better provided for such a short and peremptory summons,—which you should always have expected. It also shows the greatness of the sin of these enemies, that not only take away unjustly your bodily life, but also shorten your time of preparation, and so do their utmost to deprive you of eternal life. Yet, I say, let not this either discourage, or lay you by, for God can perfect great works in a short time, and one of the greatest things that befall men, shall be effectuate in the twinkling of an eye, which is one of the shortest. I assure you he put the thief on the cross through all his desires, convictions, conversion, justification, sanctification, &c.

in a short time, and left nothing to bemoan, but that there did not remain time enough to glorify *Him* on earth, that had done all these things for him. Go on then, and let your intent be seriousness; the greatness of your sorrow, and the height of love, in a manner, make a compensation for the shortness of time, and go on though ye yourselves have gone a short way; for where these things are, one hour will perform more than thousands, where there were not either such enforcements or power; and be persuaded in this, you have Him as much and more hastening than yourselves; for you may know His motion by your own, they being both set forward by Him. And dear friends, be not terrified at the manner of your death, which to me seems the easiest of all, where you come to it without pain, and in perfect judgment, and go through so speedily; before the pain be felt the glory is come: but pray for a greater measure of His presence, which only can make a pass through the hardest things,—cheerful and pleasant. I bid you farewell, expecting, though our parting be sad, our gathering shall be joyful again. Only your great advantage in the case you are in, is to credit Him much, for that is His glory, and engages Him to perform whatever you have credited Him with. No more, but avow boldly to give a full testimony for His truths, as you die to be avowed of Him. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you.

“DONALD CARGILL.” *

4. HIS LETTER TO THE PRISONERS IN THE CORRECTION-HOUSE.

“DEAR Friends,—I think ye cannot but know that I am both concerned and afflicted with your condition; and I would have written sooner, and more, if I had not feared that you might have been jealous (under your distempers,) that I had been seducing you to follow *me*, and not God and truth. It has been my earnest and frequent prayer to God, (as he himself knows,) to be led into all truths; and I judge I have been, in this, graciously answered; but I desire none, if they themselves judge it not to be truth, to adhere to any thing that I have either preached, written, or done, to any hazard, much more to the loss of life. But I have been afflicted with your condition, and could not but be more, if God’s great graciousness in this begun discovery, and your sincerity and singleness,—gave me not hope,—that God’s purpose is to turn this to the great mercy of his poor church, and yours, if ye mar it not; and yet the great sin and pillar of Satan that is in this snare, makes me tremble. It was God’s mercy to you that gave such convictions, that made you, at least some of you, once to part with these men; and it was undoubtedly your sin that you continued not so, but after convictions, did cast yourselves into new temptations; for convictions ought to be tenderly guided, lest the Spirit be grieved from whom they come; but this second discovery, though it be with a sharper rebuke, as it makes God’s mercy wonderful, so it shall render your perseverance in that course, sinful and utterly inexcusable; for God has broken the snare, and it will be your great sin, if you go not out with great haste, joy,

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 41—45.

and thankfulness, when God's wonderful discovery has made such a way for your delivery; for God having now shown you the ring-leaders and authors of these opinions to be persons of such abominations, calls you not only to deny credit to them, but also to make a serious search of their tenets, which will, I know, by his grace, bring you undoubtedly to see that these things are contrary both to God's glory and truth, that they so much pretend to.

"And now, dear friends, as I cannot be tender enough of you, who in your zeal and singleness have been misled; for though this did bewray a great simplicity and unwatchfulness, yet it did also betoken some zeal and tenderness, that being beguiled, it was in things that were veiled and busked with some pretences to God's glory and public reformation. And, on the other hand, I cannot have great enough abhorrence of these persons, who, knowing themselves to be of such abominations, did give out themselves to be of such familiarity with God, and of so clear illumination, to make their delusions more passing with devout souls. Let nothing make you think this is malignity, or natural enmity against the power of godliness, or progress in reformation, that is venting itself in me; for, though I cannot win forward as I ought, yet I have rejoiced to see others go forward. And I am sure, there lies in this bed within you, a viper and a child. Satan transforming himself into an angel of light, has put these two together, to make it passing with some, and to be spared of others, who are of tenderness. But my soul's desire is, to kill the serpent and keep the child alive; and God is calling you loudly to sever the good from the bad, that the wit of Satan's subtilty has mixed together, and to deliver yourselves speedily, as a roe from the hand of the hunter; and not only return, but bitterly mourn for your high provoking of God, in offering such foul sacrifices to his glory, and sewing your old clouts upon that new garment; in your making the enemy more to despise that cause and company, who are enough despised already, and discouraging those who were following, and going forward with joy in that which was right, so that now, neither have they heart nor hand for the work, nor can they look out, till God recover them again. There is much in the whole of those, that may, and does weight and overwhelm some spirits; but there is nothing in all their cogitations about it, that they found comfortable, unless it be, that he is cleared in afflicting us, and continuing to afflict us, because there were such persons among us. I speak this but of some of you, and beloved by us, though ignorantly; and we wish that this be the last and great stop that was to be removed before his coming to revenge himself and reign. I would not say, but by this also, he shewed his tenderness, of preserving integrity of doctrine, and sound reformation, and his purpose not to suffer errors and heresies to prosper. This I told you, when I met with you, that there were some things ye were owning, which were highly approved of God; such as an inward heart-love and zeal to God's glory, which I perceived to be in some of you, so far as it can be perceived, and setting up of that before you, as your end, in pursuing it always as your work, and a forgetting of all other things in regard to it, excepting only these things, without which we cannot glorify

him, (as a workman that intends his work, must mind his tools), even our own salvation, and the salvation of all others, as if they were not things wherein he is greatly glorified, for his glory is in righteousness and mercy, and in, and by these, is the salvation of man infallibly advanced, and with these it is inseparably connected.

“Next I would advise you, to set apart more, yea, much more of your time, for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, in such an exigence, when the judgments of God appear to be so near, and so great, so that it be done without sin, for God cannot be glorified by sin; ‘For if my lie hath more abounded to his glory, why am I judged as a sinner?’ I was against such as deny nature, and others, their right dues; for he that allows dues to others, allows them to be paid also: and we must be like prisoners, who are of great debt, and honest hearts, who know they cannot pay every one their full sums, yet are resolved to give every one some, and to the greatest most, and to the rest accordingly. And as there cannot be a total abstinence from meat, without self-murder, so there cannot be a total denying others their due, such as the benevolence of husband to wife, and a total abstaining from work, without a transgression of God’s commandments and laws, which can never be a glorifying of him,—which the more impartially they are kept, the more he is glorified. Next, ways are allowed of him, that ye may make yourselves free, so much as in you lies, of all the public defections: whatever may involve you in these, or contribute to their upholding, without either an overpowering force, or an indispensable necessity: for I may buy meat and drink, in necessity, whatever use the seller may make of the money I give for my meat and drink. Next, he allows these particulars of reformation, such as change of the names of days, of weeks, of terms of the year, and such like, warranted by the word, and example of the Christians in scripture, that have been neglected before in our reformation; so that there be not too much religion placed in these things, and other things more weighty, (which, undoubtedly, have more moral righteousness in them) made little in regard of them: but in these good things, Satan will quickly, if it be not—already, over-drive you in your progress, and leave you only to hug a spurious birth. But there are other things that ye maintained, when I spoke with you (and the viper has more since appeared) as truths, and part of God’s glory, that are utterly contrary to, and inconsistent with the glory of God. As, first,—laying aside of public preaching; some of them saying no less, than they had no missing of it: so that ye thought, ‘ye had reigned as kings without us, and would to God ye had reigned.’ Your flourishing should have delighted, though we had not been the instruments and means thereof. But alas! this your liberty, that you so much bragged of, would have lasted but a little while, and was among your other beguiles; and was nothing else but Satan stirring you about to giddiness, and raising of fantastic fumes to the tickling of the imagination; but leaving you altogether without renovation of heart, or progress in sanctification: so that I cannot compare this your liberty to any thing else, but to an enchanted fabric, where the poor guests,

only placed in imagination, imagine themselves to be in a pleasant place, and at a royal entertainment; but when God comes, and delusion vanisheth, they will find themselves cast in some remote wilderness, and they left full of astonishment and fears.

“ I told you, while I was with you, that the devil was sowing tares among your thin wheat; but I was not long from you, exercised in thoughts about you, but I saw clearly, there was sorcery in the business: and now I tell you, I fear sorcerers also. I know I have spoken this against mine own life, if they get the power they desire; but I am in a defiance of them, and I know also in a defence by him who hath preserved, and I know will preserve me, till my work be finished. But if your liberty that you talked of had been true, it would at least have stayed till it had brought you to other thoughts, other works, and other comforts; and it might have been easily discerned not a true liberty, but a temptation that led you from public preaching, the great ordinance of God's glory, and men's good; as the apostle has that word, ‘ Forbidding us to preach to the Gentiles.’ But especially to leave public ordinances at this time, when they are the only standards standing, which shows Satan's victory against Christ's kingdom in Scotland not to be complete.

“ Yet, dear friends, when you hear this, let not Satan cast you so far to the other side, (for it is rare to see the most devout souls altogether out from under his delusions and temptations,) as to make you believe, that it is impossible to attain unto any thing of certitude of truth, liberty, manifestations and communion with God, if that which seemed to be so firm, be delusions; but shall Satan have such power to make men believe lies, and shall not God go infinitely beyond him, in making men to see and believe truth? There were many that thought themselves at the height of assurance, when under the greatest temptations, as Psal. lxxiii. 13. ‘ Verily I have cleansed my hands in vain.’ And yet, they have a greater certainty when they come to see, that there is no such unquietness of spirit under this, as they found in the former. And seeing it is so, rest not till ye attain that assurance of your own interest, and of His main truths, which is both above doubt and defect, that ye may be able to say, ‘ Now we believe, and are sure.’

“ But in the next place, you will join with none in public worship, but those who have infallible signs of regeneration. This seems fair, but it is both false and foul; *false*, because of its false foundation, viz. That the certainty of one's interest in Christ may be known by another; whereas the scripture says, ‘ That none knows it, but he that has it:’ *foul* also, for this disdain has pride in it, and pride is always foul; and though there be a difference amongst men, and that we should have regard of repentance and brokenness of heart, yet those who have well sought and seen their own filthiness, will judge themselves the persons, of any, that should be thrust out of the assemblies of God's people; and that not only in regard of what they have been, but also in regard of what they daily are. Next, ye would have all to be prayed to eternal wrath, who have departed and made defection

in this time : alas ! we need not blow them away, the great part is going fast enough that way ; but this, I am sure, is not to give God his glory, but to take from him, and limit him in his freedom and choice, in the greatness of his pardon. It is remarkable, that the angels in their 'glory to God,' joined also with it, 'good will to men.' Next, ye have rejected the Psalms, with many other things, by a paper come from some of you ; and I cannot see upon what account, except it be, because it is man's work, in turning the Psalms out of prose into metre. Then, you must reject all the other Scriptures, because the translation of them is man's work ; ye have not yet learned the original languages, ye must betake yourselves altogether to the spirit, and what a spirit will that be, that is not to be tried by the Scriptures ! I told some of you, when I last saw you, that ye were too little led by the Scriptures, and too much by your own thoughts and suggestions, which indeed opens a wide door to delusion, and alas ! lays yourselves open to Satan's temptations.

" As for the rest, of your denying all your former covenants and declarations ; this cannot be from God,—they containing nothing but lawful and necessary duties ; and suppose they did not contain and include a complete reformation, yet they did not exclude it ; so that, still holding them, we might have passed on to more perfection, and they might be inviolable obligations with us. And next, your cutting off all that were not of your mind, and delivering them up to devils, was not justice and religion,—it being done neither in judgment nor righteousness, upon conviction of their crimes, but in unbridled rage and fury. But these things I cannot fully speak to, now : yet there is somewhat that I cannot pass ; but must tell you, that I fear there shall remain some of the leaven within, that shall not only spoil an orthodox Protestant, but also a true, tender, and humble Christian, and give us nothing instead of it, but a blown bladder : for I am persuaded, if Satan should have the tutory but a while, he should bring it to this ; for it has been his way with some, first to make them saint-like, and afterwards to settle them in atheism ;—like a cunning fisher, running a fish upon an angle, who at last casts it on dry ground. God is my witness, my soul loves to see holiness, tenderness, and zeal, in such a generation, where there is nothing but untenderness, unconcernedness, and lukewarmness ; and by his grace, I shall ever cherish it. I desire you then, in the bowels of Christ, to retain your zeal ; but see well to this, that it be for his glory. Indeed, the more that you are zealous, and the further ye go forward, so that the word of God direct your course,—ye are the more pleasing to God, and shall be the dearer to us. And persuade yourselves, that though I cannot equal or go before ; yet it is the sincere desire of my heart to follow such. And my soul wishes you well, though it may be I cannot here point, nor lead you the way to well-being ; yet this I must say, that if I could lead you the way that he has led me, I should let you see eternal life, without these things that I am desiring you to relinquish. Hold truth, glorify God, be zealous to have him glorified : but think not to

desire the condemnation of any man, simply upon that account, that they dare not come and continue where you are; or to put a bar by prayer between them and a return, is a glorifying of God: we glorify him in this kind, when, as he himself desires, we acquiesce in his sentence, when it is past, though we wrestle against it, before it be known to us.

"I cannot bid you go forward in all, but I desire you to go forward in that which is surer and better. And, dear friends, let not the world have that to say, that when ye are become right, ye are become the less zealous; only take the right object, and let your zeal grow. O let not your sufferings be stained with such wildness, and think it not strange that ye have not such liberty in your return, as ye seemed to have before; if ye take the right way, and hold on, ye shall find it, in his time, greater and better, and surer. I shall only add, that there must be an express owning of his truths, whereof ye have been persuaded before now, which now are either denied or doubted, otherwise you will come to nothing of religion, or worse; this will either state your sufferings right, or be a mean to obtain a cleanly liberty from God, in his due time. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you. Amen.

"DONALD CARGILL." *

XII. WALTER SMITH.

[Mr. Smith was a native of St. Ninians, in Stirlingshire. After the usual preliminary education, he went to Holland, and studied divinity under the famous Leusden. Upon his return, he became eminent among the suffering presbyterians, was Clerk to the council of war, and a commanding officer at the battle of Bothwell-bridge. After this, he became the constant attendant, as he was the intimate friend, of Mr. Cargill,—in his wanderings over Scotland. He was along with that venerable person, in the neighbourhood of Lanark, when taken; and shared his fate. It does not appear that he was ever licensed as a preacher, though he had this in prospect at the time of his apprehension. He seems to have been highly esteemed, by those who knew him, as a young man of good learning and genuine piety. Being brought before the council upon two several occasions, on the 14th and 19th of July, he was thereafter tried on the 26th, and executed on the 27th of that month. His testimony and last words, follow.]

1. HIS TESTIMONY.

"DEAR Friends and Acquaintances,—As I desire, while in the body, to sympathize somewhat with you in lamenting your various cases, and the case of the church, whereof we are the sons and daughters; so I must lay this request upon you, and leave it with you, that ye

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 45—52.

take some of your time, and set it apart particularly, to solace your souls, in blessing and magnifying your God and my God, for the lot he hath decreed and chosen out for poor unworthy me, from eternity, in time, and to eternity; in the immediate enjoyment of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, incomprehensible and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth; and that, because he hath made me a man and a Christian. And now, I set to my seal to all his truths, revealed in his word; and particularly these: 1st, That he is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. But alas! who can think of him? who can hear of him, or write of him aright? O he is God! he is God! 2dly, That he made man perfect; and though we have destroyed and incapacitated ourselves to do any thing that is right, while out of Christ,—yet we are under the obligation of the whole law, which is the perfect rule of righteousness. 3dly, That my Lord, (yea through free grace, I can say, my Lord Jesus Christ) came to the world to save sinners: and though I cannot say that I have been the greatest of sinners, yet I can say, that he hath covered, pardoned, prevented and hid from the world, sins in me that have been heinous by many aggravations. 4thly, That ‘except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ My friends, this is the new birth, this is regeneration, that I am speaking of, to which the great part, even of professors, I fear, will be found strangers. 5thly, I set to my seal to the truth of that precious promise, Josh. i. 5. repeated Heb. xiii. 5. ‘For he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;’ together with all the other promises to that purpose: and I am sure he hath carried me through divers conditions of life, many various and singular difficulties and damping discouragements. But, omitting these things whereof the profane persecutors may as much boast (as to the outward) as any, He hath led me through the several steps of soul exercise, and the pangs of the new birth, *unto* himself. This, this my friends, is the cognizance and distinguishing character of a saint indeed; and by this, and this only, ‘we pass from death to life.’

“And as I adhere to the Confession of Faith and work of reformation, (as I shall afterwards speak to)—so particularly, I set to my seal to these truths in the eighteenth chapter thereof, anent the assurance of grace and salvation. Alas! the ignorance of this generation is great! My dear friends, I leave this as my last advice to you, make use of that book which contains the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Practical Use of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the Causes of God’s Wrath, &c. And let none think this work below them; for, the spiritual enlightening of the mind, which requires the literal with it, is the first work of the Spirit, after we first begin to come to ourselves, or rather to what we were in innocency, and ought to be by grace. But as to this, I do confidently refer you to Shepard’s Sound Believer; which, in my poor apprehension, is the surest ye can meet with. And, 6thly, I set to my seal to the covenant of grace, particularly that clause of it, Isa. lix. 21. ‘As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put

in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.' And here I leave my testimony against all atheists, speculative (if there be any such) and practical; and all mockers of godliness, all formalists and hypocrites, Quakers and enthusiasts, who either pretend to the Spirit, neglecting the word, or lean upon the word, neglecting the teaching of the Spirit. And what shall I more say, but by what of truth I have in experience seen, I am bold to believe what I have not seen: His testimony is a ground sufficient, and there can be no deceit under it.

"And now I am to die a martyr; and I am as fully persuaded of my interest in Christ, and that he hath countenanced me in that, for which I am to lay down my life, as I am of my being. And let the world and biassed professors say their pleasure, I am here in no delusion; I have the free and full exercise of reason and judgment; I am free of passion and prejudice, and, excepting that I am yet in the body, I am free of Satan's fire and fury: I have no bitterness nor malice at any living; so that what I am owning and dying for, I am solidly and firmly persuaded to be truth and duty, according to my mean capacity. And this is the main point, this day, in controversy, upon which I was peremptorily questioned, and desired positively to answer, yea, or nay, under the threatening of the boots, viz. Whether I owned the king's authority as presently established and exercised? which, I did positively disown, and denied allegiance to him, as he is invested with the supremacy—proper to Jesus Christ only. And who knoweth not, that at first he was constituted and crowned a covenanted king, and the subjects sworn in allegiance to him, as such, by the Solemn League and Covenant? This was the authority wherewith he was clothed, and the exercise of it was to be for God, religion, and the good of the subjects; and is not all this, as to God and his people, overturned and perverted? But, secondly, The whole of this pleaded for authority at present, is established on the ruin of the land's engagements to God, and to one another. But I say no more as to this. Consider things seriously, and ponder them deeply; zeal for God is much gone: look to it, and labour to recover it; your peace shall be in it, as to duty; though Christ's righteousness, I see, is the only sure foundation.

"I leave my testimony against malignancy, ungodliness, and profanity, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine,—professed and owned by the reformed anti-erastian Presbyterian party in Scotland—whereof I die a member and professor;—being fully satisfied and content with my lot. And as to my apprehending, we were singularly delivered by Providence into the adversaries' hand, and, for what I could learn, were betrayed by none; nor were any accessory to our taking, more than we were ourselves: and particularly let none blame the lady St. Johns-kirk in this. I have no time to give you an account of the Lord's kindness and tenderness to us, in restraining the adversaries' fury; for they began very brisk, by making us lie all night bound, and expressly refused to suffer us to worship God, or pray with one another, until we came to Linlithgow. But the Lord

hasteneth to come; beware of going back, wait for him, be not anxious about what shall become of you, or the remnant; He is concerned, his intercession is sufficient: get him set up, and kept up in his own room in your souls, and other things will be the more easily kept in theirs. Be tender of all who have the root of the matter; but beware of compliance with any, whether ministers, or professors, or adversaries. As to my judgment, insignificant as it is, I am necessitated to refer you to the draught of a paper, which I drew, at the desire of some societies in Clydesdale, entitled, 'Some Steps of Defection,' &c. Beware of a spirit of bitterness, peremptoriness, and ignorant zeal, which hath been the ruin of some, and will be the ruin of more, if mercy prevent not. I was withdrawn from by some,—as having given offence to them by my protesting against their way in particular, wherein, I am sure,—as to the manner,—they were wrong; and though they had been right, it was not a ground to have made such a separation from me, much less from those who joined with me: and if any division be longer kept up upon that account, they will find it a great iniquity, if rightly considered. I can get no more written, nor see I great need for it; for the testimonies of martyrs are not your rule. Farewell.

Sic sub.—WALTER SMITH.*

"From the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, {
July 27th, 1681." }

2. HIS LAST WORDS.

Being come to the scaffold, he accosted the multitude to this purpose: "All ye beholders, who are come here upon various designs, I entreat you, be not mistaken anent the cause of my suffering this day; for, however ye may be misinformed, yet it is of verity, that we are brought here upon the matters of our God;—because we testified against the supremacy, and would not consent to the setting of Christ's crown upon the head of him who had by usurpation aspired thereto, contrary to his former engagements." Upon this they caused beat the drums, which obliged him a little to silence; but beckoning with his hand, he said, "I shall only say something to three particulars: and *first*, anent *that* which some are apt to believe,—that we are against authority;—we detest that, and say, that we own all the lawful exercise of authority; and we hope there are none that are Christians will allow us to own the unlawful exercise, or rather tyranny of authority." At this the drums were again beat; and so, he sung a part of the ciii. Psalm from the beginning, and prayed; which done, he turned his face to the Cross, and said, "I bless the Lord, I am not surprised, neither terrified with this death or the manner of it. I confess the thoughts of death have been sometimes very terrible to me, when I have been reflecting upon my mis-spending of precious time; yea, sometimes the strength of temptation, and my own weakness, have made me herein to raze the very foundation of my interest; but my God builds faster than he permits the devil

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 52—55.

and my false heart to cast down. I have had some clouds ever since I came to prison, but blessed be God, these are all removed: for my God hath said to my soul, 'Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.' And the faith of this makes me not to fear grim death;—though it be called the king of terrors, yet it is not so to me: for, this that you think a cruel and sudden death, is but an inlet to life, which shall be eternal!—Let none be offended at Christ and his way because of suffering, for I can persuade you, there is more of Christ's help, and supporting grace and strength, in a suffering lot, than all that ever I heard of by the hearing of the ear: but now I am made to find it in my own experience, and I can say, 'He is altogether lovely.'

"But a *second* thing that I promised to speak to, is,—that I detest and abhor all Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and all other steps of defection from the truths of God, and turning aside to the right and left hand. Also, I testify against all errors, as Quakerism, Arminianism, &c. and all that is contrary to sound doctrine, who walk not according to the Scriptures, and make not the word and Spirit of God their rule to walk by. I have lived, and now am ready to die, a Christian, a Protestant, and a Presbyterian in my judgment; therefore, let none hereafter say, that we walk not by the Scriptures; for once Britain and Ireland, and especially Scotland, were deeply sworn to maintain what now they disown; therefore beware of standing in the way of others, seeing ye will not go in yourselves. *Thirdly*, I exhort all you that are the poor remnant, to be serious in getting your interest cleared; you that are in the dark with your case, take not flashes for conversion: study a holy conversation: be at more pains to know the Scriptures, and believe them; be serious in prayer; slight not time; take Christ on his own terms, and resolve to meet with trials, and that shortly; slight not known duties; commit not known sins,—whatever suffering ye may meet with, for your cleaving to duty. Lippen* to God, and you will not be disappointed. Construct well of him under all dispensations; weary not of suffering; lie not at ease in a day of Jacob's trouble. I have one word more to speak to all that are going on in persecuting the way and friends of Christ, and that is the very words of our Lord, Remember, 'whatever you do to one of these little ones, you do it unto me.' I pray the Lord, that he may open the eyes of all the elect, who are yet strangers to regeneration; and also convince such of them as are fallen from their first love. Now, my friends, I have this to say in my own vindication, that,—however I have been branded by some, and misconstrued by others,—yet I can say in the sight of the Lord, before whom I am now to appear, that I am free of any public scandal; I say, I am free of drunkenness, I am free of whoredoms, thefts, or murder; therefore, let none say, that we are murderers, or would kill any, but in self-defence, and in defence of the gospel. I truly forgive all men the wrongs they have done to me, as I desire to be forgiven of the Lord; but as for the wrongs

* i. e. trust.

done to a holy God, I leave these to him who is the avenger of blood; let him do to them as he may be glorified. Now I say no more, but pray that all who are in his way, may be kept from sinning under suffering; and that every one may prepare for a storm, which I do verily believe is not far off."

Then stooping down, he saluted some friends, and said, "Farewell all relations and acquaintances; farewell all ye that are lovers of Christ and his righteous cause." And beckoning to the multitude, he said—farewell also. And so he went up the ladder with the greatest discoveries of alacrity and magnanimity; and seating himself upon it, he said, "Now this death of mine I fear not, for my sins are freely pardoned; yea, and I will sin no more, for I am made through my God, to look hell, wrath, devils, and sin, eternally out of countenance. Therefore, farewell all created enjoyments, pleasures, and delights; farewell sinning and suffering; farewell praying and believing; and welcome heaven and singing; welcome joy in the Holy Ghost; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—into thy hands I commit my spirit." When the executioner was about to untie his cravat, he thrust him away, and untied it himself; and, calling for his brother, threw it down, saying, "This is the last token you will get from me." After the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered it again, and said, "I have one word more to say, and that is to all that have any love to God and his righteous cause,—that they will set time apart, and sing a song of praise to the Lord, for what he has done to my soul; and my soul says, 'to him be praise.'" Then, letting down the napkin, he prayed a little within himself, and the executioner doing his office, threw him over.

XIII. JAMES BOIG.

[This was the other of Mr. Cargill's intimate friends and followers, who, like the preceding Witness, was apprehended along with him. He was the son of Mr. James Boig, merchant in Edinburgh,—a student of divinity, and a young man of piety and talent. He was examined on the 14th of July, and concurred with the rest in owning the Bothwell rising and the Sanquhar Declaration, and disowning the king's authority. He was thereafter tried on the 26th, and executed on the 27th of the same month. "Both he and Mr. Smith," says Wodrow, "died under much comfort, joy, and full assurance." His testimony is conveyed to us in the following Letter to his brother,—written on the day previous to his death.]

"DEAR Brother,—I have not now time to write that which I would; but to satisfy your desire, and the desire of others who are concerned in the cause and work of God, that is now, at this time, trampled

upon :—I have given out * mine indictment to a friend of yours, and now I shall give you an account of the enemies' prosecution thereof, against us. Mine indictment did run upon three heads ; 1st, That I had disowned the king's authority. 2dly, That I said, the rising in arms at Bothwell-bridge was lawful, and upon the defence of truth. 3dly, That I owned the Sanquhar Declaration in the whole heads and articles thereof.—And, having again owned this before the justiciary and assizers, I held my peace, and spake no more ; because I saw what was spoken by others was not regarded, either by our unjust judges or mocking auditors ; all that our speaking did, was the exposing of us to the mockery of all present. But, the reasons that were given in thus, for our defence in the *first* head—were, that we could not own the authority, as now presently established, unless we should also own the supremacy, which the king hath usurped over the church. By our doing of this, we should rob Christ of that which is his right, and give that to a man which is due to no mortal, —the reason is, because the supremacy is declared, in their acts of parliament, to be essential to the crown ; and that which is essential to any thing is the same with the thing itself ; so that, in owning their authority, we are of necessity obliged to justify them in their usurpation also. But, there is another argument, which to me is valid, tho' I spoke it not before them ; and it does not a little trouble me that I should have passed it. The advocate in his discourse to the assizers, among other things, said, that we were overturning these acts and laws, which they (the assizers) had consented to, and were owning. Now, I suppose their consent to the present acts and laws was never formally required of them ; but, that which is taken for their consent, is their simple silence, when these acts were made and published, and owning these parliaments as their representatives ; so that, I may clearly argue from this, that, even in their own sense, my owning of the present authority now established as lawful, and the present magistrates as my magistrates, is a giving my consent to the present acts and laws, and so, consequently, to the robbing of Christ of that which is his right. As to the *second*, it being but one particular fact, deduced from that principle of the lawfulness of self-defence, and this principle being as positively asserted by all of us,—I look upon the principle to be as expressly sealed with our blood, as that particular fact of rising in arms at Bothwell-bridge, is. As to the *third*, it being a deed consequential from the first,—I looked upon them both to stand and fall together ; and he that owneth the first, must, of necessity, own the last also. And, as to that of declaring war,—I did always look upon it to be one and the same, though differently expressed,—with that contained in the paper found at the Ferry ; and that the main design of it was, to vindicate us before the world, in our repelling unjust violence,—and clearing us of these aspersions that were cast upon us, viz. the holding as a principle the lawfulness of private assassinations (which we disown), and murdering of all those who are not of the same judgment with us. These

* i. e. sent it out of prison.

are the truths which we are to seal with our blood, to-morrow in the afternoon,—at the Cross of Edinburgh. As to other particular actions, we declined to answer positively to them,—as that of the Bishop's death; we told them, we could not be judges of other men's actions: as to the excommunication,—because we declined them, as not competent judges to cognosce upon an ecclesiastic matter,—they did not proceed upon it.

“And now, dear brother, you may see our quarrel clearly stated to be the same that Mr. James Guthrie laid down his head for; beside whose, mine and my other two friends' heads are to be set. There were many other things past in private betwixt me and Mr. William Paterson, sometime my regent, now council-clerk, with some others,—who strongly assaulted me with their snares; but now, I hope, I may say, that ‘my soul hath escaped like a bird out of the snare of the fowler.’ And as to your second desire, of knowing how it went with my soul;—many and strong have been the assaults of Satan since I came to prison; but glory to God, who hath not been wanting to me in giving me assistance, yea, many times unsought, and is yet continuing, and I hope, shall do to the end,—to carry me above the fear of death; so that, I am in as sweet a calm as if I were going to be married to one dearly beloved. Alas! my cold heart is not able to answer his burning love; but what is wanting in me, is, and shall be made up in a Saviour complete and well furnished in all things, appointed of the Father for this end,—to bring his straying children to their own home,—whereof, (I think I may venture to say it) I am one, though feckless. Now, I have no time to enlarge, else I would give you a more particular account of God's goodness and dealing with me; but let this suffice,—that I am once fairly on the way, and within the view of Immanuel's land, and in hopes to be received an inhabitant there, within the space of twenty-six hours at most. Farewell all earthly comforts, farewell all worldly vanities, farewell all carnal desires.—Welcome cross, welcome gallows, welcome Christ, welcome heaven and everlasting happiness, &c.—I have no more spare time. Grace, mercy, and peace, be with you. Amen.

Sic sub.—JAMES BOIG.”*

“From Edinburgh Tolbooth, }
July 26th, 1681.” }

XIV. WILLIAM THOMSON.

[This was one of the four individuals who were condemned and executed, along with Mr. Cargill. He was a farm servant at Frosk, in the shire of Fife, and was taken at Alloa when coming from hearing sermon. But, besides these facts, scarcely any thing else respecting him has been mentioned by Wodrow. He was indicted in the common form, for being at Bothwell-bridge and denying the king's authority; and being convicted on his own

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 58—60.

confession, he was condemned accordingly, and executed on the 27th of July, 1681. He left the following testimony, to the cause for which he suffered.]

“ MEN and Brethren,—I being a prisoner for Christ’s sake, and for my adhering to truth, being taken at Alloa, coming out of Fife from hearing the gospel preached by Mr. Donald Cargill, the last Sabbath of June, this present year ;—and not knowing when I may be taken and murdered by the stated enemies of our Lord (for they neither walk after the equity of their own law, nor God’s law), I have, for fear of inconveniences, laid hold of this opportunity to set down, under my hand, or from my mouth, an account of my life and conversation, and my testimony to the truth of Christ, and against all the abominations of the times.

“ I was, before the year 1679, running away with the rest of this generation, to God-provoking courses ; and about that time, when I saw the people of God going to draw together, to adventure their lives in the Lord’s quarrel, the Lord took a dealing with me at that time,—so that I could neither get night’s rest, nor day’s rest, till I resolved to go with them ;—and on the other hand, was afraid lest I should have been the Achan in the Lord’s camp ; but again, I remembered the Lord’s promise, that is held out in the word,—‘ Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of hosts,’ Mal. iii. 7. Now, I do with all my heart bless the Lord, for his wonderful workings with me, since he began with me. I think, when I look on his dealings since that time till now, I must say, That I am a brand plucked out of the fire. O that my heart and soul could praise him, for all that he hath done for me ! And now I am content to die a debtor to free grace, and in Christ’s debt. I was charged with being guilty of rebellion against their prince : I answered I was not so, for I was there a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and for his sake : and told them, I adhered to his covenant, and all things in it. I am not convicted from the word of God of any crime, as to him whom they call king ; nor any thing worthy of death committed against any man, either in thought, word, or deed ; so my blood shall cry, with the rest of the innocent blood shed in the land, for vengeance from heaven, on the inhabitants of the earth, great or small, who are in the least accessory thereto, aye and until they repent. It is not my doing, but their own that hath procured it ; and God is just to seek after them for the same : neither is it in any man’s power to forgive that, as being a breach of God’s holy law, without repentance, nor then neither ; for the farthest they can come, is, but to declare unto them from God’s word, that *that* and their other sins, shall never be charged upon them,—if they have truly received Christ upon his own terms, and ‘ walked worthy of the Lord, unto all well-pleasing.’ But now, the thing is clear, the ground whereon they intend to take away my life is, the disowning Charles Stuart for my king, because he will have no homage upon the account of the covenant from me, or any other, and God only requires the performing of vows, and keeping and fulfilling the covenants, Psal. l.

So, in this case, I cannot serve two masters, and I resolve to obey God rather than man.

“ Now I, here as a dying man, ready to step into eternity, having health and strength, and being in my right mind,—declare, I adhere to the Protestant religion, as that which is God’s true religion, and the Christian religion. I adhere to the holy rule of the word of God, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, containing the will of God to man, and anent man; and that the Scriptures are a full rule of faith and manners to us. I adhere to the work of reformation in Scotland, to the Covenants National and Solemn League, the solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Confession of Faith,—in regard it agrees with the foresaid writings; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as most seasonable, sound, and according to the Scriptures, and well worth the reading, considering, and practising what is therein set forth. I say, I adhere to the Rutherglen Testimony, to the paper commonly called Mr. Donald Cargill’s Covenant, of the date of June, 1680; I adhere to the original copies of these papers, as they were corrected and revised by the authors. And likewise, I adhere to every sound paper, tending to the good of religion; as, the Directory for Worship and catechising; and I adhere unto the doctrine, discipline, worship, and government, of the church of Scotland. I bear my testimony unto all the lawful wrestlings of the people of God for truth, and in the defence and preservation of their civil, natural, and divine rights and privileges, contained and held forth in the foresaid papers against all encroachers thereupon and betrayers thereof; especially by the sword, as a mean most lawful and commanded of God, to be made use of, in that quarrel;—which is to be carried to preachings, and other assemblies of the Lord’s people, and so much the more, as the enemy discharges it, as the case now stands.

“ In the last place, I give my testimony and protestation against all wrongs and injuries done to God and his people throughout the whole world this day: and more particularly, against all that hath been done in Scotland, since the beginning of the work of reformation, unto this day, in prejudice of God’s glory, his work and people: and especially these crying sins: 1st, The corruption of the worship of God, profanation of his holy things, mocking, disbelieving, and belying of God, and carrying as if there were no God; yea, which is worse, saying he approves of all that they do. O this heaven-contemning generation! 2dly, Against the defrauding, mocking, murdering and oppressing the people of God, in their bodies, consciences and estates, and punishing them as evil-doers; yea, as the vilest monsters of cruelty, and that only for following their duty; and making them to stink as it were above the ground, and making their names to rot by calumnies and reproaches, and doing all they can to drive them to sin; and then blaming them as the main instruments of all the mischievous villanies and abuses in the land;—so that it is come to that with it, ‘the man that departs from iniquity, makes himself a prey.’ And, scarcely can these who design honestly get a night’s quarters in any house in the land; so

that, the people of God are become 'a scorn to their foes, and a fear to their friends, and especially reproached of those who are their nearest neighbours,' as the Psalmist complains. 3dly, I leave my testimony against all that make peace with the stated enemies of God, these Christ-despisers, these heaven-contemners, and non-such fighters against God,—whether by bonds, oaths, or promises; they being persons worthy of no credit nor trust, who will not keep faith nor trust upon any account, but where it may contribute to fulfilling their lusts, and prosecuting their wicked designs and hell-hatched enterprises. If they were brought to straits, possibly they might feign themselves; but, he is unwise that will give them so much trust as a dog: as Solomon says, 'when he speaks fair, believe him not, for there are seven abominations in his heart;' which I have a proof of in my taking, by a poor wretch who hath sold soul and conscience to the lust and arbitrement of a faithless apostate wretch like himself. And, if ye will not be persuaded to leave off seeking their peace, and covenanting with them by bonds, oaths, and promises,—well, see what David the king of Israel says, by the Spirit of God, when he is making his testament, 2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7. 'But the sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands: but the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron, and the staff of a spear; and they shall be utterly burnt with fire,' But ye that are much more seeking peace with enemies than with God, think with yourselves to which of them are ye most beholden, and which of them have done you most good; which of them have most power over you; which of the two hath the best quarrel by the end; which of the two is the most precious and lovely; and which of the two will be your judge at the last day. Well, if you have done well in seeking the peace of enemies, with the loss of the peace of God; then, rejoice ye in them and with them, and let *them* do so with you: and if otherwise, the Lord, no doubt, will reward you, as the cause requires,—for what ye have done to God's work, cause, covenant, and people. 4thly, I leave my testimony against all that contribute of their means, for the downbearing of God's works and people, and upholding his and their enemies,—seeing it is so expressly against the Covenant, and they in that case being called to suffer, and not to sin, (to which practice is annexed a gracious promise;—'He that loseth life, lands, goods, or relations, for Christ's sake, and the gospel's, shall receive an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting,')—and against all that otherwise waste and abuse them to God's dishonour, but only using this world, as not abusing it: for, all within the nation being dedicated and given away by covenant to God, and this being often renewed, calls all men to be tender of the oath of God, and see how they administer their stewardship; for to him they must be accountable. But, alas! for that account, which many of them have to make. I leave my testimony against the rendering up the power of the kirk and state into the hands of malignants. I do really think they have been all dreaming, or wilfully or wickedly sinning against the light of their own consciences. Well, God hath discovered them

since, in an ugly manner; and now they sin more and more: they hold fast deceit, they refuse to let it go, and will not return. It is the old professors and ministers, I mean, in a special manner; but more particularly the ministers: for when the time was to speak, they held their peace, and slipped from their Master's back, without so much as testifying against the horrid sins then committed; and did never to this day make up the hedge, and build that which they brake down: and, as I am informed, a great part have been dreadful compliers with, and conformers to the sinful courses of this apostatizing generation;—yea open persecutors of their more godly and faithful brethren, ministers and professors; and now, they are the greatest opposers of the work, and persecutors of the godly, both under hand, and to their faces; and instead of edifying and binding up the weak, strive to break all they can, especially when they are among the enemies' hands. In the last place, I bear my testimony to the cross of Christ, as the only desirable up-making and rich lot of the people of God this day in Scotland. O it is the portion of poor things, who desire to seek God, and design honestly in the land! I think, they want a good bargain of it that want it; and I think they want nothing that have it, and get leave to carry it heart-somely, and His presence under it. I would advise you all to take it on; I dare say thus much for your encouragement, that it is easy and sweet. There is no better way to carry the cross right than to cast all our care upon Christ, and trust him for all things, and use our single endeavours in the matter, and speak what he bids us, and obey his voice in all things. Now, I declare I hate all ungodliness. Now, farewell all things, wherein I have been troubled with a wicked world, and evil heart of misbelief,—a subtile, powerful, and malicious devil,—and tempted with a company of men, who have shaken off the fear of God. Now, welcome, Lord Jesus, into thy hand I commit my spirit.

Sic sub.—WILLIAM THOMSON.*

XV. WILLIAM CUTHIL.

[William Cuthil was by profession a seaman, and belonged to the town of Borrowstounness, in Linlithgowshire. He was condemned like the others, chiefly if not wholly, on his own confession. He was apprehended, it seems, by some of the Earl of Mar's men, armed with a dirk and a pair of pistols. This was enough to create suspicion against him—and having, when examined, stated it as his opinion, that the king deserved death for breaking the covenant, and that those who killed the primate, had the fear of God before their eyes—he was found guilty, condemned, and executed, with the four preceding witnesses, on the 27th of July, 1681. It may just be added, that the five individuals who were

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 174—179.

thus in one day brought to the scaffold, suffered in the order in which we have here arranged their Testimonies, and that the heads of the three first were placed on the Netherbow, and those of Cuthil and Thomson, on the West Port of Edinburgh.]

* “ I here, as one ready to step into eternity, and one of the subjects of a kingdom covenanted to God, and one of Christ’s sufferers, enter my protestation, and give in my testimony against all that hath been done against Christ’s reigning, and the thriving of his kingdom in Scotland, since the beginning of the work of reformation. And more particularly, against all the several steps of backsliding : as,

“ 1st, The admitting Charles Stuart to the exercise of kingly power, † and crowning him, while they knew he carried heart enmity against the work and people of God, and while in the mean time there was so much of his treachery made known to the parliament, by his commissionating James Graham earl of Montrose to burn and slay the subjects of this kingdom, that would not side with, or would withstand him in the prosecuting of his wickedness ; which is recorded in the Causes of Wrath, and the Remonstrances of the gentlemen, ministers, and commanders attending the forces in the West, in the year 1650.

“ 2dly, Against the unfaithfulness, connivance and compliance of ministers, and others, at the wickedness perpetrated in the land during the time of Cromwell’s usurpation ; for, as I am informed, few testified against him, for trampling all the interests of Jesus Christ under his feet, in giving a toleration to all sectaries (whereof the abominable and blasphemous quakers are a witness, whose religion is nothing but refined paganism at the best, yea, I think it is much worse) which was to set up their thresholds beside Christ’s, and their altars beside the Lord’s, in a land covenanted to God, never to suffer the like, and lying under the same bonds.

“ 3dly, Against the Public Resolutions, for the bringing in malignants to the places of power and trust ; which have been the rod in God’s hand above the heads and upon the backs of God’s people, ever since they lusted after them ; and now, I suppose, they are convinced (at least some of them) that God hath given them on the finger-ends for it : but we have not seen them confessing before God and his people, in public, (for it should be as public as the sin

* This Testimony having a large preamble, wherein he gives his private opinion concerning some things then in debate, which do not relate to the causes of his suffering, and which are of no use now—these vain janglings and unprofitable strifes of words being ceased,—and his opinion about them not being a testimony for the truth, nor espoused by any of the godly as a head of suffering or contending for ; the encouragers of this work have thought fit that the preamble be past by, and the testimony itself only published.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

† This ought not to be understood of the manner of his coronation, which is owned by all Presbyterians to have been most consonant to God’s word, and the national constitution of Scotland, but of his disposition and practice, which was too evidently contradictory to the sacred engagements he came under.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

was) that 'they have added this sin to all their other sins, in asking them a king, whereas the Lord was their King.'

" 4thly, I bear my testimony against that unparalleled practice of ministers, in quitting their charges; and that, which doth more aggravate their guilt, at his command, who had no power to act, nor right to be obeyed, neither in that, nor yet in civil things; for then he had unkinged himself; and their going away without almost ever a testimony who should have been the main men that should have told the people what to do. Oh and alas, for that practice! Yet they were put away without being convicted of any crime done against him; but is it not against presbyterian principles, that a king should depose ministers of the gospel, tho' he had a just right, all that time, to rule the civil state? For it was without controversy that he had imprisoned some of Christ's ministers, without being ever summoned, or treated by any legal procedure, (as Naphtali records,) and usurped the ecclesiastic officers' seat to depose the rest of them.

" 5thly, I hold it as one of the causes of God's wrath against the land, and one of the causes of God's breaking and scattering that poor handful of men at Pentland, that renewed the covenant at Lanark, and did not keep his interest out of it; for it only binds us to its maintainers, not to its destroyers.

" 6thly, I bear testimony against the procedure of the ministers, when they came to the fields again after Pentland, because they did not first begin with public and private fasts, and make up the hedge and gap for the church of God in Scotland: and then only preaching to cases of conscience, and not catechising the people, nor informing them in the duty of the day; but did let them pay curates' stipends, and other revenues of that nature. But I think, they were engaged to God under the pain of losing soul and body, in the day of God's fearful judgment, to tell the people to chase them out of the land. Seeing prelacy was abjured and cast out like an abominable branch, as it was,—were *they* not worthy to die the death, that would, against so much light, defile God's land with that abjured abomination? But forsooth, to this day, they must be fed like birds in a cage upon the fattest in the land, and the spoils of Christ's crown.

" 7thly, I bear my testimony against that course carried on by the ministers; their conniving at, countenancing of, and complying with these indulged, that have quit Christ, and taken on with another master. O the treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously! Yea, they were open persecutors of the really godly, thereafter for their faithfulness, and were about to stop their mouth, and to make that indulgence the door, by which all the ministers were to enter into their ministry.

" 8thly, I bear my testimony against their treachery at Bothwell-bridge, in stopping the drawing up of the Causes of God's Wrath, and keeping a fast day, and changing their declaration; and in hindering the purging of the army: and to mend all, they raised the ugliest clamour and report among them that minded and spoke honestly and truly, that could be.

" 9thly, I bear my testimony, against their treachery at Edinburgh

when a proclamation came out to the view of the world, blaspheming God's true religion, and declaring that all that belonged to God was due to Charles Stuart, which is the plain sense of the act; and they sat in an assembly, and voted for a liberty coming from him to preach by; though the very same day that that was proclaimed, two of their more worthy and faithful brethren were murdered!! I think this people are grown like brute beasts. O how much pomp and jovialty was that day, in rejoicing over the ruins of the work of God and his people, yea, over himself! There was first a scaffold made on the east side of the cross, and a green table set down on it, and two green forms; and then the cross was covered; and about twelve hours of the day, the pursuivants, and lyon-heralds, and lyon king at arms, and eight trumpeters went up to the cross, and fourteen men on the foresaid scaffold, seven of them with red gowns of velvet, and seven with black, and then that act was read, and at night the bells were ringing, and bonfires burning. O I think it was a wonder, that God made not all the town where such wickedness was acted against and in despite of him, to sink to the lowest hell.

"10thly, I leave my testimony against them, for running away and leaving God's flock after Bothwell-bridge, when they had drawn them to the fields: the Lord be judge this day between them and his flock, and let their sentence come out from before his presence, and let his eyes behold those things that are equal. O their skirts are full of the blood of souls! They say, the people hath left them, but it is more evident than that it can be gainsayed, that *they* have left the people. Does not the Scripture say, that they who are in the watchmen's place, should warn the people when they see the sword come; and have not the ministers of Scotland had the first hand in all these courses of backsliding? Should they be pure with unclean hands, and the unjust balance (so to say) and the bag of deceitful weights? Well, their sins are known to be no more sins of weakness, but sins of wickedness!

"11thly, I bear my testimony against them, because they did not join with their brethren in the work of the day, in preaching to the people in the fields, with Mr. Richard Cameron and Mr. Donald Cargill. And will ye tell me, although there were never one to open their mouth in that thing, does not the work of the one confound them to silence, and the work of the other justify and plead for them? But there is one thing, I have learned from the practice of all this people, and God's dealing with them. They have sought their own, and one another's credit, more than God's, and he hath discovered their wickedness in their ugliness.

12thly, I bear my testimony against their obstinacy, in refusing to return and amend their manners. They hold fast wickedness, and refuse to let it go, and that against the light of God's word, their own consciences, their vows and engagements to God, the cries of bloodshed, the cries of wrong done to God and his work, and against these their former preachings and practices: that they will not come out and rid the ground, so to speak, and seek out the causes of God's wrath and set days of humiliation apart, and see that they be kept,

and renew their engagements, and carry themselves like ministers of Jesus Christ afterward. Is this erroneous? Is not this according to presbyterian principles? Does not the confession of our faith, say, that those who offend the church, and their brethren, shall make their repentance as public as their offences have been? Is not this the plain meaning of that article, yea the very words almost, of the Confession of Faith, chap. xv. art. last? without which thing be done, (if any would take my counsel, who am looking to receive the sentence of death every hour) I would say, meddle not with them, for they have not only sinned against the church of God and their brethren, and their own souls, but against God: and have they not been light and treacherous?—whereof many instances may be given. Have they not polluted the sanctuary? Have they not done violence to the law? Have they not been unfaithful? Are they not walking very openly amongst God's stated enemies, while the people of God dare not be seen? I fear, if they make not haste to come off these courses, that God's wrath shall overtake them, ere it be long. And lastly, I bear my testimony against them, for their untenderness to weak consciences, and making use of their gifts and parts to wrest the word of God, to put out that light which God has given poor things; of which I among others, have a proof; for one of them came into the prison and told me, that he had been dealing with him, who had been pursuing us to death, (the king's advocate) that he would not take innocent blood upon him; and out of love and tenderness to our souls, he came to pay us a visit; and said, he was neither a curate nor an indulged man, but a minister of the gospel: so he said, that we would be well advised what we were doing, for the advocate had said, we were shortly to be before the criminal court. And I asked, what he advised us to do? and began to tell him the ground whereupon we were accused, which was this, that Charles Stuart, having broken and burnt God's covenant, and compelled all that he could by his forces to do the like, and slain many upon that account, I upon this head, declined his authority; and being hard questioned, confessed, that I thought it lawful to kill him; but I did not say by whose hands: and he said, that all that would not free me from being his subject, and instanced Zedekiah's case to prove it: but I was not in case to speak to him, (being confused with a distracted man who was in with us,)—only I told him, there was as great a difference betwixt that of Zedekiah, and this in hand, as east was from the west, and he called us Jannes and Jambres who withstood the truth, when we would not hear him; and said, there was no such thing as any condition holden out in the form and order of the coronation, that did free us from allegiance to Charles Stuart upon that account. But what! do they think, that every one can reason and debate with them, or else that they are not Christians, but gainstanders of the truth! Hath not God given to every man his measure of light and grace both? If they know not this, and walk not accordingly, they were never worthy to be ministers of the gospel. He said, that he would send me any of the ministers whom I pleased to call for; I said, that I heard tell Mr. Donald Cargill was

taken, would he send him to me, and I would take it as a great kindness of his hand; but he said, that he had taken a way by himself. But what shall I say! my heart is like to sink, when I think on them, and the case of the land! O I think, it is a desperate like case! only, I know God can, and I hope he will cure it.

“ Next, I bear my testimony against all that pay cess and locality to uphold Christ’s enemies, the bloody soldiers, or any of that cursed crew; yea, against all that give them meat or drink, when they come to their houses, it being so expressly against Christ and the covenant; and against all that pay customs or duties, belonging to the crown of Scotland, unto Charles Stuart, his officers, collectors, or tacksmen; seeing all that is employed against Christ, and against all that shall do it, till they wit well that it be otherwise employed; and against all bonders with them, or to him, or any in his name, or delegated by him, or clothed with his authority; seeing they are persons worthy of no credit; whereof I have a proof in my taking. Ye would do well to believe the wise man, Solomon, who says, ‘when he speaks fair, believe him not, for there are seven abominations in his heart.’

“ Next, I leave my testimony against all that side with, or strengthen the hands of the adversaries of the Lord, in less or more, against clear conviction from the word of God, or sound reason; and particularly against this duke—that bold and truculent papist, who hath defiled the Lord’s land with his altars and images. And I protest against this ensuing parliament, for putting power in his hand to do what he pleaseth; for, by the word of God, and the laws of the land, he should die the death. And also, I bear testimony against those who have sided with, or strengthened the foresaid enemy, and will not come off again. O if they will not help the people of God, that they would let them alone, and not help their adversaries!

“ Next, I leave my testimony against the gentry and commonalty, for letting so much innocent blood be shed, some of which ranks, I think God hath a turn to put into their hands yet, if they would espouse his quarrel, and turn to him with all their hearts, and not suffer the work to go as it does; but indeed they must keep company with God’s stated enemies, and learn the court fashion. I will tell you one thing, ye have lost the manners of the court of heaven, by learning the manners of the courts of men. O what think ye to do? Or how think ye to be accountable to God? Will ye but speak your minds; who, think ye, hath the best end of the controversy? Will ye let the fear of men and the devil prevail with you more than the fear of God? Or what think ye this duke would do to you, when he sees his opportunity? Will ye trust bloody papists? It may be, ye may be put to suffer on worse accounts yet, if ye will not own God and his people; but there are but very few of you now, who are aught but mockers. Will ye turn to the Lord with all your hearts? Is it any shame to you to take shame to yourselves, in glorifying God, by confessing your sins, and turning from them? But will you tell me now, who think ye can be at one with

you, while ye are standing out against God? Will ye read but the first chapter of Isaiah, and consider it, and the first two chapters of Jeremiah, the second of Joel, the prophecy of Haggai, Isa. xxii. Ezek. vii.? O consider! and if not, the Lord and you take it between you. Read and consider, Psal. l. 5.

“ Now, what shall I say to you, who own and adhere to God’s cause, against all the enemies? O that I could let you see the inside of my heart! Will ye learn Christianity?—seek the Lord, and get him on your side. I think, it is a good token of a sanctified heart, that longs more to be in God’s company, than other folks, that sees the worst of evil lies in committing sin. Beware of heart risings and grudgings one against another; know, that there is a great difference between sins of weakness, and sins of wickedness; ye may not mark *every* failing, for if ye do, ye shall not have two to stay together in Scotland. O but there is much need of the gospel, and these ministers will not come out and contend for Christ!—without which, though I were at liberty, God knows, I durst not meddle with them, and I would rather keep a-back from them than other folk; for I think, there are many of them either unconcerned, or then, dreadfully misled; for how can it be otherwise, not bearing with tender consciences?—for they will rather strive to break folk than build them up; but how can any that has love to Christ look on them with good will; I do verily think, if ever they turn again, the world shall hear tell of it. It is beyond all controversy, that they have quit their first works, and their first love. O will ye learn to be sober and grave. Cleave to your covenants and engagements: I say, mind your engagements; look what becomes of covenant-breakers! I would say unto you, Take no courses by the end, till God give you clearness; but indeed, I know, that God will reprove many in this generation, because they put away light from them. Now ye are deprived of all cleanly preaching; but will ye observe Christ’s answer to the spouse in the Song, when she says, ‘Where makest thou thy flocks to rest at noon?’ He says, ‘If thou knowest not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds tents:’ beware of ‘turning aside after the flocks of his companions.’ Beware of these ministers of Charles Stuart, these indulged and these prelatic, these mockers of God, and contemners of the godly, these Christ deserters, these undervaluers of heaven, these scandalous and insignificant timeservers, whom God hath blasted, to the conviction of all the generation that see any thing; these monsters of men, the disgrace of the ministry, the just contempt of the generation! God hath sometimes had a church without a ministry, but he never had a ministry without a church. Doth not the scripture say, ‘That for many days Israel shall be without a priest, without a teraphim,’ &c. Do we not see in the Revelation, ‘The two witnesses slain, and lying three days and an half!’ But O cry to God, ‘That he would send forth labourers to his vineyard;’ for ‘verily the harvest is great, but the labourers are few.’ If there be a casting at the gospel on the people’s side, then I think they shall be in extreme hazard of losing their soul, if God’s mercy prevent it not; for then they refuse to be

guided by God: but if 'when the hireling sees the wolf come, he run away, and leave the sheep, because he is an hireling,' then I think the mercy of God is engaged for the sheep, because 'they have no shepherd.' It is not the first time that Israel has been 'scattered as sheep having no shepherd,' but it is as sure as the sun shines, none can keep himself nor guide himself: 'it is not in him that walketh, to direct his steps.' And God hath 'sown a joyful light to the upright;' and he has said, 'him that sitteth in darkness, and hath no light, let him trust in the Lord, and stay himself upon his God.' But could the spouse rest in Jerusalem, and her husband not to be found? It is beyond debate, that she made all the fields ado before she wanted him. Can the spouse see another wear her husband's clothes, and be well satisfied? yea, one that has robbed, spoiled, and shut him to the doors, with disgrace, contempt and shame, and as one unworthy to manage the affairs of his own house; and has defied him to take any thing back again, and has set up legs and arms, heads and hands, and quarters of the children, as trophies of victory, over the goodman of the house, and has triumphed with spite and contempt, and is only seeking it of the poor widow, the wife and the bairns to be quiet, and accept of him for a husband and father: so I say, shall the wife and children of such a Husband and Father be peaceable to see this? I trow, there are few earthly folk would do so: but O! who can show the difference here, as to searching out it cannot be. The Lord keep you from dwelling at ease, under one roof, with such an one! Beware of making any treaty of peace with such a robber and murderer as this; beware of feeding these his soldiers, or giving them quarters, when they come to your houses. O but the kings of Assyria knew well enough, that 'the kings of Israel were merciful kings!' If ye will not use the sword at God's bidding, God will put it (as he hath) into the hands of his and your enemies, to use it against you. Indeed I think, 'till Saul's sons be hanged up before the Lord, the plague of famine shall not be stayed from Israel.'

"Now in the next place, I witness by this testimony, my adherence to the Scriptures of truth, the Holy Bible, the Old and New Testament, which has been made sweet to me. The fault is not in them that we understand them not, but in us; and this we have as our old father Adam's heirship. I witness my adherence to the Covenants,—National and Solemn League,—Confession of Faith; only there is in it something concerning the magistrate's calling a synod of ministers, by virtue of his magistratical power, which ought to be cautiously understood, according to the general assembly's explication. I adhere to the Catechisms Larger and Shorter, Psalms in metre, Directory for worship, Form of Church-government, the doctrine of the church of Scotland, as it is held out in the word of God, and laid down in the foresaid papers. I adhere to all the faithful testimonies for truth in Scotland of one sort and another, and particularly these three,—the papers found at the Queensferry of date the 3d of June,—the Sanquhar Declaration,—the Rutherglen Testimony, and every other paper tending to the good of religion,—particularly the Causes of Wrath; and I request all to read and consider them. I leave my testimony

against them that say, That I am a self-murderer, because I spake that which God gave me to speak, before his adversaries: and I think that it is my great mercy, that he hath helped me to be free before them in matters of truth, relating to the disowning of them, and standing to our God's and our own rights. This paper I leave as my testimony, and formed and deliberate thoughts; and request all to bear with faults of weakness, especially when the sword of the adversary is above a man's head. Now, farewell world, and all things in it. Welcome Lord Jesus Christ, into thy hands I commend my spirit.

Sic sub.—WILLIAM CUTHIL." *

XVI. ROBERT GARNOCK.

[This man was born in Stirling, of decent and pious parents; and being educated in the principles of the Church of Scotland, frequently attended on the ministrations of its outed ministers. He thus became an object of suspicion to the supporters of prelacy, and being apprehended (though no charge could be brought against him) was with difficulty liberated by the interference of a friend. He still, however, persevered in his nonconformity, which he evinced by refusing to pay cess and by attending on conventicles, and having been present at one which was dispersed by the military, in the neighbourhood of Fintry, on the 18th of May, 1679, he was taken while returning to Stirling that night. He was, soon after sent to Edinburgh with some others, and confined with the prisoners taken at Bothwell; and having steadily refused the bond, he was at length taken out of the Church-yard and put into the iron house of the tolbooth. There, he was kept till October 1st, 1681, when he was, for the second time, brought before the council; and having disowned their authority, and that of the king and his government, he was indicted with five others to stand trial on the 7th, and notwithstanding their solemn protestation to the contrary, they were brought in guilty, sentenced, and with one exception, executed on the 10th of that month. Here follows his Testimony.]

“MEN and brethren,—I, having received a sentence of death from men, for adhering to the truth, against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism and Indulgences first and last, and all that was contrary to sound doctrine—am now to leave a line behind me, as the Lord will help me to write, and to tell you, That however this generation may condemn me, as having a hand in my own death, I declare that it is not so; for I die a Presbyterian in my judgment. For I considering, how solemnly Scotland was bound to defend truth against all encroachments made thereon, with their lives and liberties, and how they of this nation had so easily broken their vows and engagements; and then seeing through the scriptures, how deep covenant-breaking draws,

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 179—189.

and what a great and heinous sin this is in the sight of God,—could do no less than give in my protestation against all their proceedings, in their hell-hatched acts, that were so contrary to the word of God, and our sworn covenants; and it is for that, that I am come in your presence this day, to lay down this life of mine; for which I bless the Lord that ever he honoured the like of me with a gibbet and a bloody winding-sheet, for his noble, honourable and sweet cause. O will ye love him, Sirs! O he is well worth the loving, and quitting all for! O for many lives to seal the sweet cause with! If I had as many lives as there are hairs in my head, I would think them all too little to be martyrs for truth. I bless the Lord, I do not suffer unwillingly, nor by constraint, but heartily and cheerfully. O but the Lord hath taken great pains on me, to train me up for this great work! I bless his holy name, that ever he counted me worthy of such honour; his love hath been to me beyond many. I have been a long time a prisoner, and have been altered of my prison: I was among, and in the company of the most part who suffered since Bothwell; and was in company with many ensnaring persons, tho' I do not question but they were godly folk; and yet the Lord kept me from hearkening to their counsel. Glory, glory be to his holy and sweet name. O but it is many a time a wonder, how I have done such and such things! but it is he that hath done it: he hath done all things well, both in me and for me; holy is his name! O if I could get my royal King Jesus cried up, and all the world down! O will you fall in love with Christ! friends,—what ails you at him, and his sweet cause? I can assure you, he is no hard master to serve. O he is lovely! 'He is white and ruddy, the chief among ten thousands.' I desire none of you to think, I suffer 'as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters;' or, that it is out of blind zeal, that I am come here this day: no, for it was after serious consideration that I did it, and after great weights and pressures. It was great grief of soul to me, to see my Master's truth so wronged, trampled on and abused by a God-daring generation, and none to speak for him. And now my Lord is highly honouring me for that; glory to his great name for it;—for, he hath honoured me, and my neighbours with irons, and the thieves-hole, which were sweet and refreshful to us; and then honoured us wonderfully to go in before these bloody men, and get our sentences.

"Our interrogations are known;—I have not time to write them. But I disowned *them*, for disowning the Covenant, and adhered to my protestation given in against them: and now am I come to the Gallowlee, to lay down my life, and to have my head cut off, and put upon a port! It is known, how barbarously I have been used by them, and how honourably such a silly wretch as I am, hath been carried thro': glory be to His sweet name for it. Indeed, it was the bargain betwixt Christ and my soul long since, that thro' his strength I should be for him, and at his bidding, whatever piece of work he put into my hand; and he promised, 'that his grace should be sufficient for me;' and 'that his strength should be seen in my weakness;' and that go whither I would, he would go with me,—'thro' fire and

water,'—the flames would not scorch me, nor the 'waters overflow me.' O take him, Sirs! for 'he is faithful who hath promised,' and he will perform. Now, as a dying martyr for Christ, I would leave it on all of you to make haste, and prepare for strokes, for they are at hand; and do not think, that they will not come, because they are delayed. No, He will come, and that 'as a thief in the night,' and will surprise many of you, if not all: 'watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.' I would not have you secure, but take warning in time, before his wrath break forth. He hath waited long on Scotland's repentance; it is like, he will not bear much longer. Do not sleep, as do others, but rise, make haste, 'get on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand.' It is dangerous now to be out of God's gate; it is not good siding with God's enemies: it will be dangerous to be found in their camp. I would not be in *their* stead for all the gold of Ophir, who have saved their lives with prejudice to the work and people of God. I would have them take warning. They say, they have done nothing, but what was lawful and right; but they commit transgression, and (with the whore) wipe their mouth, and say, 'they have done no evil.' Indeed they may put off men so, but they will not get God and their own consciences put off. They need never go about the bush, for I see not how any that are faithful, being once brought before them, can win honestly off; for if ye will but say, ye disown their authority, then your life must go. For they had as little to lay to my charge as to any, yet I could not win off with a good conscience, but to the gallows I must go; and glory to *His* great name, who hath honoured me; or that ever he gave me a head to be set on a port, for his sweet name and cause. Now, as for what I own or disown, I being straitened by reason of the want of time, cannot get it set down here; and another thing I see, that martyrs' testimonies are of no value, and very lightly esteemed.

"I give my testimony to the holy and sweet Scriptures, Covenants, Confession of Faith, which are according to the Scripture, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, and to all that our worthies have done, in defence of the gospel, at Pentland, Loudon-hill, Bothwell-bridge, and Airs-moss; to Rutherglen Testimony, and Sanquhar Declaration, Ferry Papers, and Torwood Excommunication, the Fife Testimony, D——ie, K——le, and P——s Protestations, and all that hath been done in defence of the gospel, wherever it hath been done. And I, as a dying martyr for the truth, give my testimony against all the encroachments on our Lord's rights, in less or more,—as Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and Indulgences first and last, and all that side with them. And I, as a dying witness for Christ, desire friends to the cause of Christ, to beware of them; 'For, if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. They will neither enter the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor will they suffer others to go in thereat.' Beware of their fair speeches, for they and the devil thought to have made me break with my lovely Lord Jesus Christ, that noble bargain betwixt him and my soul. O! but the professors of this generation

are evil and bitter against the sweet way of the Lord, and his poor people.

“Next, I give my testimony against all the enemies of God, and all that join with them, in paying cess, locality, militia-money, or whatever is for the strengthening of their hands. And now, I leave it again on you, that ye would not brand me with having a hand in my own death; for I could not get my life saved, unless I had taken upon me all the blood of the people of God, and owned *that* as lawful authority which had taken away my dear brethren's lives; and said, that it was just and right what they had done. And indeed, they seek no more of any, if they will but own them in what they do. They think, they are right enough in taking away our lives, when they who are called presbyterians own them, and their tyranny, to be authority. And now, when I am to go away, I would have you to lay to heart how deeply, owning of them draws, and how much of the wrath of God ye draw on you, in so doing. O Sirs! I would have you beware, and look what a weighty business it is; and ‘obey God rather than man.’ I bless the Lord, I am this day to step out of time into eternity; and I am no more troubled than if I were to take a marriage in the earth, and not so much. I bless the Lord, I have much peace of conscience in what I have done. O! but I think it a very weighty business for me to be within twelve hours of eternity, and not troubled! Indeed the Lord is kind, and hath trained me up for this day, and now I can want him no longer. I will get my fill of love this night; for ‘I will be with him in paradise, and get a new song put in my mouth, the song of Moses and of the Lamb;’ I will be in amongst ‘the general assembly of the first-born,’ and enjoy the sweet presence of God and his Son Jesus Christ, and ‘the spirits of just men made perfect.’ I am sure of it!

“O dear friends, I would, as one going to eternity, obtest you, that you make good earnest in religion, and be restless until you get a clearness of an interest in Christ; for it is a dangerous time to live in the dark. I would have you consider what a weighty business it is, to deny the Lord of glory before men. There has strange things of this nature fallen out, in this our day. O! look to yourselves, I would entreat you, to be for God, and he will be for you; confess him, and he will confess you. As good soldiers, endure hardness; wax valiant in suffering. Resist unto blood, for it is the cause of God, that is at stake. O! there are none of you lamenting after God; ah! is there none of you that hath love to the Lord, and will take part with him, against all his enemies? O! but it be sad to see you with such whole hearts, and so little grief among you, for the robbery that the Lord of glory is getting. I declare, my suffering is nothing; but, when I see you who are professors, what an unconcerned people ye are, it makes my soul bleed to see you in such a frame, when the church is in such a condition. I wish the Lord may help poor young ones, that are brought up under you with the want of the gospel. O for the gospel back again to Scotland! Oh for one faithful minister in all the land! O but the harvest be great, and

the labourers few ! As for my part, now when I am going into eternity, I declare, I see not, nor hear of a minister in all Scotland, who is at the duty the Lord calls for, at ministers' hands, in preaching against all sorts of sin : ' in season, and out of season, rebuking, reproofing, and exhorting.' As for my part, I cannot join with them who are not so.

" Now, my Lord is bringing me to conformity with himself, and honouring me after my worthy pastor, Mr. James Guthrie ; although I knew nothing when he was alive ; yet the Lord hath honoured me to protest against popery, and to seal it with my blood ; and he honoured him to protest against prelacy, and to seal it with his blood. The Lord hath kept me in prison to this day for that end. His head is on one port of Edinburgh, and mine must go on another. Glory, glory to the Lord's holy and sweet name, for what he hath done for me. O set days apart, and bless his holy and never-enough-exalted name, for what he hath done for me. O Sirs ! his cross hath been all paved over with love all along, and it is sweeter now than ever. O will ye be persuaded to fall in love with the cross of royal Jesus ! O take him. Will ye be entreated to come and taste of his love ! O sweet lot this day, for me to go to a gibbet for Christ and his cause ! I think the thoughts of this do ravish my heart and soul, and make me to fall out in wondering, that I am within so few hours of that endless joy, that paradise, among these flowers and trees, that are on each side of that ' pure river, clear as crystal,' where the tree is, that ' bears twelve manner of fruits, and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.' O that I could leave this weight upon you ; yea, with as great weight as it lies on my spirits, to see how few of you are travelling to that land. O be much above, and be here as strangers ; I mean, in respect of conformity to this world, though hated of it, and studying to live the life that our Lord hath commanded in his word : and ' suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.' Now, I bless the Lord, I am not as many suspect me, thinking to win heaven by my suffering ; No, no : I know there is no winning of it, but through the precious blood of the Son of God. Now, ye who are the true seekers of God, and so the butt of the world's malice, O be diligent, and run fast ; time is precious : O make use of it, and act for God, contend for the truth, stand for God against all his enemies. Fear not the wrath of men. Love one another. Wrestle with God, mutually, in societies. ' Confess your faults one to another ;' pray with one another ; ' Reprove, rebuke, exhort one another in love.' Slight no commanded duty ; be faithful in your stations, as ye will be answerable in the great day !

" Now, having no more time, I bid farewell to you all. Farewell holy and sweet Scriptures, wherewith I have been refreshed many a day. I would have you read much of them, and pray over them to the Lord, that ye may get his blessing with, and the right use of them. O ! make use of your Bibles, my dear friends, so long as you have them. Seek not counsel from men. Follow none further than they hold by truth. Now, I request you have a care ; this

land is like to come under great errors. Now, farewell sweet reproaches for my lovely Lord Jesus, tho' once they were not joyous, but grievous, yet now they are sweet; I bless the Lord for it. I heartily forgive all men, for any thing they have said of me: I pray, that it may not be laid to their charge in the day of accounts. As for what they have done to God and his cause, I leave that to God and their own consciences. Farewell all Christian acquaintances and relations, father and mother, brethren and sisters; farewell sweet prison for my royal Lord Jesus Christ; it is now at an end: farewell all crosses of one sort and another; and so farewell every thing in time, reading, praying, and believing. Welcome eternal life, and the spirits of just men made perfect; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit!

Sic sub.—ROBERT GARNOCK. *

XVII. PATRICK FORMAN.

[Of the history and character of this individual, we have no particular account. He seems to have belonged to the parish and town of Alloa, but how or upon what occasion he was apprehended, we have no means of knowing. He was on the 1st of October, along with Garnock and other four, sisted before the council; where he confessed that a knife had been found upon him with this inscription, "For cutting tyrants' throats;" and being asked, if it was,—to kill the king, he answered, "if the king be a tyrant why *not* cut his throat?" He then proceeded to disown the government, and having adhered to these sentiments before the justiciary, he was forthwith condemned and sentenced along with the rest, to be executed on the 10th of October, 1681. There was this additional cruelty exercised against *him*, that his right hand was ordered to be struck off before execution. His testimony is as follows.]

"I THOUGHT it fit, being sentenced to die within three days, to write this testimony, to show you, that I die not as a fool; and I declare I am in my right mind, and not prodigal of my life, as some allege, but I love life as well as any, and would do as much to save it; but when my life comes in competition with the truths of Jesus Christ, I dare not buy it with the denial of the smallest truths (if any may be called small) but know, that the least of the truths are of greater moment than the whole world, and the inhabitants thereof. Now, therefore, do not asperse me when I am gone, with not being a presbyterian; for tho' in great weakness, I *am* a presbyterian, both in profession and practice, tho' my failings be many.

"1st, I believe there is but one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; one Redeemer, one way of salvation,—and that it is through

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 189—196.

Jesus Christ, according to that word, John xxiv. 6. 'Jesus saith unto them, I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.' And likewise, I leave my testimony to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and my soul desires to bless the Lord, that ever they were in our mother tongue. My soul hath been refreshed in conversing with them, when the Spirit of the Lord has backed them; but I knew likewise, they are but a killing letter without the Spirit: yet this I would advise you, as a dying martyr for Christ, to search the Scriptures, and seek the Lord's mind in them; for there are none noble, but those who search the Scriptures; and O that I could recommend them to you, as they have been sweet and refreshful to me; yea, they are as a garden of sweet-smelling flowers; in them are cures for all diseases, and remedies for all distempers; yea, they commend themselves, they need none of my commendation. Make good use of them, while ye have them; for if idolaters get their will, they will not be long amongst you; I pray the Lord may prevent it.

"2dly, I leave my testimony to the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties. I bear my testimony to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant. Likewise, I adhere to all the faithful testimonies that have been given for the truth, since the year 1638; especially that Sanquhar Declaration, and Rutherglen Testimony, and the papers found on Henry Hall at the Queensferry, called the New Covenant; and to the lawfulness of Torwood excommunication, and all the testimonies of the martyrs, who are gone before me, according to truth, both in fields, on scaffolds, and in the seas; and likewise I leave my testimony to that poor persecuted remnant that are yet left as berries on the tops of the utmost branches,—wandering about,—being desolate, afflicted and tormented,—groaning under the sad yoke of tyranny. O Lord, deliver them in thy own way and time; and encourage them now when there is no encouragement from men, and their eyes cannot behold their teachers. And now, my friends, I tell you, being within few hours to step out of time into eternity, that ye beware of casting aspersions on any of the Lord's people, for owning their duty, which is—avowing and declaring Jesus Christ to be King in Zion, head of his people, and only Lord of your consciences; and declining all powers which are contrary to and inconsistent with our Lord's kingly power. And now I declare, I own magistracy, as it is an ordinance of God; and offered my willing subjection unto them; but when the magistrate becomes a tyrant by overturning the whole law of God, and the just laws of the nation, he or they being once covenanted to the contrary, then, I think it my duty, as I am bound by the Scripture, and our Covenants, and my own conscience,—to show, in my station,—my dislike of the wrongs my lovely Lord and Master is getting; for, as the Scripture declares, 'there are no powers but of God, and the powers that be, are ordained of God.' Then consequently, *that* power cannot be of God, that murders the people of God; otherwise ye must say, that the Lord is the author of evil, which were horrid blasphemy.

Now therefore, my dear friends, suppose that they will take away our lives, under the name of treason and rebellion, (as they have done to our brethren these twenty years) yet it is not so, but for religion and loyalty to our Lord and Master, and to every ordinance of man,—as it is consistent with the law of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, as ye would be answerable at the day of our appearance, when we shall stand naked and bare before the Judge of all the earth, speak not against us, lest ye be reckoned amongst the fighters against Jesus Christ; for I declare, I have owned nothing, but that which is the duty of the whole nation, as well as mine. And I doubt not but the Lord will reckon with this generation, ere it be long, for maintaining that throne of iniquity these twenty years.

“ And now, I declare, as a dying man, that it is but justice that is come upon this poor nation; for when the Lord set them free from that yoke of bondage they were lying under, by that old tyrant Charles I.—who designed to cut off the Lord’s people, (which he put in practice, in murdering the Lord’s people in Ireland, by the hands of the bloody papists, and thought to have done so to England and Scotland, but the Lord prevented him, and put a stop to his tyranny, by suffering men to take away his life, and causing his family to be banished)—and brake the yoke off our neck, and became our Lord, King and head;—we soon wearied of the Lord, and cast him off, and said, ‘we will have a king to rule over us, like the nations;’ and ye may judge, whether he has reigned Saul-like or not? And I doubt not but he shall be taken away in wrath, because he was given in the Lord’s anger; and tho’ his time has been a groaning time, yet his end shall be terrible, and the people shall find the smart of it, as the children of Israel did, when they fell at Gilboa. Friends, look for sad days, when we are gone! O therefore, I entreat you, as ye would tender the glory of God, and desire the salvation of your own souls,—mourn for the wrongs ye have done to the glory of God, in your owning of that tyrant, who is the malignant’s head and god. And now, I am sure, ye are left without excuse, if ye will not cast him off; and they who will say, he hath power over civil matters, must say, God is unjust, and he is the author of evil, which were horrid blasphemy.

“ The matter of my condemnation is, because I will not yield to their iniquitous laws, and call tyranny—authority, and a constitution of wickedness,—a constitution of God; which I dare not, for my soul, have the least thought of. And now, my friends, I am to die for protesting against popery, and the inbringing of that papist the Duke, to defile the Lord’s land; and declining their power, because they had murdered my brethren these twenty years, and testifying against all the wrongs my lovely Lord and Master hath got. Therefore, I charge you, to beware of speaking against me, or any of my brethren; for my head and my right hand shall be a witness against you, who shall condemn us; whatever I have been, I am now highly honoured to witness for Christ’s cause. And now, my dear friends, I must tell you, that grace is free, and I am a debtor to free grace, and I am as a brand plucked out of the fire; yet my Lord hath loved

me with an everlasting love. And I bless the Lord, I am in my right mind, and have hatred against no man's person, but in so far as they are fighting against my God, and plotting against his holy child Jesus; but as it is written, Psal. ii. 9. 'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potsherd.' I leave my testimony against Charles Stuart, for his breach of covenant, and for his setting forth that hellish act of supremacy,—whereby, he rescinded the law of God, and the just law of the land, that he might murder the Lord's people. I likewise leave my *blood* upon him, and these bloody counsellors, justiciary and assizers—because they take away my life, and the lives of my brethren, without a shadow of law or justice; for there were none of us guilty of action or crimes, and the protestation we gave them, shall be a standing witness against them. Secondly, I leave my testimony against prelacy, because they have taken upon them the place of Lords, which is proper to none but Jesus Christ; for we have but one God, one Lord, one Saviour and Master, &c. and they have our blood upon their heads. I leave my testimony against all the proceedings against the Lord's people, for their murders in the fields, and in the sea, and on scaffolds. I leave my testimony against the bringing home of that tyrant, Charles Stuart, after they knew that he had broken all bonds that could bind men, and was no more to be believed; I likewise leave my testimony against the Duke of York, and against the reception of him, first and last, because they knew he was a professed papist, and was seeking nothing but the lives of the Lord's people, as his actions declare; first, he behoved to have a draught of these five men's blood at Magus Muir, and next, of Mr. James Skene, John Potter, Archibald Stewart, and the rest of our brethren since; O bloody wretch! he is filling himself drunk with the blood of the saints; and when he was declared Viceroy and High Commissioner, as they call him, he behoved to have a draught of blood to sit down with, viz. of that faithful minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Donald Cargill, and the other four; and then they sat down to their parliament, for enacting these hell-hatched acts, placing Charles Stuart and his succession, for their god, and *that* they call law and authority, for their Bible. And now, when they have taken their breath, they must have our blood to slake them. I leave my testimony against the parliamenters, and my blood upon them; I am sure they will find *it* and my brethren's, lying heavy upon them. I likewise leave my testimony against bonders, cess and locality payers, for strengthening the hands of these wicked ruffians, the troopers and soldiers, who destroy the Lord's people. Now therefore, dear friends, I warn you, as you would fly from the wrath to come, shake yourselves of these things, if so be there may be hope; it may be if ye be serious, ye will be hid in the day of the Lord's anger; take warning, and fly from the wrath that is to come.

“Likewise, I leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of the watchmen of Scotland, for they have not fed the flock, but fed themselves. Therefore I, as a dying man, must tell you, that it will be a wonder, if ever ye be honoured to be faithful, for your turning

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“ And now, I declare, as a dying man, that it is but justice that is come upon this poor nation; for when the Lord set them free from that yoke of bondage they were lying under, by that old tyrant Charles I.—who designed to cut off the Lord’s people, (which he put in practice, in murdering the Lord’s people in Ireland, by the hands of the bloody papists, and thought to have done so to England and Scotland, but the Lord prevented him, and put a stop to his tyranny, by suffering men to take away his life, and causing his family to be banished)—and brake the yoke off our neck, and became our Lord, King and head;—we soon wearied of the Lord, and cast him off, and said, ‘we will have a king to rule over us, like the nations;’ and ye may judge, whether he has reigned Saul-like or not? And I doubt not but he shall be taken away in wrath, because he was given in the Lord’s anger; and tho’ his time has been a groaning time, yet his end shall be terrible, and the people shall find the smart of it, as the children of Israel did, when they fell at Gilboa. Friends, look for sad days, when we are gone! O therefore, I entreat you, as ye would tender the glory of God, and desire the salvation of your own souls,—mourn for the wrongs ye have done to the glory of God, in your owning of that tyrant, who is the malignant’s head and god. And now, I am sure, ye are left without excuse, if ye will not cast him off; and they who will say, he hath power over civil matters, must say, God is unjust, and he is the author of evil, which were horrid blasphemy.

“ The matter of my condemnation is, because I will not yield to their iniquitous laws, and call tyranny—authority, and a constitution of wickedness,—a constitution of God; which I dare not, for my soul, have the least thought of. And now, my friends, I am to die for protesting against popery, and the inbringing of that papist the Duke, to defile the Lord’s land; and declining their power, because they had murdered my brethren these twenty years, and testifying against all the wrongs my lovely Lord and Master hath got. Therefore, I charge you, to beware of speaking against me, or any of my brethren; for my head and my right hand shall be a witness against you, who shall condemn us; whatever I have been, I am now highly honoured to witness for Christ’s cause. And now, my dear friends, I must tell you, that grace is free, and I am a debtor to free grace, and I am as a brand plucked out of the fire; yet my Lord hath loved

me with an everlasting love. And I bless the Lord, I am in my right mind, and have hatred against no man's person, but in so far as they are fighting against my God, and plotting against his holy child Jesus; but as it is written, Psal. ii. 9. 'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potsherd.' I leave my testimony against Charles Stuart, for his breach of covenant, and for his setting forth that hellish act of supremacy,—whereby, he rescinded the law of God, and the just law of the land, that he might murder the Lord's people. I likewise leave my *blood* upon him, and these bloody counsellors, justiciary and assizers—because they take away my life, and the lives of my brethren, without a shadow of law or justice; for there were none of us guilty of action or crimes, and the protestation we gave them, shall be a standing witness against them. Secondly, I leave my testimony against prelacy, because they have taken upon them the place of Lords, which is proper to none but Jesus Christ; for we have but one God, one Lord, one Saviour and Master, &c. and they have our blood upon their heads. I leave my testimony against all the proceedings against the Lord's people, for their murders in the fields, and in the sea, and on scaffolds. I leave my testimony against the bringing home of that tyrant, Charles Stuart, after they knew that he had broken all bonds that could bind men, and was no more to be believed; I likewise leave my testimony against the Duke of York, and against the reception of him, first and last, because they knew he was a professed papist, and was seeking nothing but the lives of the Lord's people, as his actions declare; first, he behoved to have a draught of these five men's blood at Magus Muir, and next, of Mr. James Skene, John Potter, Archibald Stewart, and the rest of our brethren since; O bloody wretch! he is filling himself drunk with the blood of the saints; and when he was declared Viceroy and High Commissioner, as they call him, he behoved to have a draught of blood to sit down with, viz. of that faithful minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Donald Cargill, and the other four; and then they sat down to their parliament, for enacting these hell-hatched acts, placing Charles Stuart and his succession, for their god, and *that* they call law and authority, for their Bible. And now, when they have taken their breath, they must have our blood to slake them. I leave my testimony against the parliamenters, and my blood upon them; I am sure they will find *it* and my brethren's, lying heavy upon them. I likewise leave my testimony against bonders, cess and locality payers, for strengthening the hands of these wicked ruffians, the troopers and soldiers, who destroy the Lord's people. Now therefore, dear friends, I warn you, as you would fly from the wrath to come, shake yourselves of these things, if so be there may be hope; it may be if ye be serious, ye will be hid in the day of the Lord's anger; take warning, and fly from the wrath that is to come.

“Likewise, I leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of the watchmen of Scotland, for they have not fed the flock, but fed themselves. Therefore I, as a dying man, must tell you, that it will be a wonder, if ever ye be honoured to be faithful, for your turning

your backs on your Master,—when all men are set against him ; and your seeking to save your lives,—when the Lord is calling you to suffer, rather than to yield, or quit one hair of the truth. Ye think nothing to call tyranny, lawful magistracy, and by that ye say, that all the martyrs, who have suffered under tyranny these twenty years, have suffered justly ! If that word be true,—‘ there is no power but of God,’—then certainly Charles Stuart’s power must not be of God, for his unheard of murders, perjuries and adulteries. Now I say, those who call him a magistrate, they say, that God is the author of sin, which is horrid blasphemy ; and I think, there are few ministers in Scotland, who are free of that horrid sin, and are not in some sort guilty of their brethren’s blood ; for ye are an upcast to poor sufferers. Now therefore, I advise you to repent, for I shall wish you no wrong. I might say much to that purpose, but I shall forbear, only I desire the Lord may forgive you, for your lukewarmness, neutrality, indifferency and sinful silence, where there is none to speak for Jesus Christ. And now, I advise *you* that are his people, to take warning from me as a dying man, not to join with them, till their repentance be as visible as their sin hath been. O seek teachers from the Lord ; for he will not want ministers, when he hath an errand to send them. Wait on the Lord, for he doth all things well. Now, my dear friends, who desire to live godly, look out for tribulation and affliction, and the scourge of tongues, and the envy and malice of devils. The ministers will reproach you and condemn you, and the worldly-wise professors will advise you to run at leisure, and not condemn the godly for their failings : it is true, I grant the godly may fall and rise again ; but alas ! their apostasy in denying their Master, and defending it, will be found very hard and terrible, in the sight of the Lord.

“ Now, I must not tarry, being surprised with shortness of time, having the king of terrors to grapple with. Only this I say, (my dear friends) make haste, get your peace made with God, and in your stations contend for him ; labour to have nothing before your eyes, but the glory of God, and ye shall undoubtedly get employment of him : make it your main work to seek the Lord. And now, that I am to step out of time into eternity, I bless the Lord for the way he hath taken with me ; for all that I have met with, hath been in loving-kindness ; and I can say, that from my experience, he hath been kind to me in my wanderings and imprisonments ; irons and stocks, have been made sweet to me ; yea, evil company hath been made useful to me. Yea, these antiscriturists were made instructive to me ; for I saw these four men (I mean John Gib and his followers) were once as fairly on the way, by appearance, as any I knew ; but I see gifts are not graces, and now, I think, they were hopeless ; and I advise none that tender the glory of God to meddle with them ; for they are turned horrid blasphemers, and deniers of the Scriptures. Beware of them ; for I have no time to give you a particular account of them.

“ Now, my dear friends, farewell,—with whom I have been refreshed many times : the love of God be with you, and carry you

through. Farewell holy Scriptures, wherewith I have been comforted ; farewell praying ; farewell sweet imprisonment ; farewell sweet stocks and irons for Christ's sake ; farewell wanderings and sweet reproaches for my Lord's sake ; farewell sun, moon and stars ; farewell day and night ; farewell all created comforts ! Welcome death ; welcome gallows, for Christ's sake ; welcome eternity ; welcome angels ; welcome spirits of just men made perfect ; welcome praises that shall never have an end. There I shall rest through all the ages of eternity, in Immanuel's land. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commend my spirit.

Sic sub.—PATRICK FORMAN.*

XVIII. DAVID FAIRIE.

[This was another of the four persons, who were tried and executed, in company with Robert Garnock. He was dealt with in precisely the same way as the two preceding witnesses for the truth. His confession before the council bears,—“That he disclaimed the king's authority,—that he calls him a tyrant,—asserts that it is lawful to kill murderers, and says the king is a murderer, because he has murdered the people of God.” He suffered with the rest, at the Gallowlee, on the 10th October, 1581.—His testimony follows.]

“DEAR FRIENDS,—I desire to bless the Lord, that I am sentenced to be a martyr for Christ and his cause, by wicked men, whose actions prove what they are ; yet glory be to the name of God, that this day, I do not suffer as an evil-doer, but for the testimony of the truth, in owning Jesus Christ as head in his church, yea, in the church of Scotland ; and not only so, but covenanted to be so, as he was with the children of Israel, in the sight of the nations ; which covenant, made betwixt Jesus Christ and this land, I bless the Lord, that, by his strength, I have been enabled to own, before all these accusers of mine, especially the bloody committee, the bloody council, and the dreadful bloody assizers of the people of God, and givers of their sentences of death,—all instituted by Charles Stuart,—who was once by his profession, and by his oath, an owner of that covenant. Now, the grounds of my sentence are to be seen in my interrogations before the committee, council, and justiciary so called : at which I was asked, If I owned my former speeches ? I said, What I had said, I had said : but in case that any might think, that I had heart malice at him whom they call king ; I told them, I wished neither him nor them, nor their souls, any more evil nor I wished my own ; but since he had broken the covenant with God, and turned out all our ministers, obtruded prelacy on the church, and overturned the whole work of reformation, I could not own him as a king, and them as judges, seeing he and his emissaries were proceeding to bring in Popery into the land ; and I

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 196—202.

disowned them as my judges ; and told them, There was a day coming wherein they and I would be arraigned before a judge, ere it was long, and receive righteous judgment, and that I in that day would be a witness against them for their unrighteous sentences against the people of God, and their unrighteous proceedings against us, to take away our lives for owning and adhering to the word of God, and our sworn covenants. And when I was asked again the same questions, I answered, What I had said, I had said ; for I had said as much as would be for the wo and sorrow of all present, except those that were penitent. Now, let men judge whether or not it becomes any to own Charles Stuart as king, and them as judges, seeing they have broken the covenant, and overturned the work of reformation and shed so much of the people of God's blood ; and not only so, but also have made a Duke, popish by profession, heir to the crown, to be the door whereat they may receive Popery into the land. For I think there are none, but in some measure they allow Popery, that will not witness against, and withstand him and them in their proceedings, especially that black test, which that wicked parliament hath put forth, amongst all their other proceedings, these twenty years, against God, his work and people ;—whereof the overturning our ministry and thrusting in of Prelacy,—the unlawful acts of indulgence first and last, the killing and murdering of the people of God, in fields, and scaffolds, and seas, in one place and another,—are a witness. O the great witness, that is, and will be standing against the said Charles Stuart, and his unlawful council and parliaments, and all their proceedings ! The Lord in the second commandment threatens his wrath against the children for the fathers' iniquity, unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate him ; and if the Lord visit not the successors of this generation aforenamed, with dreadful judgments, I am mistaken ; yea, and all these that join and comply with them, either ministers or professors, I mean the indulged, and all these that bond with the enemies, or give them clats of gear* for their liberation, when they are brought to prison upon the account of owning the truth ; or in any manner of way to acknowledge them as magistrates ; I say (without repentance) I see no way that they can miss God's wrath.

“ But I think, I need not insist much on these subjects, for all the warnings they have gotten (which are many) by ministers and professors, one way or other, especially on scaffolds, since Mr. James Guthrie to this day, have not been effectual ; their actings prove them to be more hardened in their sin than when they began. Therefore, I think it seems, that the Lord will either give them no more warnings, or else take them shortly away, or both : indeed he may give them more warnings, but if ever they do the most part of this generation any good, I greatly question, I mean those whom I have named ; for I think, with several others who are gone before me, and are going off the stage by death, That there will be dreadful judgments to follow on this generation, for breach of covenant with God, and open rebellion against him, by these iniquitous laws of theirs, in taking away

* i. e. Sums of money.

their lives, liberties, and privileges of the people of God, and not only so, but in making Charles Stuart head of the church, which becomes not him nor any mortal; for Jesus Christ is head of his own church, and Lord over the consciences of men. And as for me, I would not have my conscience tied by Charles Stuart's belt, nor any who are called his subjects, though I were to live an hundred years; no, though I could have the whole world for my pains; for I might as well tie my conscience to the devil and my own corruptions, as do it, by yielding submission to his iniquitous laws, by either bond or cess, or any thing relating thereto. Now I bless the Lord, I hope, that he who hath led me hitherto, will lead me away from him, and his, and my own corruptions, and the devil, ere the tenth day of this month pass over.

“ And as for my own particular interest, I bless the Lord, I am in some measure, as clear of my interest in Christ, as I am that my pen is writing on this paper; for I hope, that the Lord will carry me honourably through, and give me that which he hath promised: aye when I asked of him faith, he gave me faith, life, light, and a heart to believe, and love, to him and his glory, interest, cause, covenant, and work of reformation, and strength to stand, and withstand my enemies inward and outward, who many a time have assaulted and tempted me, striving to drive me away to sin. Indeed it is true, I lived most lewdly, aye, till within a little more than these four years. O if I could go to the stage, blessing and magnifying the Lord, that it hath pleased him to bring me from the devil's fireside, as it were, and draw me out to hear the gospel of Christ! I bless the Lord, the first field-preaching that ever I heard, I entered in covenant with him to follow him, though it should cost me my life; and at a communion in Irongray in Galloway, I had the clear manifestation of my interest. O free grace! O free love! O free mercy! what am I, that he hath been so kind to me! O me! O poor me! and not only so, but also when he discovered the evils of the woful indulgence, from the supremacy, that he made it known to me, and also made me to stand and withstand that woful evil, and to join with that party, by the bond found upon Mr. Richard Cameron, whom he honoured to witness against it; and for this I desire to bless him. O! I think, it is Scotland's mercy this day, that he hath opened up the eyes of the blind, to see these abominations, especially among the ministers, I mean, the indulged, and those who plead for them! O! Scotland's mercy hath been great, that notwithstanding their rebellion, and joining with rebels by that supremacy, the Lord opened the eyes of the blind to see these abominations, and to testify against them: O! I say this is Scotland's mercy; though some may think otherwise; for if the Lord had not opened up that evil to poor things, it had been a token that he would have gone his way, and not owned his covenanted land any more; but it is a token for good yet to the land, that notwithstanding all our rebellions against him by breach of covenant, he continues yet to discover to his people, what is sin and duty. And this also is a token that the Lord will not leave Scotland, though he may chastise it very sore; his taking the blood and lives of his saints, on fields, seas, and

scaffolds, to witness for his covenants ; for the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. And this is another token for good to the church, that there is a remnant (though small) that is weeping and lamenting over the broken case of the church, and over the unconcernedness of the people of God, or of those who say they are the people of God, and that there are so few to keep clean garments, and to wrestle, and witness against the sins of this generation of covenant-breakers and usurpers. O Sirs ! is not this a sweet cordial yet, for all that is come upon us ? O Sirs ! take courage, and plead with the Lord, and also, through his strength, plead with your whorish mother, viz. the indulged, and their deeds, which they have done, and those that plead for them. O plead, and plead in patience ; let not self rise, let not passion rise and vex you ; ‘ Be sober, be not soon angry ;’ fear not reproaches ; but beware of giving the enemies, or professed friends, just ground of reproach ; walk in the sight of God and man both, without offence and reproach ; and then if men will be offended, let it be for your duty, and not for your sin. But O be tender of the glory of God : let there be no vain janglings, or foolish and unlearned questions among you, knowing that they gender strife. Be tender one of another. Do not reprove every small circumstance, till ye have God with you in your reproof, and the thing to be a known sin. Avoid evil company, and rather draw yourselves to prayer alone, and with company when ye can have the occasion, and miss no occasion ; for it will be the ready way to cause the Lord leave you and the land ; and then, ‘ Woe to you, if he depart from you.’ O invite one another to prayer, especially young folks ; for I think, if the Lord do good to this generation, it will be to young folk. O babes and sucklings set to the work ; for the Lord hath promised, that ‘ out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he will perfect praise.’ Who knows, if ye be at your duty, but the Lord will yet send teachers, who will stand in the gap, to hold away wrath ; but till the Lord send them, stand in the gap yourselves ; and when ye have got them, lay not all the stress upon them, lest the last plague be worse than the first.

“ O keep warfare against corruptions and the devil, in every thing. O do not make an idol of the godly, though they be really godly, zealous, judicious, and prudent ; I do not mean the prudence that the deniers of Christ and his kingly office mean. Let God be your only God, and not another. Use all things to the use of edifying, and strengthening one anothers’ hands. Own and maintain your brother’s just cause, when it comes to an hearing, especially in the matters of God ; and receive one another, ‘ but not to doubtful disputations.’ Join with, and own the godly who are penitent, though there be faults and failings, providing they be sensible of their guilt ; ‘ for the Lord maketh more of one prodigal, or of one lost sheep that is come home, or is found, than he doth of ninety-nine, who went not astray.’ So ought ye to do among yourselves : but beware of any sinful union. Do not grip after ministers till they at least come to take up the work where Mr. Donald Cargill left it. Ye will not find them honest till ye find them so : for I know, there is none who will venture all for

Christ and his cause, I mean their lives, liberties, and fortunes, till they be such; and there are none but such who can be counted faithful, for he hath said, 'He that loveth father or mother, wife or children, houses or lands, better than me, is not worthy of me;' and that they who do so, 'cannot be my disciples;' therefore ye must of necessity look to these things among yourselves, till the Lord send shepherds who will search for the flock; and not leave, nor tear the flock, in delivering them into the hand of their enemies, as we have the sad experience of it this day. O! I would not be in the case of the ministers of Scotland this day, for the world. Consider Luke xvii. 10. 'So likewise when you have done all these things, say, we are unprofitable servants.' Let the law of God be your rule; and when you have done all to keep the law; yet consider, that it cannot merit any good thing, but ye must lean only to the merits and suffering of Jesus Christ: but yet the law must be observed and obeyed. It is true, 'no mere man is able perfectly to keep the commandments of God;' but let not this be your snare, for it is the snare of many of this generation.

"O sirs! study the scripture; walk by the strictness of the law of God, and the liberty of the gospel of peace; but do not abuse your liberty, to cause the way of God be evil spoken of. I speak as a dying man, that which I have learned from the word of God, and the turnings of dispensations. O! he hath taught me by his word and gospel, and the teaching of his Spirit, many things that I cannot express, not one of a thousand. O! he hath filled my mouth many a time with arguments, till I could go no further. I desire to speak it to the commendation of free grace. O if the enemies knew what true grace were, they would not do as they do: but truly I think, the judgment shall be terrible that they shall be trysted with. O! it hath been weighty to me, to think on their destruction and misery, which I have thought upon many a time to be eternal; and yet I have thought upon the other hand, that it was my duty, when God's justice passed the sentence, to say, Amen, (as it were) and so have desired that the Lord would let his determination be execute upon them. Now, there needs none of the suffering remnant be discouraged, for God is God, and his word is his word; and there is no change of times, nor alteration of dispensations, but the word will clear all, in some places of it, and there is no sin that can be committed, but there is a reproof in the word of God to suit it; nor one objection in the heart, but there is an answer for it from the word: so study the word of God, and implore his presence in reading of it.

"Make much use of the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechism; mind our Covenants, National and Solemn League. Be not drawn away with the tyranny and perjury of the time. Know that God is God, and that he will not sit with the wrongs he hath gotten by the tyranny and perjury of these men; I mean him whom they call supreme magistrate, Charles Stuart, and these under him. God be thanked, his church is well quit of him, though a gallows be set up for the church, and all the Jews; yet, it is like, Haman must have a swing of his own weight on the gallows he hath prepared, or

else some disgracefuller death. Mind Rutherglen Testimony, and Sanquhar Declaration, and the Papers found at the Ferry: do not think that these will fall to the ground. Mind our martyrs' Testimonies, and every thing consistent with the word of God. Do not think but God will be about with this generation, for letting so light of such things, and casting them behind their backs. For I declare, I adhere to every sound writing, that is according to the word of God, be the author who will; I say I declare it as a dying man. Indeed this generation think no better sport, than to take any person and cast him into prison, and if they but find, when they have searched them most barbarously, a paper that there is any religion in, be they man or woman, lad or lass, presently they impeach them with treason; yea, but I am sure of this, that God will not sit with such things, but he will be about with them be who they will. O! but it is sad to see such things; this land doubtless is ripening for a stroke, and a judgment will pursue it. O! who would have thought that Scotland would have quit with their covenanted God, and have trode upon all who have the image of God, in any manner to be seen in them. It is true, 'all things work to the good of them that love him:' it is this that makes a prison, a banishment, a gallows, (where none uses to be hanged but murderers) sweet indeed. They think it will be for our disgrace, ignominy and shame, to take us to the Gallowlee to be execute; but they are all beguiled, it will be for our honour; our God is wise enough for all that. They may think it is the disgrace of the presbyterians in Scotland, to have our heads hanging, and to be hanged up before the sun. Nay, but they are all beguiled; for it will be recorded from one generation to another, That there was a party of ministers and people, who sealed the covenant with their blood, and their heads were set up for a token of the Lord's kindness to the land. But for my part, I think myself unworthy to be reckoned among such, yet I hope that it shall be said amongst them in these days, that if there had not been a party, to suffer in our cities, they would have had nothing but vile Popery in the land; and will be rejoicing that ever there was any to suffer for Christ in Scotland. O Scotland! is there any land so highly honoured as thou art? None that is to be seen or heard of; but yet thou hast been of all nations the most treacherous and bloody. Was there ever a land so bloodthirsty?

"I can say no more, but O be earnest with God, and do not leave off your duty, or otherwise I can see nothing, but that the dreadful judgment of God shall both pursue you and the land; indeed if ye remain at your duty, it may be that ye shall prevail with the Lord, both for yourselves and for the land. But I must leave you to him, who is your God, to lead and guide you in all truth and honesty, both towards God and man. So I leave you to him. Now, farewell thou vile Scotland; farewell thou highly honoured Scotland; farewell ye friends in Christ, and all friends and acquaintances; farewell life, and liberty in this life. Welcome Christ, heaven, and eternal salvation, for ever and ever. Sic sub.—DAVID FAIRIE."*

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 202—210.

XIX. JAMES STEWART.

[The case of James Stewart may be esteemed remarkable, even in the period to which it belongs, for the degree of tyranny and severity which it displays. He was a young man (might almost be termed a boy, for his years,) of good and serious dispositions, and so far as appears from any thing brought against him, had never been chargeable with offending even against the laws which were then in force. He had come, from the west country, where he resided, to visit a relative who was then in prison. This person, by some means or other, effected his escape while he was in the room; upon which he was immediately carried before the council. Here some ensnaring questions were put to him, and his answers to them, compelled by the most shocking threats; and upon these answers, an indictment was raised against him. The result may easily be conceived. He was found guilty—the sentence of death passed on him—and executed with the other four, on the 10th October, 1681. His testimony follows.]

“DEAR FRIENDS—I being in prison for Christ, and his persecuted cause, though some may say otherwise, and that upon the account of my taking; but I do not care what they say—for I have had, and yet have great peace in my sufferings—but some will be ready to say, That it was an—imprudent and an unsure action, and so might have been forborne—and suppose it be so, it is not the head of my suffering, for it was not that upon which I was staged,—for I was presently staged for the truth, the next day after I was taken, being brought before a committee;—though indeed I was not so free as I should have been. There is a passage, Acts xxi. of Paul’s going up to Jerusalem, which, some say, he might have forborne, but more especially his going up to the temple, and doing these things which are according to the law; he might, I say, have forborne this, and walked consonant to his former practice, doctrine and writings: but though his going to the temple was the occasion of his *taking*, yet not the head of his *suffering*; so, I say, though that which I did in relieving my brother, was the occasion, yet my suffering was stated on another head. But I cannot see, how it is as ye say; for I seeing it my duty, and finding opportunity, had a clear call for all that I did. And besides all that, we being bound in covenant to defend and maintain one another, we are bound as well to relieve one another out of prison, when there is a probability seen. But I need not stand much in making this out, it being the way that the Lord took to bring me to my suffering; and I am heartily content with my lot, and desire with my soul to bless him for it. Though I was dreadfully aspersed when that bond of liberation was offered to us, (for though some had clearness to take it, yet I could never have thoughts of taking it in peace; and I bless the Lord who kept my hand from it), it was neither strength nor sharp-sightedness in me that withheld me from yielding to the temptation; but the Lord hath shewed himself graciously favourable and kind unto

me, now when I am set up like a beacon upon the top of an hill, and the eyes of many being upon me, and all are wondering at me, and calling me distracted, and saying, I am a fool, but (the Lord be thanked) I have all the senses that ever I had, though distressed, yet I despair not. Neither am I suffering as a fool; for I know assuredly, this is the way to obtain the promise. There is nothing in it meritorious, I confess; for all my suffering, he may put me into hell; but I say, the suffering of reproaches and the scourge of tongues, is a symptom or mark of his way, when it is for his sake, Matth. v. 11. 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and speak all manner of evil against you, and persecute you for my name's sake.' It is for his name's sake that I am suffering, and this confirms me of it, Matth. x. 22. 'Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he that endureth unto the end, shall be saved.'

"Now, it is for Christ's kingly office that I am suffering; and this being the main head on which my suffering is stated, even that great truth, viz. Jesus Christ is king and head of Zion, I desire and charge you to beware of misconstruing my sufferings, and saying, that I was suffering for disowning of authority, and declining of judges; for it is not so;—I being a presbyterian in my judgment, and owning both magistracy and ministry, according to the word of God, and as he hath ordained them: but if Charles Stuart's authority be according to the word of God, I am mistaken. If he be exercising his power, to the terrifying of evil-doers, and the encouraging them that do well, I die in an error. I say, beware of your judging, for I am a presbyterian in my judgment, and a member of the church of Scotland, and am to seal it with my blood.

"I adhere to that blessed transaction between the Father and the Son,—that holy device devised from all eternity,—the Father to send his Son, and the Son to come and satisfy divine justice, and so redeem lost man. I adhere to all the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are all standing in force until this day, and obligatory upon us, except the ceremonial law, with a part of the judicial, which is now abrogated and abolished by our Lord's coming,—he being the end of the law. I adhere to our glorious work of reformation, Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, though they be abused and misconstrued by many. And I adhere to the Sum of Saving Knowledge, wherein is held forth the life and marrow of religion. I adhere to all the testimonies that have been given. Mr. Guthrie, Argyle, and Warriston,—they gave in their testimony according to the light that the Lord gave them; and I do not condemn their testimony, as some say, for at some times the Lord gives more light than at other times; so it cannot be said, that we contradict or disown their testimony, though it hath pleased the Lord, through continuance of time, to give more light of the abounding abominations that are still growing and abounding in this generation; and so whatever they omitted through want of that light, which it hath pleased the Lord to let us see, makes no contradiction. I adhere to the Rutherglen and Sanquhar Declarations. I adhere to the Paper found upon Mr Richard Cameron at Airmoss,

July 22, 1680. I adhere to the Papers that were found at the Queensferry upon Henry Hall. I adhere to any writings that are according to the word of God, for truth is truth, come by whom it will. Now, as a dying man, I adhere to all these things. I have received an unjust sentence from men, for owning and adhering to the same, and for protesting against the inbringing of Popery, to defile the land. And likewise, upon these accounts, I disown Charles Stuart to be my king and sovereign: First, because of that hellish Act of Supremacy, and that Act Rescissory, whereby they have overturned and wrested all the laws, acts, and constitutions of the land: for in the foresaid act, he assumeth *that* unto himself which belongs properly to our Lord and Master, and says, That he rules over all things both spiritual and temporal; and then, when he hath made himself supreme over all things, he rescinds the laws that are of God, and sets up other laws to satisfy his own lusts, in murdering, killing and destroying the Lord's people; and this is the reason why I disown him: and likewise his dreadful perjury and blasphemy in his covenant-breaking. I decline them as judges, for the opening a door there to Popery, which they have done, by receiving that popish duke in among them, which I protest and leave my testimony against;—it being contrary to our engagements to suffer papists to dwell amongst us, and to have a professed papist to usurp over us,—it being repugnant to our principles. I leave my testimony against Prelacy,—it being a limb of that anti-christian whore of Rome. I leave my testimony against all the abominations of this generation, as blaspheming of the holy name of the Lord, drunkenness, stealing, whoring, sodomy, and all manner of uncleanness. I leave my testimony against all indifferency and lukewarm neutrality in our Lord's matters. I leave my testimony against the indulgencies first and last, as having a greater hand in breaking of the church of Scotland, than all the enemies living in it could have done; for they sold their Master's truths, and gave away their pleasant things with their own hands, and so came in under Charles Stuart, and took him for their head, and have cast off their rightful head Jesus Christ; Eph. i. 22. 'And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church.' Wo will be unto them, for what they have done to the poor kirk of Scotland. I leave my testimony against silent and unwatchful ministers. Remember, there are many taken away, and it is to be feared, in their iniquity; and do ye think that ye are free of their blood? Ye may look what warning ye have given, and if it be faithful; then ye may say, that ye are not guilty. But there is not a minister this day, who dares say, he is at his duty. They refuse to give counsel when asked at, as I myself can witness; for when that liberation was granted, I sent to one of them, and charged him, as I judged him faithful, to tell me his mind, which he refused; and said, silence might serve for an answer, I was not suffering for truth. But I heartily forgive him, and all men, what they have done to me, as for my own particular; but how they have reproached Christ and his way, it is not mine to forgive them.

“O the ministers of Scotland are become light and treacherous

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persons, as well as revolvers ; they are become ravening wolves ; so I cannot see, how they have not unministered themselves. If Abiathar was turned out of the priest's office for leaving David, and following Adonijah ; how much more ought the ministers of Scotland, for leaving of him, who is the true head of the church, and choosing Charles Stuart for their head ? It is not long since they were preaching *that* to be sin, which they are now practising. I have no doubt, but ere long there shall come out fire from Abimelech, and destroy the men of Shechem, and fire from *them*, and devour *him*. And ere long, Mr. Donald Cargill, and Mr. Richard Cameron, their names that now stink, among ministers and professors, shall have a sweet smell ; and those that calumniate and asperse them, their names shall go away with a stink, and fly away with a smoke ; but I am sure, that that now glorified martyr Mr. Donald Cargill's name shall last from generation to generation ; and he shall have cause to rejoice in his king, head, and Master, who is Jesus Christ,—when those who condemned him, shall not know where to flee for shelter, and shall be weary of their head, king, and master,—who is Charles Stuart ; and *what*, brethren (disaffected as they were) did cast upon him as a shame, was his glory and decorement. He was of a high heroic spirit, and was free of a base and Simonian carriage. He was a man hated of his brethren ; but the great Elijah in his time was so. Time and tongue would fail me to speak his commendation. He was the man who carried the standard, without the help of any visible : but he had the help and assistance of his Master, at whose command he was aye wandering here without residence, yet knew of one above, and had full assurance of his dwelling-place.

“ I leave my testimony against uplifting, or causing uplift, cess or excise, or any thing, for the maintaining that tyrant, or any of his emissaries ;—it being for nothing, but maintaining these ruffian troopers and soldiers, who are kept for nothing, but to suppress and bear down the gospel, and banish it out of the land. I leave my testimony against all declaration-takers and bonders, especially the taking that bond of liberation as they call it, of the date of August 5, 1680, as far as they were convinced it was sin,—as some of themselves said it was. I leave my testimony against that test, and all the rest of their proceedings, and acts of parliament. I leave my testimony against jailor-fee paying ; it being an acknowledgment of their tyranny to be lawful, which how unjust it is, I have a proof among others ; for that night I was before York, and the rest, being October 1, 1681,—I being examined by Sir George M'Kenzie,—York and Mr. William Paterson coming unto me, when I was silent, and would not answer to some things they asked at me,—he threatened to take out my tongue with a pair of pincers, if I would not : and he held him as a witness against me. And though I told him, that he was a judge the other night, and —“ would ye hold him as a witness against us before your justiciary !” yet they did it ; which was neither according to law nor reason.—If there were no more but that passage, it proves them to be unjust judges, as there are many worse than that is. I leave my testimony against the mounting of militia, and uplifting of money for his service.

I leave my testimony against every thing that may strengthen his hands, or weaken the hands of the people of the Lord.

“Now I desire you, (as a dying man, who am within forty-eight hours, or little more, of eternity), to disown Charles Stuart to be your king and sovereign. I charge you so to do, as you would have peace with God; for I never knew what true peace was till I did it, and took Jesus Christ for my king and lawgiver. This is not—that I disown kings or kingly government,—for I own both; but when their actions are such as *his* are, and a covenanted king as he was, we cannot in conscience yield to him; for he hath murdered the Lord’s people our brethren: and when we acknowledge even his civil authority, I cannot see what way we are clean of their blood, it being by a shadow of law and authority that he takes away their lives, and so we cannot own him in that; and to own him in ecclesiastic matters, I think there will be none so absurd, as to say, we should do that, he having nothing to do in church matters: he only received the sceptre in his hand, to be a hedge about, and to defend her against all opposition; and now ye may see how he hath destroyed her, instead of defending her. I give you it in short, and desire you to ponder and consider it, and ye will not find me so mad, as many of you say I am; for I am not prodigal of my life, neither have I a hand in my own death; for I love my life as well as my neighbours, and it is as dear to me as any of yours is to you; but, when it comes in competition with my Lord’s truths, I dare not seek to save my life with prejudice thereunto. Neither am I wearied of my life, though it is true indeed, there is nothing here to be coveted, that is not enough to weary one, neither am I wearied of it; therefore I charge you, that ye do not brand me with aspersions when I am gone. I leave my blood on all the assizers, who after we had given in our protestation against all their proceedings, both in their council and justiciary, and told them, That it was for no action that we were suffering, but only on the matters of conscience and judgment that we were pannelled; yet notwithstanding our charging them with our blood, they most unjustly took away our lives. Do not think this flows from a spirit of malice, spite, bitterness, or revenge; for I desire to bless the Lord, I am free from the spirit of bitterness or revenge: but they take away my life without and against any just law; I cannot get it passed. Do not think that I am an enthusiast, and take on me a bare impulse of the spirit for a call to suffer on,—or the word as it lies literally, for a call,—for it is not so;—I having desired and used some endeavours, (though it has been in great weakness I confess, yet I dare say, in some respect, my desire to the Lord about it hath been sincere,) that he would help me to get his word and my own conscience consulted, and try the word by the spirit, and the spirit by the word;—for it is but a dead letter without the spirit. And likewise my blood is lying, and will be heavy on that popish Duke. And I will not say but the Lord will permit him to usurp the crown of Scotland, but the blood that he hath got to welcome him home to it, and to satisfy his own lust,—will weigh him down from the throne; but indeed, I fear, that he get his design drawn to a great length, and get the ark carried away, even to your apprehension, out of

Scotland; but remember the Philistines carrying away the ark, and the men of Bethshemesh looking into it, how the Lord smote them: and so I think, when they have got the kirk banished and destroyed, and the witnesses all killed, when they will look on the church as carried clean away, and thereupon shall turn secure,—will not the Lord be avenged on them, and charge them with all the blood they have so heinously shed? But indeed we have deserved no less than the Lord's leaving of this land, and to give them into the hands of our enemies: but as long as there is no appearance of a better church in the whole world, ye need not fear that the Lord will enhance Scotland's right of a church to any other. He suffered the children of Israel many a time to fall into, and lie under the hands of their enemies; but he never forsook them altogether, until there came a better in their place. Likewise, my blood is on all these parliamenters and counsellors, these of the justiciary, as they call it.

“Now, dear friends, I am going to eternity, ere it be long, from whence I cannot return; and as a dying man, I give you warning, and bid you take heed what you are doing. Be tender of the glory of God, and take no unlawful gate to shun suffering, nor sinful shifts to come by the cross. But when there is a cross lying in the way, see that ye seek not to go about it; and venture upon suffering before sinning: for he never sent any a warfare upon their own charges. If any knew the sweetness of a prison, they would not be so afraid to enter upon suffering; ye would not join with the Lord's enemies as ye are doing. O dear friends, take warning now, for it is a question if ever ye get any more warnings of this kind: for it is a sad juncture that your lot and mine is fallen into; but now I am going away home. O! the Lord is kind to me, who hath honoured me so highly, and is also taking me away from the evil that is to come: for, indeed I think, there are sad days abiding poor Scotland. O sirs! be busy, and venture all upon him, and put all in his hand; and whatever you have been, let not that scare you; if you have been a great sinner, I say, let not that hinder you from coming to him, and closing with him; for the greater sinner you be, the more free grace is magnified in reclaiming you. I may speak this from my own experience; for I was as a brand plucked out of the fire: and he hath brought me through many difficulties, temptations, and snares, and made my soul escape as a bird out of the cunning fowler's net, and brought me to a prison at length, to suffer bonds for him. He made all things sweet to me, the company sweet to me, even bad company; he made reproaches sweet. I have been made to wonder at his kindness and love to me-ward; and now he hath brought me this length, without being afraid what enemies can do to me, and that is a great confirmation to me of true love, that—perfect love casts out fear. Now, He is faithful, into whose hands I commit my spirit and soul, and he will keep it against that day.

“Now when I am going,—farewell all friends and Christian acquaintances; farewell sweet and holy Scriptures, wherewith my soul hath been refreshed; farewell reading, singing, and praying; farewell sweet meditation; farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell all created

comforts. Welcome death ; welcome sweet gallows, for my sweet and lovely Lord ; welcome angels ; welcome spirits of just men made perfect ; welcome eternity ; welcome praises ; welcome immediate vision of the Sun of righteousness.

Sic sub.—JAMES STEWART.*

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THERE suffered also at the same time and place, one Alexander Russell, whose testimony differing nothing in substance from the rest, and being in some things not very conveniently expressed,—is not thought necessary to be published at large ; only these heads in it are remarkable :—First, HÉ declares, That for the space of fourteen years, while he heard the curates, he was a person given to all manner of licentiousness—keeping company with the profane, drinking, swearing, sabbath-breaking, and reproaching the people of God. 2dly, That at the first field-preaching ever he heard,—to which he went merely out of curiosity,—it pleased the Lord to convert him. 3dly, That the means of his being called out to the help of the Lord's people at Bothwell, was the death of three of his children within ten days' space,—which extraordinary providence impressed his heart so, that he durst not sit God's call, to that work. 4thly, He confessed his having taken the bond for living orderly (as it was called) and with great remorse acknowledges his failings, in that he took not opportunity to confess *that* sin publicly. All the other heads do coincide with the testimonies of the other four who suffered with him.—*Cloud of Witnesses.*

XX. ROBERT GRAY.

[Robert Gray was an Englishman, belonging to Northumberland, and had been apprehended, (upon what pretext is unknown,) about ten months previous to his trial and death. He was executed on the 19th of May, 1682. On the 13th of that month, he was brought before a committee of council, and having acknowledged the following letter to John Anderson,—then prisoner at Dumfries,—as expressing his sentiments with regard to the king and his government,—was forthwith brought to trial on the 17th, and condemned to be executed, as above, on the 19th following, at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh. The injustice of his sentence appears in this :—not only that he was guilty of no overt act of treason, but merely, of holding certain opinions, which his judges, or rather persecutors, were pleased to call treasonable,—but also that he was not a Scots subject, and therefore, in justice not amenable to Scots law.†]

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 210—218.

† It may not we think be improper, by way of illustrating this somewhat singular and interesting case, here to insert, Mr. Gray's Confession, Examination, and Indictment, as given in Wodrow :—

HIS CONFESSION.

“Edinburgh, May 13th.—I Robert Gray acknowledge, I did write this

1. HIS LETTER TO JOHN ANDERSON.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received yours, and am much refreshed to hear of any in this day, that is holding by the truth, and is helped to witness against the wrongs done to our Lord and Master, which is the main thing that we are called to at this time, by which God is glorified, and which shall bring peace to us at the end of the day. As in answer to that,—about owning this tyrant in ecclesiastic matters,—I hope, it is without all doubt and debate, with all the zealous exercised

letter, but am not acquainted with the man to whom it is directed; only I wrote this, having received one from him.—(Signed) ROBERT GRAY."

HIS EXAMINATION.

"Follows your examination before the committee:—Edinburgh, May 13, 1682.—Robert Gray being called before the lord chancellor, and committee of council appointed for public affairs, and interrogate, if he knew John Anderson prisoner in Dumfries, he declared he did not know him, but had writ a letter to him, and *that* letter being produced, he owned the same as he hath testified by his subscription at the end of it. Being asked, if he thought of the king and government, as is exprest in that letter, he said he did, and he owned *that* as his judgment; and being asked, if he thought the king a tyrant, he said he had written so, and owned he had writ this letter to John Anderson, as his duty to his brother.—GEORGE GORDON, Chancel."

HIS INDICTMENT.

"Robert Gray, prisoner in the tolbooth of the Canongate, you are indicted and accused, that albeit by the laws of this and all other well governed nations, the crime of treason is punishable by death, and confiscation of all estate, heritable and moveable, and particularly by the 12th act, parl. 8th, Jam. VI.—the declining of the king's authority and royal power in any case whatsoever, either spiritual or temporal,—is treason; but much more, the calling him a tyrant, and declaring that his subjects ought not to obey him, and that he ought not to be owned as king,—is the highest degree of treason and lese-majesty. And by 2d act, 2d sess. 1st parl. Char. II. Whoever shall contrive any bodily harm against the king, or endeavour to put any restraint upon his person, or to deprive, depose, or suspend him, from the style, honour, or kingly name of the imperial crown of this realm, and shall by writing, printing, or any advised speaking, declare such their treasonable intentions, they shall be adjudged as traitors. And by 43d act, parl. 2d, Jam. I. and 83d act, parl. 6th, Jam. V. the crime of leasing-making against the king, and his people, and his parliament, is punishable by death. And by the 10th act, 10th parl. Jam. VI. to declaim, or speak, or write, any purpose of reproach or slander of his majesty's person, state, or government, or to deprave his laws and acts of parliament, is punishable by death. Yet true it is, that you the said Robert Gray, having shaken off all fear of God and respect to his majesty's laws, did most treasonably write a letter upon the 18th of April last, to John Anderson, prisoner, also, for treason, in the tolbooth of Dumfries, wherein you did declare our present sovereign, the best and most merciful of kings, to be a tyrant, and that therefore he ought not to be owned as king. Likewise, you did by that letter, incite his majesty's subjects not to obey him, and did deprave the late act of parliament made for taking the test, calling it the black test, and destructive of all the work of reformation. And you being called before the lord chancellor, and a committee of council, upon the 13th of May instant, you did, of new, again not only adhere to the said letter, and all that was in it, but did, of new, commit the foresaid crimes, by declaring that you owned all these principles, and that it was a duty upon you to write so to your brother, who was in prison.—Of the which treasonable crimes, you, the said Robert Gray are guilty, and actor;—which being found by an assize, you ought to be punished with the forfeiture of life, lands, and goods, to the terror of others to commit the like hereafter."

Christians in Scotland, that he should not be owned at all in it;—whatever the timeservers, that will sail with any wind that blows, do, we are not concerned;—*who* are like Esau, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. And as for owning him in civil things, to me it is very clear, now as matters are stated, that he should not be owned: in a word, for his breach of the civil law, his pardoning and setting free murderers and bougerers, and murdering of poor innocents, and making his will a law, and placing none in public trust but those that have taken that black test, utterly to disown the whole work of reformation; with which way, I cannot meddle directly or indirectly, without saying a ‘confederacy,’ with them.

There might be more said upon this head, if time would permit; but I think this, with what our late worthies did—in casting this tyrant off, and out of the church,—might give full satisfaction not to own them in any thing,—seeing they have acted for the devil more than ever; and it has prospered more in their hands than formerly. Indeed, if we consult men at this time in the matters of godliness, no wonder we be in the dark; but O beware of that, and fly to the holy word of God. Beware of looking out at any back-door, or halting betwixt two opinions; for of a truth there is a halting this day, that will not be approved of God, in meddling with this malignant party, directly or indirectly. It is a thousand to one if they see it. As anent Barscobe, and Major Lermont, they got their sentence on Friday last, to die on the 28th of this instant, and other two, Hugh Micklewraith and Robert Fleming, got their sentence on that day too, and should have died on this Wednesday last; but they have got a remission to the 28th day, and it is reported, that Barscobe and the rest have offered to take the test, and they have sent up to the tyrant on that account, to save their lives; and as for John M’Clurg and R. N. there is no word yet, what they will do with *them*; I shall give you an account afterwards. My soul is grieved to see the treachery that is used in the matters of God among the prisoners, and their seeking sinful shifts to shun the cross of Christ. O dear friends, seek to be kept steadfast, in the day of trial. Now, I can say no more; but leave you in *His* hand, who has brought you to the trial, and can carry you cleanly through it. I rest, your fellow prisoner and friend,—ROBERT GRAY.”*

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

“Men and brethren,—I have got my sentence of death from men, who are unjustly taking away my life, merely for adhering to my principles, and have no matter of fact to prove against me, but only adhering to the truths of Jesus Christ, and testifying against their sinful laws and actions, which my indictment will testify. They take away my life for declining their authority, and calling Charles Stuart a tyrant, and speaking against their test, that they have made to overturn the whole work of reformation, in calling it the *Black Test*. Now, many may condemn me, and no doubt do, in my writing that letter to John Anderson, whom I own as my brother in Christ,

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp 220, 221.

suffering upon the same heads in Dumfries prison ;—I do not much care what the timeservers say—but I hope, none of the zealous exercised Christians in the land that are concerned with the wrongs done to their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, will do it ;—I having a right call to do what I did, he writing to me, and I giving him an answer, in which I have great peace, notwithstanding it has brought me upon the trial, and my God has owned me in it. And let such as will condemn me, mind that scripture, ‘It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth?’ I bless the Lord, that ever I was honoured to testify against the wrongs done to my Lord and Master Jesus Christ, either by word or writing. O wonder! what am I, that ever he should have chosen the like of me, who have been one of the vilest of sinners! If the world had seen me as he saw me, they would not have chosen me, no, not to have kept company with: but O wonder, that his condescending love has not only taken me to be a servant, but to be one of the children of the family! and has said to me, as in John xiv. 19. ‘Because I live, ye shall live also.’ He has chosen me, and not I him, John i. 15. Isa. xlviii. 10. ‘Behold, I have refined thee, but not with silver; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction, for mine own sake, even for mine own sake will I do it.’ Now, I had his promise before ever I came to a prison, that he should honour me. As Psal. xci. 14, 15. ‘Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him; I will set him on high, because he hath known my name. He shall call upon me, and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him, and honour him.’ Now, this is the ground upon which I have holden till now; I mean, when I covenanted with my God, to take him upon the terms of his offer. It is a year bygone, being the first week of May, 1681, since I personally subscribed my name to be the Lord’s; for before that, I played many times fast and loose with God, for which I take shame and confusion of face to myself, (which is my due) but since, I have been kept free of what formerly I was guilty of, though the assaults of Satan have not been wanting. I durst not look back, nor yet take my word again; but desired to act and contend for my Lord and Master Jesus Christ’s rights, and not to quit them to any, which he helped and owned me in.

“O dear friends, all of you that are contending for Christ’s truths, get once a right in himself, and ye cannot then, nor dare not but contend for him: but while ye are in the dark about your interest, ye can never walk upon sure grounds; but like a man walking in the dark, that has hopes of getting to his lodging, but knows not the way: and the thing that steals many of this generation off their feet, is, They go to seek the way from others that are also in the dark of it themselves, and they seek the way from men, and follow the example of men, because they think they are godly men, and by their practice they think they have the image of God; and because of that they follow them, and take their advice, and do what they do, thinking they cannot do wrong; but I am clear of it, *that* is not the way of God in this dark day, to seek it from blind guides, and not from the true guide Jesus Christ, ‘who is given for a leader and a commander

to his people,' and ought to be led by none, nor have counsel from none but himself; for the Spirit of God says, Isa. xxx. 1. 'Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my Spirit, that they may add sin to sin; and, walk and go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth.' O but this is the very thing, that I have seen at this day, especially since I came to prison. O the treachery against God, which has been there, which was my only burden and grief, and made me weary of the prison, and desire to be gone; they taking counsel from men, and placing vile and unworthy men, to agent and plead for them in Christ's matters, and dare not trust him with it themselves; and so it is no wonder, that he leave them, and they go a black gate. I take the walls of the Canongate tolbooth (which I was prisoner in nearly ten months) to be witness against the wrongs done to my Lord and Master Jesus Christ there, both before and since; and I take the good maintenance they have had, to witness to their conscience at the great day of accounts. They had never reason to complain of wants, or to say, That our Lord was a hard Master; and yet they wrong him, most treacherously and cunningly hiding from the eyes of the world their compliance with their agents; and like the whore, wiping their mouth, and saying they have done no evil, and saying, they have peace. O but my soul trembles to think of that peace! to seek peace with the enemies of God, and say, they have peace in it! I'll not say, but ye may have peace at present, when ye got out of prison, because you are going home to your idols and Delilahs whatever they be, either your wives or children, or lands or enjoyments; but I will say this, that if ye have wronged the work of God for them, they shall be accursed to you, and prove a snare to you; and then you shall see what peace you will have. Let such as have meddled, or are meddling with these perjured men, see *that* Scripture,—as anent their peace, Isa. lix. 8. 'They have made them crooked paths; whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace.' And I am convinced of it, that those that meddle with them directly or indirectly, when called to witness for truth, or staged thereupon, and yield to them in their desires that are sinful, shall break their peace with God, and shall hinder themselves to get the bargain made with him; and if they have made it, it will be very much if the bargain stand, without drawing a new engagement, and deep mourning for the wrongs done to him: for our Lord is now taking a narrow look of Scotland, and seeing *who* did put the hand to the plough to carry on the work of reformation, to banish Popery out of Scotland; and now he is seeing *who* is countenancing Popery, and this popish Duke, that has gotten in his foot in Scotland,—which will be the blackest sight ever poor Scotland saw: but, whoever of the nobles or gentry of the land is guilty, yet I will assure you, as sure as the Lord is in heaven, *ministers*, yea, Presbyterian ministers, are not free of Popery's coming into the land; because *they* have not testified against it, who should have set the trumpet to their mouth, and have given faithful warning, and so they would have delivered their own souls and the souls of others, whereas now, poor things are ensnared; but their blood will be

required at ministers' hands; and ye that are old wily professors, that have taken the lee-side of the brae, and are advising others to do so, ye are not free of the innocent blood shed in Scotland, and the loss of poor souls; because of your practice of seeming piety and holiness; so ye blind their eyes, and what ye do, that are a godly man, in the town and country parishes, in going to hear the curates, that have taken that black test, or any other thing,—because *ye* do it to save your gear, they follow your practice; but assure yourselves, the loss of their souls will be required at your hands, who are ringleaders in an evil course, be ye who ye will, in prison, or out of prison; Our Lord is now near his coming, and is begun to tread upon Scotland's sea, and will within a little tread upon the necks of his enemies, and come and deliver his church, which I die in the faith of: but it will be a costly delivery.

Now, I adhere and give my testimony to that glorious work of reformation, in reforming this land from Popery. And I adhere to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties. I adhere, to the testimonies of our worthies that have gone before, and these of late, that are so much condemned by the professors of this generation; but this I will adventure to say, that those who are condemning them, whom God hath justified, shall never be honoured to give a testimony to the truths of Christ, and against his enemies. I adhere, to all the meetings and assemblies of the people of God, that have been in Scotland in defence of the gospel. I adhere, to Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, and Airsmoss, where our worthies fell; which blood (I die in the faith of it) shall have a glorious spring: which quarrel the God of heaven, the covenanted God of Scotland, will resent. I also adhere to and heartily join with the Rutherglen Declaration; and I disown the Hamilton Declaration, because it took in the malignant interest. I adhere, to the Sanquhar Declaration, and Queensferry Papers, and the excommunication at the Torwood, as lawful and right, in casting off Charles Stuart, and the rest of the malignant party: and it shall be seen within few years, that that party that the Lord stirred up for that use, was in their duty, and those that lay by, were not. I also adhere to and heartily join with that noble testimony given at Lanark, against that black parliament that sat last, to overturn the whole work of reformation, and made that black Test, that has defiled the whole land, and made an open door for Popery to come into the land. I leave my testimony against all those that have taken it, or against those that have or may take favours from men, that have taken that Test especially. I leave my testimony against prisoners, who being in upon the account of religion, do tamper any way with these black testers to wrong the interest of God. Wo, wo, wo, will be to them that give the enemy such ground to say, we are but fanatics, and will do any thing before we lose our lives, which I myself heard some of them say, which was a grief to my soul, and did sting me to the heart. I leave my testimony against such professors and preachers, as can sit in such company, and hear such talk, and not resent it; it being an acquiescing in the

discourse to keep silence. I leave my testimony against all giving bond and caution, or petitioning the stated enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ. I leave my testimony against all these cess-payers, and doing any other thing that strengthens the enemies' hands, and against jailors' fees paying, for by so doing it says, we have done wrong to them; which I deny that we have done any, but they have done to us.

I leave my testimony against these ministers that sat in a presbytery against worthy Mr. Richard Cameron,—that highly honoured martyr of Jesus Christ,—and thought to have deposed him from his ministry. I also leave my testimony against that meeting that sat at Sundowal in Nithsdale, which I was a witness to; ye will see it more fully spoken to in that paper of mine which was found at Kelso, which I own, and desire that it may be put in with this;* that they may go together, and my indictment with the letter. I am called to set to my seal to the faithfulness of that worthy man's doctrine, viz. worthy Mr. Richard Cameron, who was the man the Lord made use of to establish me in the faith. I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, or was honoured to be in his company. I bless the Lord that ever I was in the company of worthy Mr. Donald Cargill. I am likewise here to bear witness to the faithful warning these two worthies gave, in Northumberland. I likewise leave my testimony against the professors in Northumberland, that 'came not out to help the Lord against the mighty;' when I myself gave them warning, some of them mocked at me: for which, I will be a witness against them, at the great day of account. I leave my testimony against the giving bond to assizers or sessions,† or answering their courts. My work, while I am here, is only to witness against the sins of the times wherein I live, and the wrongs done to my Lord and Master. I leave my testimony against those four men that were prisoners in the Canongate tolbooth,—John Gib, and the other three that held his principles; I disown, detest and abominate their principles, though some were pleased to brand me with them since I came to prison. I heartily forgive them, whatever they have said of me, as I desire to be forgiven of my Father which is in heaven.

Now, my time here is but short; and I think it needless to write any more;—the testimonies of the Worthies being so little valued by this generation, that nothing will do it but wrath and judgments,—that though an angel should come down from heaven, it will avail nothing; for nothing I can see but wrath, wrath, wrath; judgments, judgments, sad judgments,—coming on this land very suddenly; but my eyes shall be closed, and I shall not see it, and well is this for me; therefore I am content, and heartily content, seeing I get my soul for a prey.

I have only a short word to say to the remnant of the Lord's people that is to be left behind, who only were my delight in the world: my soul trembles to think what was amongst you this day, especially those of you that were in one mind in contending for the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ! Whatever has fallen out among you or any that have fallen back, seek to reclaim them, that they may be brought in again.

* This cannot be done, no copy of that paper being found.—C. W.

† By sessions, it is presumed he means quarter sessions.

Let self be done away, and partiality,—and let the way of God be taken in time, for it will be but short that ye will have it: And think not that ye will wait for better times and opportunities: wait not for that, for ye have time and opportunity now, that ye will not have afterwards; and if ye get not together presently, you will meet with something shortly that will make you blyth to be together; and ‘let those that think they are standing, take heed lest they fall.’ Now—those that have gone out from us, by complying with the malignant party, and pleading for Baal’s interest,—I mean Charles Stuart’s interest, and taking shelter under their wings,—I have less hope of them than any. If ye can set up your face to God, and say, that ye never durst comply with these tyrants and usurpers, to wrong the interest of God for the loss of your life, or gear; then I will assure you of your soul for a prey. Though ye have lost all that ye have in the world, your children shall see brave days, and ye shall have all your wants made up, when ye shall get Christ himself.

Now, I can stay no longer, nor take up my time any more; for, my work is finished, and I have fought the good fight, and finished my course! Strong have been the assaults and trials that I have had from the devil, by all sorts,—both ministers and professors; but my God hath helped me to withstand them,—for which, I bless his holy name, and desire to praise him while I am here. O let all the zealous godly in Scotland praise him on my behalf, that he chose the like of me, who have been a vile sinner. Now, I am this day free of the blood of all men in the world. I desire to forgive all men the wrongs done to me, as I desire to be forgiven of my Father, which is in heaven. But for those who have wrongfully taken away my life, simply for adhering to truth, and for no matters of fact,—for my part, I forgive them; but my God shall resent it, with the rest of my dear brethren’s blood, that has been shed on fields and scaffolds.

Now, farewell all creature-comforts in time; farewell sweet societies of the Lord’s people, that were my only delight in the world; farewell holy and sweet Scriptures, which only were my comfort in all my straits; farewell all friends and Christian acquaintances; farewell mother, brother, and all relations in the world; and farewell sun, moon and stars! Welcome scaffold, for my sweet Lord Jesus Christ; welcome gibbet; and welcome heaven; welcome immediate presence of God, and his Son Jesus Christ, who only has redeemed me by his blood; welcome angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, where we shall never part again! Now, Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit, that is thine! Now, come Lord Jesus Christ: come quickly and receive me hence to my resting place, where my portion is!

ROBERT GRAY.*

HIS LAST WORDS.

This worthy martyr coming out of the tolbooth, to the place of execution, was taken, as the custom is, first into the Town-council-

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 222—228.

house; where, the town council desired, that he would purge the city of his blood. And he told them, that judgment would overtake the city, for the innocent blood shed therein, and bade them assure themselves of it, for it was without doubt. They said to him, that he had access to pray, if he would. He told them, that he had committed himself to God already. Then they said, if *he* had not freedom, *they* were there who would pray for him; but he looking round, said, he was none whom he would employ, but he had an advocate with the Father. Then being brought from thence to his execution-place,—after a little discourse to the pretended magistrates of the city, some of them being present,—he sung the lxxxiv. Psalm, and read the xv. chapter of the gospel according to John, and after the reading thereof, he said to the multitude, “Sirs, ye should remember that that is the word of God, and not of man, and that we are to follow no man further than he follows the word of God:” and said, if light had *not* come into Scotland, they had been more excusable, but now they had no cloak nor excuse for their sin, and their wrongs done to God; and because of despised light, and the despised gospel, there was assuredly great wrath coming upon them.” And then he prayed; and after prayer, went up the ladder, and looking about to the multitude said, “Sirs, you are feeding your eyes upon me, but what see you upon me? Surely you see not the wrath of God upon me: but if ye would look up to the heavens, ye may see the wrath of an angry God against yourselves.” And he said, “I am brought out of another nation to own that covenant which ye have broken, and to seal it, and the glorious work of reformation, with my blood. Which covenant, ye have not only broken, but ye have given it under your hands, that ye shall never own God any more, nor have any more of him!” And he blessed the Lord saying, “Glory, glory, glory be to his name, that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him, in witnessing against his enemies, and the wrongs done my Lord and Master Jesus Christ.” And said, “the Lord be judge between me and you, who have taken away my life,—which of us have been in the wrong to the other; and assure yourselves there is wrath, sad wrath, hanging over this city, for the innocent blood shed therein. But as for you, who are the remnant of the Lord’s people, I would say this to you, keep your ground, and beware of turning aside to one hand or another, and I will assure you, the Lord will prepare a Zoar for you. Cleave to truth, and cleave to one another, and as sure as God lives, ye shall yet see glorious days in Scotland; for I die in the faith of it, that He is on his way, returning to the land; but wo, wo, wo will be to those who are enemies and strangers to him!” Then praying a little within himself,—when some bade put him over, and others cried out, spare him a little! he cried, “I am ready.” Whereupon the executioner threw him over.

XXI. JAMES ROBERTSON.

[James Robertson was a travelling merchant, and belonged to Stonehouse, in Lanarkshire. In October 1682, being at Kilmar-nock on business, he went to visit an acquaintance* who was then a prisoner; and while with him, he was without the least offence, apprehended, and brought before Major White, who at that time commanded in the district. Upon refusing the inquisitorial oath then usually administered, he was sent to Edinburgh,—was treated during his journey with the greatest cruelty and indignity, and when arrived, was sisted before the council. He answered to their ensnaring questions with much caution and propriety; but yet an indictment was drawn, charging him with holding the opinion—that the insurgents at Pentland and Bothwell were *not* rebels; and for this and similar matters of sentiment, he was with two other persons equally innocent, condemned and executed on the 15th of December following.—He left behind him the two papers which are subjoined.]

1. HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

“*Quest.* 1. Is the king your lawful prince, yea, or not? *Ans.* Since you have made your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to deliberate upon them: but seeing I am put to it, I answer,—as he is ‘a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well,’ he is, or is not. *Q.* 2. Were Pentland and Bothwell acts of traitory? *A.* They being in their own defence, and the defence of the gospel, they are not acts of traitory or rebellion,—self-defence being always lawful; which I prove by the Confession of Faith, in that article whereon ye ground yourselves, which is, That subjects may resist unjust violence and tyranny. *Q.* 3. But wherein lies his tyranny? *A.* If robbing the privileges of the Church be not an act of tyranny, I refer it to be judged. *Q.* 4. Is the king a tyrant? *A.* I refer it to his obligation in the coronation oath, and his present actings and practices, in robbing the privileges of the gospel, with the usurpation of the church’s liberties, and the prerogatives royal of Jesus Christ, the anointed of the Father, in making himself supreme: and I refer it to persons at home and nations abroad. *Q.* 5. Was you at Bothwell-bridge? *A.* Ye count it an act of traitory, and also rebellion, which is criminal: bear witness of it, and so make it evident. *Q.* 6. They said, ‘purge yourself by oath, and so we offer to set you at liberty.’ I answered, ‘I will say no more of it; for when I told the truth to some of you, I was not believed.’—One of them said, now I will try if ye be a man of parts. *Q.* 7. There was an act of parliament, when the Confession of Faith was made, declaring, that the king was supreme, and it was owned by the Presbyterians of that time. *A.* How could that be owned, seeing the Confession was owned.—And I called for the act, but it was not brought. *Q.* 8. Was the bishop’s death murder? *A.* When I am a Judge set on the bench, I shall pass sentence there-

* *Viz.* John Finlay, the person, whose Testimony follows.

upon. Being questioned further anent it, I said, I have answered *that* already; I will say no more to it. Q. 9. Own you Lanark and Sanquhar Declarations? A. I cannot own any thing, till I see and consider it. Q. 10. Keep you your parish kirk? A. If the minister have ought to challenge me with, he may do it. Q. 11. Now as a test of your loyalty, will you say, 'God save the King?' A. Prayer ought to be gone about with composure and deliberation, and I am not in a composure for it. Q. 12. Would ye not seek a blessing if at meat? A. If ye were present ye would see. One of them said, these principles will condemn you. I answered, If I be absolved of God, it is the less matter though men condemn me."

2. HIS TESTIMONY.*

"Dear friends, true lovers of Zion's righteous cause, if I could speak or write any thing to the commendation of the covenanted God of the church and kingdom of Scotland, I have surely many things to do it for, 1st, That he trysted my lot to be in a nation where he hath set up his pure worship, whereas he might have let my lot be among the pagan and heathen nations that know nothing of the true God. Or, 2dly, He might have ordered it to be among those that are worshipping Antichrist, that whore of Rome, that monstrous beast, that 'sitteth upon many waters;' whose sentence may be read, Rev. xiv. 9. 'And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand,' ver. 10. 'The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture, into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of his holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb;' ver. 11. 'And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name,'—so that, it is as sure as God is God, and the holy Scriptures are his word, according to which all men that have heard or seen it, shall be judged, having the sentence of absolution or condemnation past according thereto; Rom. ii. 12. 'For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law;'—so that, it is clear, that the first will surely perish, viz. all Infidels, Atheists, and Pagans, that know not the true God, nor his law. 'And as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law,'—so that, whatever vain hopes Papists may

* Whether this testimony was actually delivered or not, cannot now be ascertained. It is stated by Wodrow, however, that when its author began to speak on the scaffold, he was immediately interrupted by the ruffling of drums, and on his complaining of this, the Town Major beat him with his cane in a most barbarous manner. "This abominable rudeness to a dying man," he adds "and the patience and cheerfulness, of the good man in suffering it, was, I know, the occasion of deep conviction to some who were present, of the evil of persecution and prelacy; and there are several yet alive who can date their first serious impressions of religion from seeing some of the persecuted party suffer;—as they themselves have informed me."—Wodrow, Vol. II.

have of being saved, living and dying Papists, or whatever, charity-loose Protestants have upon that account to give them, they are as far from being saved in that unconverted condition, as devils which are eternally cast out of his presence. 3dly, I have him to bless for this,—that my lot is not in and among the corrupt Protestant churches abroad,—Lutheranism, and other corruptions and abounding errors, both in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, sectarian, episcopal, or erastian; but in the reformed church of Scotland, where all these things have been cast over the hedge, as not plants of his planting: and where Christ hath been owned in all his three offices, King, Priest, and Prophet; though alas! he may say of us, in a great measure, as to the church of Israel of old, ‘I have planted her a noble vine, but how is she become a degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me!’ In that day of planting, we could have sung that song, Isa. xxvi. 1.—‘We have a strong city, salvation, will God appoint her, for walls and bulwarks,’ &c. Lam. iv. 11. ‘The Lord hath accomplished his fury, he hath poured out his fierce anger, and hath kindled a fire in Zion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof.’ Ver. 12. ‘The kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world, would not have believed that the adversary and the enemy should have entered into the gates of Jerusalem.’ Ver. 13. ‘For the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests, that have shed the blood of the just in the midst of her:’ Ver. 14. ‘They have wandered like blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments,’ &c. This may be our regret before God, as it is in the seventh verse here in this chapter, ‘Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire.’ Ver. 8. ‘Their visage is blacker than a coal, they are not known in the streets; their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick;’ &c. And O! how unnatural-like were it for the mother to let her child, the son of her womb, perish for lack of the breasts; were she free of the child’s blood, it perishing for want of its natural food? And O! how many are this day perishing for want of the lively preached gospel; ver. 3. ‘Even the sea monsters draw out the breasts, they give suck to the young ones; the daughters of my people are become cruel like the ostriches in the wilderness.’ 4thly, I have him to bless for this,—that I am not this day fighting against him in an open war, and so, bearing arms against him, his work and people, for there is no more in me as of myself, than these that are deepliest imbruing their hands in the blood of the saints. 5thly, I have him to bless for this, that ever he hath opened my eyes to see the mystery of iniquity that abounds and hath its seat in the heart, and also in some measure hath given me a sight of the remedy in the blood of Jesus Christ, with his Spirit engaging me to himself, letting me see himself to be altogether precious, making me see that it is better to be ‘a door-keeper in the house of God, than to dwell in the tabernacles of sin:’ Psal. lxxiii. 24. ‘Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory’ Ver. 25. ‘Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.’ 6thly, I have his holy

name to bless, that ever he made me to know any thing, how small soever, of his controverted truth, viz. the privileges of his crown and kingdom, now when by their acts and laws they have taken his crown and sceptre, and royal robe, and settled the whole government of his house upon a man that is but a worm: but this I believe,—his decree will stand, oppose it who will; Psal. ii. 6. ‘Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion,’ &c. Isa. xlii. 8. ‘I am the Lord, that is my name, my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images,’ &c. Now, is not *that* his declarative glory, which that usurper hath taken to himself? yea, he that ‘leadeth captivity captive,’ according to his royal word, will reclaim his own glory; he it is alone that hath given Christ to be the sure foundation whereon all the building is fitly framed: ‘That stone which the builders rejected is made the head of the corner.’ Isa. xxviii. 16. ‘Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste.’ Ver. 17. ‘Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place.’ 7thly, I bless and magnify the holy name of my God, that hath called me to be a sufferer for his work and interest, counting it not my shame but a high privilege, and dignifying of me, when many, famous in this generation, have been denied of it, (though indeed most of this generation have brought up an ill report upon the cross, endeavouring by their practice to render it of none effect;) but I have this scripture for my encouragement, 1 Pet. iii. 13—17. ‘And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?’ &c. 8thly, I have this great and glorious Prince to praise for this, and O! let all the true children of Zion laud and praise this praise-worthy God, that hath not only called me to bear witness to the truth, but hath helped me not to deny his name, titles and attributes; for *that* is the thing that the enemies and usurpers of my lovely Lord’s crown are seeking, to deny allegiance to him, ‘who is given of the Father to be a leader and commander to the people,’ even he, ‘on whose shoulders the government is laid,’ committing the ordering of his house to faithful stewards, to order his affairs according to his own appointment in his holy word, and hath not left it to the prudence of men how learned soever. Gamaliel, that learned Pharisee and doctor of the law, erred in the exposition of the law,—not knowing Christ to be ‘the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.’ And seeing, these great learned Rabbies erred every one in that which was the great and main end of the law, viz. Christ, ‘to whom Moses and all the prophets bear witness;’ how much more shall they err, where it is left to their own wisdom (having no platform to walk by), as the maintainers of the prelatic hierarchy would be at. Solomon was as wise as any, yea the wisest man that ever was, or ever shall be, and *he* erred, having the rule of the law to walk by. Were not all the laws and forms of the house given by God to Moses, as well for manner of worship, as the matter thereof?

“And further, as to that which is so much pleaded for by this gen-

eration,—his authority in civil matters,—which, as matters now stand, cannot be given, neither will they have it without the other, (for by their acts of parliament they have made them equally essential to the crown: likewise there cannot be an authority without a foundation)—if any shall say, he hath it from that which he received at his admission to the government, as he entered upon the terms of the coronation oath; to this I answer, he hath rescinded *that*, in and by the Act Rescissory in his first parliament; and when he annulled and rescinded *that*, from which he had his power and authority, he thereby rescinded his own authority also: so that from this he hath no just power, having oftener than once burnt the covenants, which were his coronation oath, without which he could not enter the government. If it shall be said, that the foundation of his power is built upon the test, wherein he is made absolute supreme judge, over all matters and persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil;—that is so far from giving him a right, that it maketh him a complete monster, having one head and two bodies; and if that authority should be owned by me, being a free-born member of the church of Scotland, which is Christ's mystical body, and in my baptismal oath given away to Him, and having given my oath of allegiance to him as King and Head of his own house; shall I own *that* authority, without being guilty of lese-majesty against the King of Zion, and so, of the highest degree of sacrilege? 2dly, I shall thereby deny my allegiance to God the Creator, under whom the magistrate should rule in a direct line; *he* ruling by *his* own arbitrement, which is contrary to our obligations in covenant;—we being bound in covenant to defend the civil rights and liberties of the crown and kingdom, as we are born subjects thereof. 3dly, That which they have done in condemning the true sons of the church, and subjects of the kingdom, to death; which is open murder under the colour of law; Now, that it is so, (those whom they have proceeded against being adherers to the word of God, which is the only rule of faith and manners, owning God as God, Christ as Redeemer, the Holy Ghost as Sanctifier, and they having nothing to charge them with, but their adherence to the true Christian principles, and they sentenced upon the same heads)—this must be the deepest murder. 4thly, These being owners of the true reformed religion, and all the fundamental laws of the church and kingdom; and they refusing to judge and sentence according to the word of God, according to which all sentences of life and death ought to pass, as also refusing to judge according to the laws, as they received them at their admission to the government,—which was, not to rule the law, but it to rule them, and they to rule the people according to that law, and the people remaining in subjection to the law of God, and the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, and the persons of lawful governors, being made treason;—this must certainly not only be a murdering of men, yea, true Christian men, but also a murdering of justice. And thus the land is defiled with blood. Read the sentence of such, Numb. xxxv. 33. ‘So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are; for blood,—it defileth the land; and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.’ But such as are owning and pleading for this present power, let

the end of magistracy be considered, Rom. xiii. 3. 'For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil; will thou not then be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.' Ver. 6. 'For this cause pay you tribute also; for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.' 1 Pet. ii. 14. 'Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.'

"Now, it is undeniably evident from what is aforesaid, that piety is suppressed, and iniquity nourished, and the sword in their hand used against those that do most entirely cleave to the Scripture rule, and the sworn principles of the church of Scotland, and the ancient fundamental laws thereof. Prov. xx. 8. 'A king that sitteth on the throne of judgment, scattereth away all iniquity with his eyes,' &c. Now I dare herein appeal to the sentence of all single, unbiassed, and judicious persons, whether or not the present exercise of their power be not both injustice and tyranny; for there is no public power in the land, but what is founded on perjury, sacrilege and tyranny, and exercised according thereto. And seeing it is so, ye that are owners of such a power, ye must needs be upon the matter, owners of all these; comparing before their courts, and paying them tribute, placing advocates, and pleading your cause before such unjust judges: and more especially such as are prisoners for the truths of the gospel, and so ought to witness a good confession for *His* trampled-upon truth, who was not ashamed to witness a good confession before Pontius Pilate, viz. that *He* was a king; John xviii. 37. 'Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king? then Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness, unto the truth.'

"Now, ye who are charging me this day, and others of my brethren, sufferers for truth, to be guilty of self-murder, and so a breach of the sixth commandment; (which is very false, for self-preservation must stoop to truth's preservation)—did our blessed Lord establish an advocate to plead for him? did that valiant champion Stephen do it? but was free and positive in asserting his testimony. Or did Paul do it? Or can you shew me any such precept or practice from Scripture? Yea, consider the nature of witnessing, it proveth the contrary. But I prove such as do this to be actually guilty of the breach of the second commandment, which is, that 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image,' Exod. xx. 4. For as I have proved before, he is set up in Christ's room, and exerciseth authority in and by that abominable arrogated supremacy, and having intermixed things civil and ecclesiastic, by their acts of parliament,—making them both alike inherent to the crown, and so cannot be owned in either without sacrilegious idolatry, and so a breach of this commandment; as also of the fifth commandment,—which concerneth natural and civil parents, which are to be owned and obeyed only in the Lord, which cannot in the least allow of any man's being absolutely supreme, even in civil matters, it being the ordinance of God, and a lawful magistrate the minister of God, bound to dispense his ordinance, according to the rule in the word,

and according to the ancient laws of the kingdom: for in the obeying of lawful power, it is obedience to this commandment: so upon the contrary, the owning and obeying an unlawful power, (such as theirs) certainly must be a breach of it. And can any deny *that* to be an owning of them, to establish one of the members of their court, to plead for no other effect, but to hale men out of the true principles and practices of the true reformed church of Scotland, when the panel is called by his lot, to witness for them and give a confession thereof, before such an evil and adulterous generation,—these being Christ's truths questioned; and truth is himself, 'I am the way, the *truth*, and the life.' If any should object, and say, they are small things; to this I answer, No truth is small. Luke xvi. 10. 'He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much,' &c. And such as are supplicating the enemies, are guilty here; for a supplication ought not, nor can be given in, but to a lawful power, and for a lawful thing. 3dly, Such are guilty, who are coming out of prison upon bond and caution, binding themselves to compear before their judicatories, at such a particular time, or at demand; for we ought not to bind ourselves to compear or answer before a judicatory, but a lawful one, such as theirs is not; so that such are actually guilty, but especially such who formerly joined in declining them.

This generation seems to be a generation in a great measure, given up to work all manner of wickedness with greediness, considering what profanity and robbing of God, mocking him and religion, instability, and the giving away his and the church's due: Mal. iii. 7. 'Even from the days of your fathers, ye are gone away from mine ordinances, and have not kept them: return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of hosts: but ye said, Wherein shall we return?' ver. 8. 'Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me: but ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings.' ver. 9. 'Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation,' &c. I am not to take upon me to speak any thing for future times, but this generation seems to have the marks and evidences of a generation of his wrath, fitted for judgment and destruction. Take these Scriptures as an evidence, Micah vi. 16. 'For the statutes of Omri are kept.' Isa. xxiv. 1—6. 'Behold the Lord maketh the earth empty,' &c. Now read Israel's sins here, and compare them with Scotland's sins, and see if they be not parallel: and seeing it is so, what can be expected, but the punishments and plagues shall be parallel also, I cannot shake the thoughts of this off my spirit, but that there is a four-fold vengeance to be poured out upon this land. First, The vengeance of God, for the intrusions on, and usurpations of his sword, crown, sceptre, and robe royal. 2dly, A temple-vengeance, which is not a small one, for the laying his sanctuary desolate. 3dly, A gospel-vengeance, viz. for the slighting of the great and rich offer of Christ and salvation offered in such purity and plenty. 4thly, A covenant-vengeance, for the great perjury and apostasy in the breach of, and falling from the prosecuting the ends of these covenants; which the Lord highly honoured this land with, to bring it into covenant with himself, and make

it Hephzibah and Beulah unto him, Isa. xxxiv. 5, 6, 7. 'For my sword shall be bathed in heaven, it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse to judgment,' &c. Jer. xxii. 6—9. 'For thus saith the Lord unto the king's house of Judah, Thou art Gilead unto me, and the head of Lebanon; yet surely I will make thee a wilderness, and the cities which are not inhabited,' &c. This land hath not only departed from God, in and by their own sins, in refusing the rich offer of the gospel; and breach of covenant; but have homologate that broken and despised idol's sin, that hath overturned the work of reformation, by their owning of him now, when he hath taken the whole privileges of Christ's crown and kingdom to himself. And this I am persuaded of, that if there be a family in the Christian world, that comes under Amalek's curse, viz. 'With whom he will have war for ever;' it is that family, called the Royal Family; whom, I think, God is about to sweep off the throne, so that no root thereof shall be left to exercise in the government, Isa. xl. 23, 24. 'That bringeth the princes to nothing; he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity,' &c.

Now, as to the articles of my indictment, whereon my sentence of death is founded, is, First, The owning and maintaining, that it was lawful to rise in arms at Pentland and Bothwell-bridge: which I did with great cheerfulness and boldness, they being in their own defence, and in the defence of the gospel; and took that article for proof in the Confession of Faith, that they have given out to be the confession of their own faith, professing to build that abominable and ridiculous test upon; which shews, that they are ill builders, the building being so far off the foundation. But I refer you to the draught of a paper, which I drew as my testimony against that test; which with the consent and advice of others, was affixed on the parish kirk door of Stonehouse: and I am of the mind, that this proof, as it did enrage them, 'being like a wild bull caught in their own net;' so it did give them no small damp.

A second was, speaking treason (as they call it) and declining their authority, which consisteth in this. First, when asked, If their king, or rather their idol, were a tyrant? I referred it to his obligations in his coronation oath, to be considered with his present actings and practices, with his usurpations upon the privileges of the church, and prerogatives royal of Jesus Christ, 'who is the anointed of the Father:' and the refusing to say, 'God save the king,' which we find was the order that was used in and among the children of Israel, at the king's anointing to that office; and used in our own nation at the coronation. Now, this being only due to a lawful king, ought not to be given but to a lawful king, and so not to him, being a degenerate tyrant: for if I should, I thereby had said Amen to all that he hath done against the church and liberties thereof, and to all his oppression by unlawful exactions, and raising of armies, for no other effect, but to deprive us of the hearing of the gospel, and troubling or molesting the subjects, both in their consciences and external liberties, and also their bloodshed and murders made upon the people of God, and free subjects of the kingdom; and so 'bid him God speed,' contrary to that in the second epistle of John, 10th verse. And seeing it cannot be given to any that

have thus used their power to a wrong end, in such a measure and manner; so much less, when they have set him up as an idol, in the room of God Incarnate. And shall I pray, To bless that man in his person and government, whom God hath cursed? for it cannot be expected, but that he shall be cursed, that thus ventureth upon the thick bosses of the buckler of God Almighty.

“Now, I shall here give in short, an account of my principles, which I shall do, as in the sight of an all-seeing God, viz. I am a true Christian, truly anti-popish, anti-prelatic, anti-sectarian, anti-schismatic, anti-erastian; a true presbyterian, owning the true protestant religion, now owned and professed by the poor wrestling and suffering remnant in Scotland: and whatever men have said, or may say of me, I have lived, and now I die thus.

“Wherefore, in the first place, I give testimony to the truth, fulness, and authority of the Scriptures; and to all the truths contained therein, and warrantable therefrom. 2dly, I bear my testimony to the way of salvation through Jesus Christ; and that by his satisfaction the moral law was not abrogated, but fulfilled: and that the moral law is as binding on the Christian truly interested in him, this day, as it was that day when it was given to the children of Israel; only the condemnatory sentence thereof loosed to all such as are believers indeed. 3dly, I bear my testimony to the work of reformation, as it was reformation, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and other errors; as it is contained in the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Covenants National and Solemn League, Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the Causes of God’s Wrath, drawn up by the General Assembly of this church, after the evil in meddling with that rotten-hearted malignant Charles Stuart, was seen. 4thly, I bear my testimony to the faithful actings of the remonstrants against malignants and the malignant interests, which are the very things this day contended for, by the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland. 5thly, I bear my testimony (not to go further back, seeing it homologates the rest) to that noble testimony given at Lanark, against that tyrant, and the test enacted by the late parliament; which I could not but look upon, in the time of the carrying on of it, and yet doth,—that the remnant was therein owned of the Lord. 6thly, I bear my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the martyrs that have gone before us, on scaffolds, in the fields, or in the seas. 7thly, I bear my testimony to all the appearances in arms, for the defence of the gospel. 8thly, I bear my testimony to the faithful manner of the delivery of the gospel, that hath been in the open fields, by the faithful and sent servants of Jesus Christ, exercising according to his own commission; preaching days, communion days, and fasts; particularly one holden at Auchingilloch by three ministers, two of them now glorified, viz. Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Richard Cameron; where the land’s guilt was freely and faithfully discovered. 9thly and lastly, I bear my testimony to the fellowship-meetings of the Lord’s people, particular and general, and my soul hath many a time been refreshed in them.

“Likewise, on the other hand, I leave my testimony against the public resolutions for taking in that malignant interest; for which this poor church is this day smarting, and feeling the weight of that tyrant’s hand, for such eager lusting after a king. 2dly, I leave my testimony against Hamilton Declaration, which is one and the same thing with the Resolutions. (1.) For taking in the foresaid interest, contrary to the land’s engagements in covenant. (2.) For corrupting the army. But my mind of this, with several other things, such as the excommunication, tyrant’s interest, cess and locality, is more fully expressed in a paper, entitled, ‘Some few grievances, set down by way of query;’ which was occasioned by a minister preaching near the place of my residence, and some falsely accusing me for casting at ministers, and so at ministry: and to show that my hearing was not from any schismatical design, but of conscience of duty, judging him deficient and faulty, in not being faithful,—I therefore drew my grievances to be presented; and refer to this and the forementioned paper, as a part of my testimony against the wrongs done to a holy God in this backsliding age. 3dly, I leave my testimony against all unfaithfulness in ministers. (1.) For their dark and ambiguous manner of preaching, in not giving free, full, and faithful warning of the duty and dangers of our day. (2.) They either altogether leave off preaching, as if seeming and apparent hazard loosed them from that command, which is to preach in season and out of season, &c. Or turning the edge of their doctrine against the most faithful in the land, and taking the faults and failings of the saints in Scripture, to defend them in their sinful, defective, conniving and complying courses; which is a wresting of the Scripture, for these are set down for our admonition, not to split upon such rocks. And O! how many professors are guilty also in this matter, they cannot deny it to be a fault, viz. such and such things; yet they cannot state their sufferings on them. Now undeniably, this is a presumptuous sinning, venturing upon it, because God is merciful; this is a daring of him to his face. Surely David was not of this mind of it, Psal. xix. 12. ‘Who can understand his errors, cleanse thou me from secret faults.’ ver. 13. ‘Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins, let them not have dominion over me,’ &c. Numb. xv. 30. ‘But the soul that doth ought presumptuously, whether he be born in the land, or a stranger, the same reproacheth the Lord, and that soul shall be cut off from his people.’ 4thly, I give my testimony against that erastian indulgence, and such as join with them, because they entered not by the right door, but by the order of the usurper, whereas Christ is the only door. John x. 1. But this I will say, that those who will not, and dare not take that usurper’s portion, lest they be defiled thereby, ‘their countenance shall outshine the other, and be fatter and fairer in the day when they are to be proved before the king,’ Dan. i. 15. 5thly, I give my testimony against all the hearers of these abominable tested curates throughout the land; so in particular against the corner of that land, viz. Kilmarnock and the country thereabout, where I was apprehended, which I was then persuaded of, and yet am, that it was so ordered, that I might in particular witness against them

for their compearing at courts, subscribing bonds, paying fines, which includeth in it an acknowledgment of a fault, building that which formerly they did destroy, and destroying that which formerly they builded, and that according to God's word; and these who formerly were leaders in the way of truth, elders and old professors, are now as active by example and advice in the present course, and so are a stumbling-block to others. 'Offences must come, but wo to them by whom they do come; better it were, that a millstone were hanged about their necks, and they were cast into the midst of the sea.' O that ye who have formerly known the way of truth, would study more stability, and let not your liberty become a stumbling-block to others. 6thly, I bear my testimony against all profanity and profane persons, against all Atheism, and Atheists practical and professed; not only such as deny the true God by profession, but even such as do it by practice, belying their profession: against all enthusiasm and enthusiasts, although these black-mouthed Erastian writers, are pleased to call the way that is now followed by the poor remnant, such; yet my endeavours have always been to be both cleared in matters of truth and practice, according to the word and Spirit. But this I think, that the Lord is about to let this generation stumble, fall, and break their necks upon their own carnal wisdom, and each of them upon another: But mind this, 'That the world by wisdom knew not God:' for it seems, it is the nothings of this age, that he will make use of: 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he will perfect his praise.'

"Now, I would speak in short to three sorts: 1st, You that are strangers and enemies to this lovely Lord, let your estrangement be done away; break off your sins by repentance; consider the hazard you are in, even of eternal wrath and scorching hell fire for ever. O this condescending love of God, that is laid out in this manner! O ye that are enemies to his interest and people, mind that justice, even wrathful justice, is ready to be poured out upon you! O therefore come off! repent and turn in unto this so favourable and merciful a God: leave off your persecution, come unto him, 'there is mercy with him that he may be feared;' and if ye will not return, then his wrath will be upon you to all eternity. 2dly, Ye that have sometimes known what it was to be in God's favour, and had much love and tenderness for him, his work and interest, cause and covenant, as it was reformed in this land, and now are fallen from your first love, O endeavour to have in mind the love of your espousals, when ye and Christ were hand-fast: O consider aright what a great difference there is between your love, faith, zeal, tenderness now, in regard of what it was. Therefore take a right look of matters, and weigh them aright in the balance of the sanctuary, both as to your own particular case, and the case of his church; and turn to him with speedy and unfeigned repentance; for he that turns aside to crooked ways, 'shall be led forth with the workers of iniquity.' O therefore turn in time, lest 'repentance be hid from your eyes.' O! as ye love the glory of God, the good of your own souls, and the advantage of the church, if such an one as I may be so bold as to invite you, now going out of time into eternity; as ye would not be partakers of the plagues that are to come

upon such a generation, come off with speed. 3dly, You that are in good terms with God, and helped to keep by his way, break not your peace by turning aside to crooked ways, entertain love, keep and hold fast your integrity, in this day, when many have broken the bargain with him now when the language of many is this, 'These are hard sayings, who can bear them?' And now, that this is his language to you 'Will ye also leave me?' O! let this be the language of every ingenuous soul, 'To whom shall we go? for thou hast the words of eternal life.' Make sure salvation to yourselves, thereby ye shall be the more fit to follow him in this day, when he is casting forth his red flag, and marching. Many follow him when the white flag of peace is flourishing; but they are ill worthy of the sweet, who will not take part with him in the bitterest and sharpest sufferings; for what is the greatest of sufferings that can come from man, coming upon his account, in regard of what he suffered for us, even the heavy wrath of God, which would have pressed us down to the pit through all eternity: and may not the consideration of this oblige you? I can speak it to his commendation, that he can make the cross light and easy, for he will bear it and you both. And seeing everlasting arms are underneath, have you not ground to expect that he will not let his own arm be crushed. He can strew the cross with roses. I dare not say that ever I met with a cross; for when the strait hath been greatest, then he kythed his kindness most. O the rich manifestations that he giveth to the soul under the cross! Yea, it is all paved with love. Who would not go through a sea of bloody sufferings with him and for him? He is 'the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the vallies; he is fair and ruddy, the chief among ten thousand of thousands:' O! who can describe him? He is the only precious object, 'altogether lovely.' If he were seen and known, who would not love him? he is both lovely and loving. The soul may solace itself in him, under the greatest of straits. Now, ye that have received him, walk worthy of him. O! who knows what is in love? 1 John iv. 17. 'Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; because as he is, so are we in this world.' How is that? 'Though in the world, yet not of the world.' Ver. 18. 'There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment: he that feareth is not made perfect in love.' Now, the reason of our love is, ver. 19. 'We love him because he first loved us.' Now, dear friends, ye that are helped to keep by him, think it not strange though the world hate you, it hated himself: 'He was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own.' Should we not be as pilgrims and strangers, travelling, seeking after an heavenly country? There is a rest for the people of God, and to whom is this rest appointed but to the weary passenger!

"Now, I am given out by the enemies and professors, as being prodigal of life, and leading my two brethren to the death; but they are both false charges: for I have found more straightness and stedfastness in them, than I can find in myself. As for the other, I have so much of humanity, that I love my life; but cannot redeem

it with the loss of my integrity, and denial of any of his precious truths. I durst not make a shift to have any favour of the enemies, nor to touch, taste, or handle with them, for their dainties are deceitful meat. And there is one scripture which at my first coming to prison confirmed me, Philip. iv. 6. 'Be careful for nothing: but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God.'

"Now, dear friends, encourage yourselves in the Lord, and stand fast in one spirit, striving together for the faith of Jesus: Let nothing damp your courage, zeal, tenderness, and faithfulness, for this so lovely a Lord; and let brotherly love always continue. Beware of rocks, both on the right and left hand; we have beacons set up for both, to our sad experience, in this poor church: beware of peremptoriness, passion, and pride; for there may be, and I fear is, a spiritual pride, as well as a natural. Carry suitably to those who are without, and to them that are within. Endeavour to have an union in the Lord obtained, and entertained. Mix not the fire of true zeal with the wild sparks of carnal passion; but let meekness of spirit, with a Christian, godly and faithful conversation, adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. The breakings of the remnant, I may warrantably say, have lien heavier upon my spirit, than all that I have met with from the enemy. And if ye will not get together, wrath will be upon you. O! for that day, when they shall be made 'one stick in his hand,' when it shall be as in Isa. xi. 13. 'The envy of Ephraim also shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.' Ver. 14. 'But they shall flee upon the shoulders of the Philistines towards the west, and they shall spoil them of the east together,' &c. And that scripture, 'Suffer not sin upon thy brother's soul, but in any wise reprove him.' Seek to reclaim them that are fallen: 'Ye that are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness.' Follow a gospel method, beware of self-seeking, And let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall,' &c. I am not here speaking to those that are going on in homologating these God-provoking, Christ-dishonouring, church-ruining, and land-desolating courses; but to the wrestling remnant.

"Now death is not a whit terrible to me, 1 Cor. xv. 55. 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' Ver. 56. 'The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law.' Ver. 57. 'But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' I think this is his language to me, Micah ii. 10. 'Arise ye and depart, for this is not your rest: because it is polluted,' &c. 2 Cor. v. 1. 'For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'

"Now, as to his way with his church, it is mysterious; 'his way is in the deep, his paths in the mighty waters;' but the thoughts of this I cannot put off my spirit, but that he hath thoughts of good and not of evil; to give this poor church an expected end. But I am persuaded of this, that he hath some other work ado, before that be accomplished, for falling from her first love, and the great ingratitude for the

great and high privileges formerly enjoyed: But be not discouraged, nor sinfully anxious, neither about the church nor the remnant, but wait on God in his own way, and commit all to him, and he shall bring it to pass: It may come in a way least expected (I have no doubt about it) that his power, infiniteness, and sovereignty may yet appear.

"Now, I declare I am free of the blood of all men, and though man had never public scandal to charge me with, yet I am one of the chief of saved sinners. And in respect of original, actual, and omission sin, there hath been as much guiltiness in me, as might and would have weighed down to the pit, the whole world; but my lovely Lord hath shewed me warm blinks of his love. O for love to give to this lovely Lord Jesus, according to that scripture, 'Come and I will tell you what the Lord hath done for my soul.' Upon the day before I received my sentence, I met with a great measure, and a full gale of the Spirit, wherein my heart was both melted and enlarged, winning near to him, both alone and with the rest; but a little thereafter going to him alone, I found him hiding, and being sensible of it, my heart, in some measure, panted after him, yet absent; so going to the word, I was directed to 1 John v. 14. 'This is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us.' Ver. 15. 'And if we know that he hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him:'—which did in no small measure settle and comfort my spirit; so meditating a little, and considering how these two could consist together, was answered thus; 'because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God.' And since, I bless his holy name, I have had great composure of spirit.

"Now, according to my blessed Lord's command, I am not prepossessed with malice, or a spirit of revenge, but can bless when cursed: As for these men that are unjustly taking away my life, not only contrary to the law of God, and the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, but even contrary to their own law; for what they are doing against me as I am in myself, I can freely forgive them and all others; but as they do it against the image of God in me, and upon his truth's account, and so against himself, that is not mine to forgive, but I leave it to him to whom vengeance belongeth, to deal with them as may best glorify himself. Now, I rejoice in my lot, for it hath fallen to me in pleasant places, and I have a goodly inheritance; I would not exchange it with the greatest monarch upon earth. O! let heaven and earth praise him, sun and moon praise him! O all the creation praise him, angels and glorified saints praise him, and my soul shall praise him through all the ages of eternity. Now, farewell all things in time, farewell holy Scriptures, farewell prayer, meditation, faith, hope; farewell all true friends. Welcome heaven; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; welcome angels, and spirits of just men made perfect; welcome praises for evermore!

Sic sub.—JAMES ROBERTSON.*

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 230—249.

XXII. JOHN FINLAY.

[This was the second in order, of the three individuals who were executed together on the 15th December, 1682. He seems to have belonged to Kilmarnock or its neighbourhood, and was a prisoner in that town when visited by his friend Robertson; on which occasion the latter was apprehended. He was tried and condemned for mere matters of opinion, as the following account of his examination will evince. "Being interrogated, whether it be lawful to rise in arms against the king, refuses to answer. Refuses to say *God save the king*, but says he loves the king as well as any person—confesses he was present at Drumclog, but without arms. Being asked if he conversed with Mr. Cargill within these two years—refuses to answer, otherwise than that a man is neither by the law of God nor man bound to have a hand in shedding his own blood." Such indeed were the several grounds of condemnation in the period in question.—For the reasons on which he held these opinions, the reader is referred to the following testimony.]

"MEN AND BRETHREN,—Showing you that I am condemned unjustly by a generation of bloody men, who are thirsting after the blood of the saints of God, and upon no other account, but for my being found in the way of my duty in the sight of God, (glory to his holy name for it, though gone about with many failings, much imperfections,) for adhering to Christ in all his offices, as Prophet, Priest, and King; and for my following him in all his persecuted gospel truths;—the articles of my indictment were, 1st, My keeping company with the persecuted people of God, ministers and others, for which, with my whole soul, I bless him that ever he honoured me with such company; and in token of his countenance he hath kept me in that company. 2dly, My being in company and converse with Mr. Donald Cargill; (for which with my whole soul, I desire to bless and magnify the riches of his grace, that ever he conferred such company upon such a sinful wretch) and Mr. King, Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. Kid, in particular. 3dly, My refusing to call the bishop's death murder, which I durst not do, it being God's righteous judgment upon him. 4thly, My not calling Bothwell-bridge rebellion; it being in defence of themselves and of the gospel, which is lawful in God's sight; and therefore I durst not call it rebellion. 5thly, My giving meat, drink, and comfort to the persecuted people of God: which I did willingly and with my whole heart; and herein I have sweet peace this day; as in Matt. x. 43. 'And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones, a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward:' which he hath made out to me abundantly to the full. 6thly, My being commanded to say, 'God save the king!' which I durst not do for my very soul; their bidding us to do it in the test of our loyalty, to save him in his person and government, and authority, which is a perfect owning of him in all that he hath done, in his usurpation upon Christ's preroga-

tives, and privileges, they having made him supreme head in all matters and causes, civil and ecclesiastic; which if I had done, it had been a flat denying of Christ, and a joining with him and them, I mean Charles Stuart, in all that they have done in overturning the glorious work of reformation in these lands, and all the wrongs done to the gospel and people of God in this day, which would have made me odious in the sight of God, and before the world; from which I bless him, that he hath kept me; as the scripture saith, 'He that is not faithful in little, will not be faithful in that which is much.' 7thly, Being asked, if I would not pray for the king? I said, Yes. Do it then, they said. I said, according to the scripture. They said, he will pray for him as he is a man, but not as he is king, which is high treason and rebellion. Now, my friends, I being conscious to myself that my owning him as my king, was a casting off Christ Jesus who is head and King of Zion, and taking on with him, and so would have incurred the wrath of God, and homologated all the bloodshed, and all the horrid bloody abominations they have committed in the land, with avowed defying of the great God,—O who dare join with such avowed enemies of our God, and so cast off the society of the saints, and give the hand of fellowship to such bloody and man-sworn wretches, that is making it their whole work to root out godliness out of this covenanted land, that the name of Israel shall no more be made mention of: but they will be all beguiled, for Christ will reign till all his enemies be made his footstool.

"1st, I give my testimony to the sure word of God, which is the Scriptures of truth. 2dly, I give my testimony to the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, and that by his satisfaction. 3dly, I bear my testimony to the work of reformation, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and other errors, as it is contained in the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 4thly, I give my testimony to the Covenants National and Solemn League, and solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship; and to the Causes of God's Wrath, drawn up by the general assembly of the church, after their meeting with the rotten-hearted malignant Charles Stuart. 5thly, I bear my testimony to the faithful actings of the remonstrants against the malignant interest, that is the very thing contended for by the true Presbyterians of the church of Scotland. 6thly, I give my testimony, not to go farther back, seeing it homologates the rest, to that notable testimony given at Lanark, against that tyrant, and the test intimated by the late parliament, on which I could not but look, in the time of carrying it on and yet do, that the remnant was owned of the Lord. 7thly, I bear my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the martyrs, that have gone before us, whether on scaffolds, or on the fields, or in the seas. 8thly, I bear my testimony to all appearances in arms, for defence of the gospel. 9thly, I bear my testimony to the faithful preaching of the gospel that hath been in the fields by the faithful and sent messengers of Jesus Christ, according to his own mission, preaching days, communion days, and fast days, by Messrs. Cargill, King, Kid, Cameron, and Douglas. 10thly and lastly, I bear my testimony

to the fellowship-meetings of the Lord's people, particular and general: my soul hath been many a time refreshed with his presence in company with them.

"Likewise I bear my testimony, 1st, Against the public resolutioners for taking in the malignant interest, for which this poor church is smarting, this day, and feeling the weight of the tyrant's hand, for such eager lusting after the king. 2dly, I bear my testimony against, Hamilton Declaration, which is one and the same with the resolutioners, for taking in the foresaid interest, contrary to the land's engagements in covenant. 3dly, For corrupting the army, and other things, such as the excommunicated tyrant's interest, cess, and all other impositions of that nature, for the down-bearing of Christ's interest, doing it against a holy God. 4thly, I bear my testimony against indulged ministers, for their not coming in by the door, but by the mission of men, John x. 1. 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheep fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.' They being entered by the tyrant and not by the door, they are become men-servants, and not servants to Jesus Christ, and so are become an Erastian party, which hath wronged our Lord and King more than the bloody prelatic party hath done these twenty years bygone, by their rending the church's bowels, and for dividing many a bosom-friend, to the great hurt of the gospel. 5thly, I leave my testimony against all corrupt ministers, sheltering themselves under their wings, strengthening the stakes of that plantation, and for their dark and ambiguous preaching, in not declaring the whole counsel of God. 6thly, I leave my testimony against all the enemies and wrongers of my Lord's glorious privileges and prerogatives, all in general. I leave my testimony against that bloody murderer John Reid, who murdered a woman in the town of New-milns, and now is carrying arms against Christ and his followers,—who took me, and confessed to me that he had not an order for it; and against that party who carried me to Edinburgh; and especially Alexander Gemmil, my neighbour, who vexed me more than all that party, for he said I married folk and baptized children, and mocked me most dreadfully.

"A line of advice to two or three sorts of folk. To you that are old professors and covenanters in the west of Scotland, and especially in Kilmarnock parish, what are ye doing? Where are ye now, beside when ye swore the Covenant, and swore against Popery, Prelacy, and all that faction, side and party? How are ye prosecuting the ends of that Covenant now, in the sight of God, and the oath of God, that ye swore with hands lifted up to the Most High, and before heaven and earth, sun and moon? O! my soul trembles to think what bad example ye are to the young generation,—ye who should have been as the he-goats before the flock, to train them up in the way of God, and the way of holiness and righteousness, and now ye are leading them just the contrary. Should ye not have been more tender of the blood of the souls of the young generation, than to turn your back upon your profession, and turn in with the men of these abominations in all things? O fear the wrath of that God who has said, 'Shall any break the covenant and be delivered?' Now therefore, I desire, as ye tender

your own souls, that ye would turn again to your first husband, for it was better with you than it is now. Next, you that are the young generation, men and women, what are ye doing?—are ye following the footsteps of your fathers in their courses of defection, joining in hearing these perjured curates, answering at their courts, joining in their worship with them, in their abominable and soul-destroying courses, contrary to the word of God, our solemn Covenants, and Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the order of the church of Scotland, in discipline, worship, and government—as they, ye, and I, are sworn, with hands lifted up to the most high God, which no power on earth is able to loose, or undo, or free from, any man, or woman, baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. O therefore, take heed how ye think to answer before the great sin-avenging God, before whom I am to appear within a little space, and before whom I and all the world will stand and be judged with righteous judgment!

“And likewise, seeing that I dare not but show you my mind anent some persons and their carriage in this day of Jacob’s trouble, when Zion is laying waste and plowing like a field: First, I give my testimony against these men called elders in my own parish, because of their complying with every course of defection and abomination that comes alongst through the country;—they being thought to be faithful elders in the time of the presbyterian government, and then turned elders to the curate Carnagie, and then turned elders to Mr. Wedderburn, that indulged minister, and now are sessioners to this curate. And seeing this is true, that they have shewed themselves to be men of no principles, and the Spirit of God saying expressly, ‘Meddle not with them that are given to change;’ who can blame me to disown them?

“I give my testimony against John Boyd, called bailie of Kilmarnock, for his bloody courses in many things, and especially in his uplifting of the cess and bloody fines, and in oppressing the poor in their consciences, and laying on dragoons upon them most cruelly, which he did upon me four times; I wish God may forgive him for what he has done in that matter.

“Now, according to my blessed Lord’s command, I am not possessed with malice, or a spirit of revenge, but bless when cursed. As for these men that are unjustly taking away my life, not only contrary to the law of God and the ancient laws of the land, but even contrary to their own law; now for what they are doing to me, as I am in myself, I can freely forgive them, and all others; but, as they do it against the image of God in me, and upon his truth’s account, and so against himself, that is not mine to forgive, but I leave it to him to whom vengeance belongs, that he may deal with them as he may most glorify himself. O! if I could speak or write any thing to the commendation of the covenanted God of the church of Scotland, I have surely many things to say, for that he trysted my lot to be in a nation where he hath set up his pure worship; whereas he might justly have let my lot be amongst Pagans, and heathen nations, that knew nothing of the true God. Or, 2dly, he might have ordered it to be

among those that are worshipping Antichrist, that whore, that monstrous beast, that sits upon many waters; whose sentence may be read in Rev. xiv. 9. 'And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand,' Ver. 10. 'The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture, into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb;' Ver. 11. 'And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.' And so, as sure as God is God, and the holy scriptures are his word, according to which all men that have heard or seen, it shall be judged, having the sentence of absolution or condemnation past according thereto, Rom. ii. 12. 'For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law;'—so it is clear, that the first will surely perish, viz. all Infidels, and Atheists, and Heathens, and Pagans, that know not the true God nor his law: 'And as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law.' And so whatever vain hopes the papists may have of being saved, living and dying papists, or whatever charity loose professors have on that head to give them, they are as far from being saved as devils, which are eternally cast out of his presence. 3dly, I have him to bless for this, that my lot is not among corrupt protestant churches abroad, Lutherans, and other corruptions and abounding errors, both in doctrine, discipline, worship, and government, Sectarian, Episcopal, or Erastian;—but in the reformed church of Scotland, where all these things have been cast over the hedge, as not plants of his planting, where he hath been owned in all his offices, Prophet, Priest, and King, though he may say of us, in a great measure, as to the church of Israel of old, 'I have planted thee a noble vine, but thou art become a degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me,' &c. In that day of planting we could have sung that song, Isa. xxvi. 1.—'We have a strong city, salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks.' Lam. iv. 11. 'The Lord hath accomplished his fury, he hath poured out his fierce anger, and hath kindled a fire in Zion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof.' Ver. 12. 'The kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed, that the adversary and the enemy should have entered the gates of Jerusalem.' Ver. 13. 'For the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests, they have shed the blood of the just in the midst of her.' Ver. 14. 'They have wandered as blind men in the streets, they have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments.' This may be our regret before God, as in verse 7. 'Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire:' verse 8. 'Their visage is blacker than a coal: they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones, it is withered, it is become like a stick,' &c. O how unnatural-like were it for the mother to let the child, the fruit of her womb, perish for lack of the breasts; were she free of the child's blood, it perishing for want of its natural food?

And O! how many are this day perishing for want of the lively preached gospel: 'Even the sea monsters draw out the breasts, they give suck to their young ones; the daughters of my people are become cruel like the ostriches in the wilderness,' verse 3. And, 4thly, I have him to bless for this, that I am not this day fighting against him in an open stated war, and so bearing arms against him and his people, for there is no more in me, as to myself, than these that are imbruing their hands deeply in the blood of the saints. 5thly, I have him to bless for this, that ever he opened mine eyes to see the mystery of iniquity that abounds, and hath its seat in the heart: as also, in some measure, a sight of the remedy in the blood of Jesus, with his Spirit engaging me to himself, letting me see himself, altogether precious, making me to see that 'it is better to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than to dwell in the pleasures of sin for a season;' Psalm lxxiii. 24. 'Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory.' Verse 25. 'Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee!' 6thly, I have his holy name to bless that ever he honoured me to know any thing, how small soever, of his persecuted truths, viz. his crown, kingdom, and privileges, now, when many by their acts and laws have taken his crown and sceptre and royal robe from him, and settled the whole government of his house upon a man that is but a worm; but I believe his decree will stand, oppose it who will; Psalm ii. 6. 'Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion,' Isa. xlii. 8. 'I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.' Now it is his declarative glory which that usurper hath taken to himself. Ay, but he that leadeth captivity captive according to his royal will and word, will reclaim his own glory: he it is alone that hath given him to be the sure foundation, whereon all the building is fitly framed; that stone that the builders hath rejected is made the head of the corner, Isa. xxviii. 16. 'Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste. Ver. 17. 'Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place.' 7thly, I bless and magnify the holy name of my God, that hath called me to be a sufferer for his work and interest, counting it not my shame, but a high privilege, and dignifying me, when many, famous in their generation, have been denied it, when so many are denying, and by their practice are rendering the cross of Christ of no effect. O my friends, bless and magnify your God for this, that ye are privileged with these things, and strive to walk worthy of him in your places, callings, and stations, and relations, as a husband, as a wife, as a master, as a servant, as a Christian; study to have a blameless conversation, as becomes the gospel, as far as ye can, walk void of offence towards God and man. My dear friends, I have sweet peace in my lovely Lord; he has made my prison become a palace unto me, and he has made me many a time to bless him for my lot, for which my soul shall praise him through all eternity. Therefore, my dear

friends, let none of you think it strange, concerning the fiery trial, as though some strange thing had happened unto me, for it is in his holy wisdom he hath made my lot sweet; for he has made out his sweet promises unto me, one of which is of more worth than all the world, giving me the witness of his Spirit, bearing witness with my spirit that I have a right to them all.

“Now farewell all things in time; farewell holy Scriptures; farewell all Christian friends; farewell prayer and meditation; farewell faith; farewell hope. Welcome heaven; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; welcome angels, and the souls of just men made perfect; welcome praises for evermore!

Sic sub.—JOHN FINLAY.”*

XXII. WILLIAM COCHRAN.

[This was the other of the three individuals who were executed together on the 15th of December, 1682. It appears he belonged to Cairnduff, in the parish of Evandale. His examination before the committee was nearly of the same tenor as that of the two former. He seems to have been very cautious and reserved in his answers. Yet nevertheless he was brought in guilty. Being asked to say “God save the king,” as a test and indication of his loyalty, he did not reply. The only additional proof adduced on trial, was the deposition of two soldiers, who declared that Cochran and Finlay had on some occasion, (perhaps Drumclog, at which the latter confessed he had been present,) taken their arms from them. With his two companions he was executed in the Grassmarket on the above-mentioned day, and left the following testimony.]

“LOVING FRIENDS,—Seeing I am going off time into eternity, I think it fit now to leave my testimony to the truths of God. And, 1st, I own the Scriptures, and acknowledge them to be the only rule to the church and people of God at all times, and under all dispensations. 2dly, Jesus Christ to be the only Saviour of his people, and head of his church, and sole governor of his house. 3dly, I adhere to the covenanted work of reformation, Confession of Faith, and the Covenants and Catechisms: and I think it my great honour and glory, that I was born a member of that church, and desire to bear my testimony to all the privileges of that church; and also I desire to bear witness against all her enemies, especially against supremacy and prelacy, and all prelatic and Erastian courses, and against all joiners and compliers whatsoever with such like.

“Now I desire every believer in the church of Scotland, to take a look how matters stand between God and their souls, in such a day as this; for it seems to me, that that religion which would have done your turn at other times, will not do it now; for his way is now in the deeps, and ye would need to look where ye stand, when so many are

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 249—258.

falling ; and see whether ye have made religion your only choice or not : for except Christ be the only pearl of price to you, and his law your delight, ye cannot hold out ; for it seems to be a great work to be self-denied, and to part with all things, when they come in competition with the truths of Christ. Your going to kirks, and answering courts now, when they are founded upon perjury, and seated upon the ruins of the church, I cannot see, but it is a direct contradicting of the work of reformation, which we are sworn to maintain in its purity, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, (for we should not be divided directly or indirectly) and a joining with the enemies of the truth, when we should neither touch nor taste with the men of these abominations. O look where ye are, and what will be the end, if mercy prevent it not ; when once ye are fanged in their snares, ye stand stoutly to the defence of it, and of these that join with them in these ensnaring courses. I desire you would look through the causes, why the Lord contends with this poor land, and leaves them thus to consume away unto dross, for the whole land is involved in perjury, for they are all joining together to destroy that which we were bound and sworn to maintain both in kirk and state.

“ Ye know that the land was given away to the Lord by covenant, and we, with all our substance, lives, and fortunes, sworn to defend it to the utmost of our power. O therefore consider where ye are now, you may date your perjury from the changing of the government, and the overturning of the work of reformation, and your being witness to it, and to the taking and beheading of Argyle and Mr. Guthrie, without either resisting or resenting it, which is astonishing to me to think upon,—for ye were bound to defend the lives of these two men, though all your lives should have gone for it ; I am put to wonder at Scotland’s blindness. Ye may see your crowning and entering into covenant with Charles Stuart hath been a thing contrary to the will of the Lord, for he and all his predecessors have still been known to be in opposition to the ways of the Lord. It seems that the Lord is still contending with the land, and will contend, until he consume him and the land, because the king’s sins become the people’s sins, when not witnessed against and withstood. Now we know how he hath ensnared the whole land by his acts, but especially his supremacy over the church, and intrusion on Christ’s prerogatives ; and so many ministers being in the land, and yet have not witnessed against it, but have either kept silence, and thereby declared their unfaithfulness to the Lord, and the souls of them they were set over ; for the ministers ought to preach ‘ in season and out of season, and set the trumpet to their mouths,’ and give the people warning of every sin, or else the Lord will require their blood at the ministers’ hands. I fear the ministers of Scotland will be found very guilty of this ; they have not given the people faithful warning against the hearing of the curates and indulged, for the people’s testimonies lay partly in forbearing to hear ; for they were thrust in by the king’s supremacy, and entered not in at the door : and the indulged have done more hurt to the church, than all the curates have done ; for they were looked upon to be godly men, and poor things not considering, but following them blindly, not looking to the

scripture, and the government of the church, and so have broken and divided the people.

“ And our noblemen and gentlemen, from whom other things were looked for, have deserted the cause to the stain of their memory to after generations. The ministers ought to have given the people warning, and not have been so tender of men when truth was so wronged: for the people (many of them) were like to have taken warning; but we see that juggling with the Lord first and last hath been our ruin and wreck, and now we are brought to nothing, and our worldly wisdom is seen to be foolishness with the Lord. But I perceive, within these two or three years, the Lord is beginning to let us see our former ground again; and I desire you his poor people to labour to win at it, and to hold in it, and to be as tender of one another as ye can, without sinning against the Lord; for we will be all found guilty of the defection in less or more: therefore, I desire you to humble yourselves before the Lord, and to make conscience of mourning and heart-brokenness and weeping; for if ye had the sense of it deeply impressed upon your hearts, as I have had since I was a prisoner, and the heart-breaks that I have had both from one and another, but especially from mistaken friends,—ye could not but have wept with all your heart. But, dear friends, be not discouraged, but hold on; for this way that I am now to suffer and lay down my life, is, and will be found at length to be the way of God. There is much need of tenderness of, and zeal for God’s glory, and of watchfulness; for I find there are snares on all hands, and fear some of the Lord’s choice people will be permitted to fall. And, likewise, I desire, dear friends, that ye would keep a spirit of sympathy with one another; I fear your straits be but coming: and I desire, when ye fall upon debates upon the matters of the Lord, that ye would follow the methods of the Scriptures, and his Spirit there, and cease from your bitterness, one of you against another, ‘ For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of the Lord;’ but be humbled under the sense of the public sins that have caused us to be smitten with such sharp dispensations from the Lord. But I think Scotland’s case is like the case of Jonah, who fled from the presence of the Lord, till he could get no further, and the Lord pursued him into the whale’s belly, till he was forced to cry unto the Lord. O! that ye would cry, and cry aright with broken hearts, and confess to the Lord, and forsake! Lay it home to each one of yourselves in particular, as David did, when he transgressed against the Lord, and numbered the people. O that ye would plead with the Lord, and come in his mercy, and plead for the young generation, that have not sinned away the gospel, as we have done, and say to the Lord, What have these silly sheep done? O plead hard with the Lord, for I am persuaded he hath a kindness for Scotland; he is dealing with the hearts of some of the young generation, and as yet he has heaped up a party contending for his work, and will keep up some witnessing still; yea, I think he will still keep a contending party for his work and truths, until he return again: and I think the hopes of this should encourage your hearts.

“ Now, the main article of my indictment, upon which I have

received my sentence of death from men, was, that I would not say 'God save the king,' which (as they have now stated him an idol in the Mediator's room) I could not do, without being guilty of saying *Amen*, to all that he hath done against the church and people of God, and true subjects of the kingdom, and the ancient and fundamental laws thereof; and doing contrary to that in the second epistle of John, ver. 10. 'If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed: for he that biddeth him God-speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.*' And also, ye know, that taking of the name of God in our mouths, is a part of worship, and so a worshipping of their idol; for before our faces they said, That he was king over all persons, and over all causes; which is putting him in God's room. But they sentenced me, because they said that I disowned authority, which was a diving into the thoughts of my heart. Now, in obedience to what my Lord hath commanded, I can freely forgive, as I desire to be forgiven, any thing that is done to me, *as I am in myself*; but what hath been done against me upon the account of truth, and so striking against God, I am not to set myself above him, but I leave that to *Himself*. Now, I have great satisfaction in my lot, and I rejoice that he hath called me to it, and I bless him that I have been all along helped to join with his despised work and people. And now many are pleased to say, That I had not

* The reasons here given by the present witness for refusing to say *God save the king* may lead us to observe, once for all, that the sufferers for the cause of religion and of liberty in the period in question, were not actuated by such narrow views and unfounded prejudices as the defenders of prelacy and the apologists of persecution would have us to believe. It appears that the same test was put not only to Cochran, but also to his two companions and fellow-sufferers; and besides these to many more, to whose cases it is needless at present to refer. Now it cannot but strike every impartial reader, that if on the one hand it was superstitious and absurd in the sufferers to *refuse* pronouncing the words in question, it was no less absurd and superstitious in their persecutors to *insist* upon them doing so. And yet the *condescension* of the government in this matter is greatly lauded, and the *obstinacy* of the sufferers condemned by the writers we have alluded to; "and," observes Wodrow, in reference to the present witness, "it is said with a great deal of triumph that these persons might have had their lives upon the easy and fair conditions of praying for the king, and this is mightily magnified as an instance of the lenity of the period. This plain honest man gives a very distinct answer to this." And after quoting the words as above, he continues, "these were the sentiments of the poor serious country people who suffered, and when they had this view that praying for the king was really an approbation of all now done, it will not appear so narrow a point on which they stated their sufferings, as at the first it may seem, and the prelatists represent it, especially considering the poor country-people's ignorance and education. And these bloodthirsty men were so far from endeavouring to instruct and convince the pannels, that they even essayed to ensnare them, and proposed their queries so, as the poor men could scarcely miss concluding that their saying *God save the king* was an approbation of what was done in his name. They required this as a testimony of their loyalty, as we saw in James Robertson's case. So that this piece of reproach may very justly be turned over upon the managers, who had no matter of fact, no act of treason or rebellion, to charge many of them with, but endeavoured to ensnare them with captious and double-faced questions, and then took away their lives, upon the poor people's being unwilling to approve the wickedness of the time."—*Wod.* vol. ii.

been apprehended as a prisoner, if there had not been some of the suffering people of God frequently about my mother's house ; which is a commanded duty, much commended by Christ ; ' If any man give a cup of cold water to a disciple, in the name of a disciple, he shall not want a disciple's reward.' Therefore seeing it is such, let none offend at such a work, who look upon themselves as members of that body ; what may follow, leave in the Lord's hand, who doth all things well ; and nothing can harm his people, being found rightly in the way of their duty. Now, as to those who count the pure way of truth a wild principle, I count it a greater mercy to be wild from the way of sinning, than to be tame thereunto ; as, alas ! most of the generation are.

" Now, farewell all true friends in Christ ; farewell holy and sweet scriptures ; farewell sinning and suffering. Welcome heaven and the full enjoyment of God through all eternity.

Sic Sub.—WILLIAM COCHRAN.*

XXIII.—ALEXANDER HUME OF HUME.

[The execution of this excellent and worthy gentleman is strongly reprobated by Wodrow as constituting " a flaming instance of the rigour of the period." He had been apprehended on an accusation of having held converse with the party, who took the castle of Hawick, in 1678, and was brought to trial on the 15th of November. It being on all hands acknowledged, however, that even this trivial misdemeanour was not proved, he was acquitted by the criminal court. But as an excuse for detaining him in prison, he was required to take the Test, which he refused.† And shortly

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 258, 262.

† The oath here alluded to was that imposed by the parliament, in 1681.—Though made professedly with the view of supporting the protestant ascendancy, by excluding all enemies to it from places of power and trust, it soon came to be employed as a general test of loyalty, and all who refused to take it became suspected by the government. It was little wonder that it should have been refused by all true Presbyterians ; for whilst it implied the renouncement of all Popish errors, it acknowledged the king's authority in all matters, whether civil or ecclesiastical, asserted the unlawfulness of all resistance to his power, upon any pretence whatever, and denied the obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant. Now, passing over the flagrant inconsistency of its several parts, it is obvious that no rational and conscientious Presbyterian could have hesitated a moment to refuse it, nor was there any other course left for Mr. Hume to pursue. Though acknowledging the king's authority in temporal matters, he could not but feel himself bound to disavow it in things *spiritual* ; and though perfectly willing, as may be supposed, to swear adherence to the protestant interests, it was not to be expected that he should with the same breath deny the obligation of the National Covenant,—the great bulwark reared by his forefathers, not only against Popery, but also in support of Presbytery. He therefore preferred death to perjury, and though confessing the temporal authority of the king, was as thoroughly opposed to his tyranny against the church, as any of the other sufferers in the period in question.—For some farther particulars relative to his trial and death, the reader is referred to *The Scots Worthies*, New Edition, pp. 559, 560.

after, some further pretexts being found against him, a new process was begun, and he was again indicted, and brought to trial on the 21st of December following ; and though the proofs brought against him were most inadequate, and none of the witnesses identified his person, he was brought in guilty, and sentenced to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, upon the 29th of that month. Here follow his last words :]

“MEN AND BRETHREN,—There is a great confluence of people here at this time, and I fain hope there are some amongst you that desire to be edified by the last words of a dying man ;—which shall be but few, because I do not think or judge myself qualified, to enlarge upon any thing I have to say, as need requires and some might expect ; and moreover, the time allowed is but short. And now I am come here to lay down my life, and I bless the Lord that I am not to lay it down as an evil-doer ; and albeit I be a sinful man, as others are, by nature, yet through his grace, I hope I am planted in Jesus Christ,—in whom I have redemption and remission of sins through his blood, and am separated from the generation of unbelievers. Free love only hath made the difference, and happily hath ordered it so, that I have been born within the church, where the blessed device of the gospel hath been discovered, and the means of salvation made effectual for converting and building me up in grace, and begetting in me the hope of that glory and redemption which I am now going to possess.

“The ground of my sentence is the alleged converse I had with the party that took the castle of Hawick, in the year 1679 ;—the probation whereof was not clear, and from which the verdict of the assize did materially differ, as is evident from the witnesses’ subscribed depositions, and the recorded verdict of the said assize ;—the equity and justice whereof I leave to God, and all unbiassed persons to judge.

“I need not be ashamed to live, (as through his grace I am not ashamed to die,) and here I dare say, it has been my study to keep a conscience void of offence towards God, and also towards man. The world represents me as seditious and disloyal, but God is my witness, and my own conscience, of my innocence in this matter ; I am loyal and did ever judge obedience unto lawful authority my duty, and the duty of all Christians ; I was never against the king’s just power and greatness, and this I commend to all that hear me this day ; but all a Christian doth must be *of faith*, for what clasheth with the command of God cannot be our duty, and I wish the Lord may help the king to do his duty to the people, and the people to do their duty to the king.

“It doth minister no small peace and joy to me this day, that the Lord hath set his love upon me, one of Adam’s unworthy posterity, and has given me the best experience of his grace working in my heart, whereby he hath inclined me to look towards himself, and make choice of him for my soul’s everlasting portion. It is the Lord Jesus, and he alone, who is my rock, and the strength and stay of my soul. All my own righteousness I do utterly renounce, as a garment too short for me, yea, as filthy rags. I die a protestant and presbyterian

this day, adhering to the holy Scriptures, and work of reformation from popery and prelacy, according to the engagements personal or national lying on me; and I do leave my testimony against all the steps of defection therefrom, either in doctrine, worship, or government, and all the encroachments made upon the kingdom and privileges of Jesus Christ, and whatever is against the life and power of godliness.

“It was the glory and happiness of our land, that the Lord Jesus Christ made choice of us, to dwell in the midst of us by his gospel, and the ordinances thereof, the precious symbols of his presence, by which we had the advantage of many, if not of all the churches about us. But oh and alas! how far are we degenerated, and what contempt of this precious gospel are we become guilty of? We have not received the love of God in our hearts, nor improved him for growth and progress in holiness; in place whereof all manner of impiety and naughtiness does abound, which I fear will provoke the holy and jealous God to send many heavy judgments on the whole land, whereby it may be laid utterly desolate without an inhabitant. 'Tis to be feared that these things may turn this church into a den of idolatry, and provoke the Beloved to put a bill of final divorce into our harlot mother's hand. O! what cause is there to fear, that this people, partly through their own ignorance, and partly through the unfaithfulness and delusion of their pretended teachers, shall return again in multitudes into the darkness and superstition of popery, from which the Lord in his mercy delivered our fathers. O! that the Lord would give repentance to this generation, that the evil day might be prevented. Be exhorted to turn from sin, and make your acquaintance and peace with God in time, which is not so easy a work as many apprehend; and who wants his own challenge for negligence in this matter? People love to defer this great concernment until it be too late, unhappily preferring the pleasures of sin to the favour of God, and all the expectations of the saints within or beyond time. Was there ever a generation wherein so many sad prognostics of divine wrath, upon its near approach, did so much abound amongst men of all ranks and capacities of whom far other things were expected, and I am sure, solemnly thereunto obliged, no less than those who have suffered at their hands upon that account?—which cannot but highly aggravate sin, heighten and hasten judgment beyond ordinary,—which I pray the Lord may prevent. He knows I desire not the evil day; I would exhort the Lord's people to study much nearness to God, and oneness among themselves, that being of one mind and one spirit, they may stand fast for the faith of the gospel, which is in such palpable hazard this day, as all who have but half an eye may see. I cannot but be sensible of the sharpness and severity of my sentence, which, after strict inquiry, will be found to be as hard measure as any have met with before me: which seems to flow from some other thing than what law and justice could allow. I wish, I may be the last that may be thus dealt with. I question not but if competent time had been given, that application might have been made unto his majesty,—his clemency would not have been wanting in this case. Nevertheless, I bless the Lord, I find it in my heart

to forgive all men, even as I desire to be forgiven, and obtain mercy in that day; and if there be any at whose door my blood may more directly lie than others, I pray the Lord to forgive them; and now I wish it may be well with the land when I am gone. My conscience bears me witness, I ever studied the good of my country; I hope I shall be no loser that I have gone so young a man off the stage of this world, seeing I am to make so blest an exchange, as to receive eternal life, the crown of glory, the near and immediate fruition of the blessed Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in place of a short, frail, and miserable life here below. I bless his name he made me willing to take share with his persecuted people, for I hope I shall also share with them in their consolations, when he shall wipe all tears from their eyes, and they shall suffer no more, but reign with him in his kingdom.

"I am shortly to be clothed upon with my house from above, and that city that hath foundations; I shall sin no more. O desirable condition! when beyond all hazard of offending God any more, I shall be capable both of serving God, and enjoying him more: I shall wander and toil no more, having reached that harbour of eternal rest.

"I now contentedly take my leave of the world. Farewell all enjoyments, earthly pleasures, and contentments: Farewell friends and relations, in whom I had much satisfaction: Farewell my dear wife and children, dear indeed unto me, though not so dear as Christ, for whom I now willingly suffer the loss of all things, and yet am no loser! I leave them on the tender mercies of Christ. Now, welcome blessed Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; welcome innumerable company of angels, and spirits of just men made perfect: welcome celestial city; welcome endless joy! And now, O Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit, Lord Jesus receive my soul!

ALEXANDER HUME.*

XXIV. WILLIAM HARVEY.

[This man was a weaver in the town of Lanark. He was brought before the Justiciary on the 20th of February, 1682, accused of being at the late Rebellion, and present at publishing the treasonable declaration in Lanark, on the 29th of May, 1679. He was brought in guilty accordingly. The court, however, delayed to pronounce sentence till enjoined by an order of council. He was at length sentenced to be conducted to Lanark by a party of the guards, and there to be executed on the 3d of March† following. This sentence was carried into effect, and the following is the Testimony which he delivered from the scaffold.]

DEAR FRIENDS,—I desire to show you in few words—And first I

* Wodrow's History, pp. 268, 270.

† This article, according to the date here quoted, should have been introduced at an earlier part of the work, but being omitted at the proper place, it is inserted here, so as to come in under the year 1682.

declare, I am a Presbyterian in my judgment, and I adhere to the whole Scripture Confession of Faith, Catechisms, larger and shorter. Also, I adhere to the National and Solemn League and Covenant. I adhere to the government and governors, in so far as they are a terror to evil-doers, and an encouragement to those that do well; likewise I adhere to all the faithful Testimonies given by the people of God since the year 1660. Likewise I bear my testimony against popery and prelacy, profanity and ungodliness, and all abominations, and punishing of the godly, and letting blasphemy and wickedness go free; as for instance, a man who was imprisoned with me in the Canongate-tolbooth for drinking the devil's good health: and I seal my testimony against the dreadful test, and all the sinful engagements of them. As for my dear friends, I warn you all to flee under Christ's banner in this day of common calamity, for there is no shelter but under his wings, because he is the only shelter. And oh, what a refreshment is there to be found under him, and nowhere else! Therefore, I desire you, my loving wife, to seek God through Christ, and to own him in his way and truth, for which I suffer. Now, I recommend you and my child to the only wise Lord, who hath promised to be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless. Likewise I forgive all men, as I desire God to forgive me; and now I bid farewell to all created comforts.

Sic Sub.—WILLIAM HARVEY”*

“ After he had prayed fervently upon the scaffold, he went up the ladder and spoke to the people a little, pressed them to make their peace with God sure, and serve God, and obey the king so far as the word alloweth, and no farther. He prayed again on the ladder, and committed himself to the Lord's mercy, declared his willingness to die, and his forgiving all who had a share in his death; and died with a great deal of composure. In short, he seems to have been made a sacrifice to the managers' resentment, for the last declaration at Lanark; though I cannot find he was concerned in that, but only in proclaiming the West country Declaration before Bothwell engagement.”†

XXV. JOHN NISBET.

[John Nisbet the Younger, (so called to distinguish him from his namesake of Hardhill,) was a native of Loudon-parish, in Ayrshire. Being apprehended by Major White, who at the time governed in that district, he was carried to Kilmarnock, and there, in consequence of a Justiciary warrant to that effect, was, by him, with the assistance of the sheriff-depute, tried, condemned and executed. The grounds of his condemnation were.—as usual, his owning the lawful-

* For this short testimony, the Editor is indebted to one of the Wodrow MSS., which was communicated to him by the kindness of a friend, to whom he has to acknowledge other favours of a similar kind.

† Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 361.

ness of the rising at Bothwell, his hearing Mr. Cargill, and his refusing to pray for the king's person and government. But these the reader will find more fully explained in the following papers, which constitute his Testimony. He was sentenced to be hanged on the 14th of April, 1683, a sentence which was executed accordingly.]

1. HIS EXAMINATION.

“DEAR FRIENDS,—The manner of my examination (as I remember) was this:—Q. When saw ye John Nisbet? * A. I did not see him this good while. Q. But when did you see him, and where did you see him? A. Although I could, I would not answer, to discover my neighbours. [The Major said, he would make me tell, or he would make me sit three hours in hell.] I answered, That was not in his power. Q. Are ye under an oath that ye will not tell of the rest of you? A. I am under no oath but what the Covenant binds us to. Q. Took ye ever the communion? A. No. Q. Did ye ever preach, or expound the scriptures? A. I could never read the Rudiments. Yet (said they) there were men who did preach, that were not learned. I told them I knew none but the Quakers, whose principles I disown. Then said they, say, ‘God save the king.’ I answered, It was not in my power to save, or condemn him. Q. Would you not say, ‘God save your beast,’ if it were fallen into a hole? A. No; because it is a taking of His name in vain. Q. Was you at Bothwell at the rebellion? A. Seeing you count it rebellion, it is criminal,—witness of it. Q. Is the bishop's death murder? A. I am not a judge to cognosce upon it. And being asked again my opinion of it, I answered, I had said all that I could say of it already. Q. Was Bothwell *rebellion*? I answered, It was self-defence, which was lawful. Q. How prove ye that? A. By that confession which ye build your test upon. Then they said jeeringly, I was a grammarian. Q. Own ye a law? A. Yes. Q. Own ye the law as it is now established? A. Since ye make your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to consider upon them. Q. Own ye the king in all matters civil and ecclesiastic, and to be head of the church? A. I will acknowledge none to be head of the church but Christ. Q. Who is lawgiver? A. Christ. Q. Is the king, *the king*, or not? A. He was once a covenanted king. Q. Is he the king now? A. I refer it to his obligations in his coronation oath, to be considered. Q. Is he your king, or not? I told them, I would not answer any more such questions at this time. This is all that past, for the most part, except a number of senseless questions. No more at present, but have my love remembered to all friends in Christ. I am very well borne through, blessed be the Lord for it.

Sic sub.—JOHN NISBET.”

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

“Dear friends, and true lovers of Zion's righteous cause,—if I

* This was John Nisbet of Hardhill, one of the most eminent among the covenanters of his day, for whose Life, see *The Scots Worthies*, New Ed. p. 475.

could speak or write any thing to the commendation of the covenanted God of the church and kingdom of Scotland, surely I have many things to do it for. 1st, That he hath trysted my lot to be in a nation where he hath set up his pure worship, discipline, and government; whereas he might justly have ordered it to have been among those that are worshipping antichrist, that whore of Rome, that monstrous beast that sitteth upon many waters, whose sentence may be read, Rev. xiv. 9. 'And the third angel sounded, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand,' ver. 10. 'The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, that is poured out without mixture, into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of his holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:' ver. 11. 'And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.' 2dly, He might have ordered it to have been among the corrupt protestant churches abroad, Lutherans, and other corruptions, and abounding errors; but in the reformed church of Scotland, which was 'fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.' The day was, when we could have sung that song, Isa. xxvi. 1. 'We have a strong city, salvation will the Lord appoint for walls and bulwarks.' 3dly, I bless the holy name of my God, that I am not this day carrying arms against Him, his work and interest; for there is no more in me, as of myself, than in these that are deeply imbruing their hands in the blood of the saints. 4thly, I bless and magnify his holy name, that ever he brought me out of the state of nature, and brought me into a state of grace and salvation, through the virtue of the blood of Christ; and exalted be his holy name, that he hath given me a sight of my own weakness, and also a sight of the deceitfulness of my own evil heart, and the mystery of iniquity abounding there; and also a sight of the remedy of the blood of Christ, with his Spirit engaging me to himself, and letting me see himself altogether lovely and precious; so that, I may safely say, that 'there is none in heaven, or in earth that I desire besides Him,' Psalm lxxii. 25. And, 5thly, I bless and magnify the holy name of my God, who hath given me a sight of his controverted truths, now when it is come in question, whether Christ be head of his own house or not, whereas there is no truth clearer in all the Scripture; yet it must not be spoken of, if ye resolve not to suffer for it. 6thly, I bless his name, that ever he counted me worthy to suffer for him, counting it not my shame, but an high privilege, and dignifying of me, when many famous in their generation have been denied of it, and are endeavouring by their practice, to render the cross of Christ of no effect. 7thly, I bless and magnify his holy name, that he hath kept me from denying his name, in his titles and attributes; for, that is the thing which the enemy and usurpers of my lovely Lord's crown are seeking to have me to deny allegiance to him, who is given of the Father to be a leader and commander of his people; Isa. xxviii. 16. 'Thus saith the Lord, Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation,

a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation, he that believeth shall not make haste.' Ver. 17. 'Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and waters shall overflow the hiding place.' But this may be our complaint, Lam. iv. 4. 'The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the root of his mouth for thirst, the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them.' Ver. 3.—'The daughter of my people is become cruel as the ostriches in the wilderness.' Mal. ii. 8. 'But ye are departed out of the way, ye have caused many to stumble at the law: ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts.' Ver. 9. 'Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, and have been partial in the law.' For now it is with the land as it is in Ezek. xxiv. 7. 'For her blood is in the midst of her, she set it upon the top of a rock, she poured it not upon the ground, to cover it with dust.' Ver. 8. 'That it might cause fury to come up, to take vengeance: I have set her blood upon the top of a rock, that it should not be covered.' Ver. 9. 'Therefore thus saith the Lord, Woe to the bloody city, I will even make the pile for fire, great.' For the iniquities of a land, many are the judgments thereof; therefore we had need to mourn, for we will all be found guilty of the sins of the land, in less or more. It makes me to tremble, to think of Scotland's unfaithfulness in all ranks, for as it is with the people, so with the priests, for all have wandered out of the way, and followed their idols, especially the sins of the corrupt rulers; Micah vi. 16. 'For the statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Ahab, and ye walk in their counsels, that I should go far from my sanctuary; therefore ye shall bear the reproach of my people.' Lam. iv. 11. 'The Lord hath accomplished his fury, he hath poured out his fierce anger, he hath kindled a fire in Zion, it hath devoured the foundations thereof.' Ver. 14. 'They have polluted themselves with blood, so that men could not touch their garments.' Now his glory is trampled under-foot; but he hath said, Isa. xlii. 8. 'I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.'

"Now, is it not his declarative glory, which that usurper hath taken to himself? Yea, but he that leadeth captivity captive, and giveth gifts unto men, will reclaim his own glory, for 'the government is laid upon his shoulders,' Isa. ix. 6. Eph. i. 22. 'And He hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head of all things to his church.' Now, I being a free-born member of the church and kingdom of Scotland, and joining with all the fundamental laws thereof, and they refusing to judge and sentence me according to that law,—that must without doubt be murder: and further, they refuse to judge according to the scriptures,—which is an higher wickedness. O what will come upon Scotland, for the high abominations committed therein? Surely, it cannot but meet with odious judgments. Isa. xxxiv. 5. 'For my sword shall be bathed in heaven: behold it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse to judgment.' For I see nothing appearing in this land but defection from the way of truth;

for there is no public power now in the land, but what is founded upon perjury, sacrilege, and tyranny; Ezek. xxii. 6. 'Behold, the princes of Israel, every one were in thee, to their power, to shed blood.' And compare Scotland's sins with Israel's sins, in that of Ezekiel, and see if they be not parallel. And seeing they are so, what can be expected, but that their punishments and plagues shall be parallel also? For there are few mourning for all the abominations done in the land.

"Now, these are charging me with self-murder, (which is a breach of the sixth command,) which is very false: for self-preservation must stoop to truth's preservation; and further, I have *that* much of humanity, that I love my life, but cannot redeem it with the loss of my integrity; but I prove that such as do these things, which they would have me to do, are actually guilty of a breach of the second commandment, which is, 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image.' For, I cannot say, but it is a worshipping of images, to yield to them in these things,—now when they have seated themselves in Christ's room: therefore, I exhort you all, to beware of joining with them in their sins, lest ye partake with them in their plagues,—now when they have made it manifest, that they will have no king but Charles Stuart; wherefore, I think it is our duty to cleave to Christ: we must either quit Christ or Charles. Indeed, there is some folk pretend to keep both; but I defy any, if they be called to a public testimony, but they must either quit Christ or Charles: for they will not have the civil law without the ecclesiastic; so I cannot see how they can be owned in either; for by their acts of parliament they have made them alike inherent in the crown: and shall that authority be so owned by me, being a free-born member of the church of Scotland,—which is Christ's mystical body,—without being guilty of high rebellion against God? And further, he having broken all obligations, which was the tenor by which he entered into the government, and without which he could not have entered into the government, the covenant being the coronation-oath; which he hath not only broken, but made it death to all that speak of them. And further, having seated himself in the Mediator's chair of state, which is enough to denude him of authority, even in civil matters. If it shall be said, The land has given him that supremacy, and so cannot take it from him again: to this I answer, Every individual person in the land hath not given him that; and therefore is free to reject him upon that head, when they are called to it. But O! the sin of Scotland is great in departing away from God; for Scotland hath slidden back like a backsliding heifer, for they declare their sin like Sodom, they hide it not; the show of their countenance witnesses against them. But, however, it will be well with those that keep their garments clean; for ye will find enough ado when it cometh, although ye should live Christians twenty years; therefore slight not time when ye have it; for if death come upon you, it will not be easy; but well is that soul that can say upon good grounds, That Christ is all in all to it; but the worldly-mindedness, and slavish fear of this generation, makes their practice declare to the world, that Christ is not

worthy the suffering for, otherwise they durst not adventure to forsake him, who is altogether lovely; for he will bid none go his errands upon their own charges.

“Now, as to the articles of my indictment, upon which my sentence of death is passed, they are chiefly these. 1st, My owning as lawful, my rising in arms at Bothwell-bridge, which I did with great cheerfulness and boldness,—it being self-defence, and in defence of the gospel; for my own part, the only end I had before me there was, the glory of God, if I was not deceived; therefore, I could not think it rebellion, or unlawful against God, although the laws of men be against it, who have set themselves in opposition to all the commands of God. 2dly, It was my disowning the curates to be faithful ministers, which I did very boldly; and they said, if I disowned the curates, I disowned all authority, which may testify, that they have set themselves in Christ’s stead. 3dly, My owning Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. John Kid, and Mr. Richard Cameron, to be faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, which I did, and I bless the Lord that ever I heard them, and I set to my seal to the faithfulness of these men’s doctrine. 4thly, My not praying for the king in his person and authority, which I durst not do, it being a perfect owning of him in all that he hath done. Some may object, and say, that I am against the scriptures in this, because in several places in the Old Testament, we find, that the kings of Israel were anointed to that office by the Lord, and obedience to them thereupon enjoined. But this was only done to lawful kings, and so could not be to ours, he having set up himself in the room of God incarnate. And we may justly say, as the children of Israel said, 1 Sam. xii. 19. ‘For we have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a king;’ because we follow him in things contrary to the command of God. And should I pray for that man, to preserve him in his person and government, who hath thus ventured upon the thick bosses of the buckler of God Almighty? If one should object, and say, These are small things: to this I answer, No truth is small; Luke xvi. 10. ‘He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much.’

“Now, I shall give an account of my principles, and I shall do it as in the sight of God. I am a true Christian, truly anti-popish, anti-prelatic, anti-schismatic, anti-sectarian, anti-Erastian, a true Presbyterian: and whatever many have said of me, or may say, thus I have lived, and so now I die. Now, 1st, I close with Christ in that way of redemption, which he hath purchased, for the redemption of sinners; 1 Tim. i. 15. ‘This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief.’ Ver. 16. ‘Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy.’ 2dly, I give my testimony to the followers of the holy scriptures, for they are the rule that men are to walk by, and they declare the revealed will of God to men, anent man’s salvation. 3dly, I give my testimony to the work of reformation in the church of Scotland, and I bless the Lord that I was born a member of that church; but chiefly against popery, prelacy, and quakerism, and independency; and, finally, from under all the errors of the church. 4thly,

I give my testimony to the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the order of the church of Scotland. 5thly, I give my testimony to the divine worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland, both by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. 6thly, I give my testimony to the Covenants, National and Solemn League and Covenant. 7thly, I give my testimony to the faithful actings of the protestors, called remonstrances, against malignants and malignant interests, which is the very thing this poor church is contending for, this day. 8thly, I give my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the people of God, that have been given for that noble work, whether on scaffolds, or in the fields, or on the seas. 9thly, I give my testimony to the faithful actings of the last martyr; although this generation is calling sin a duty, and duty a sin, because of hazard; for if this generation get leave to go on in their pernicious ways, they will not believe that there is a God in heaven to punish such sinners and sins as are committed in the land. Mal. iii. 9. 'Ye are cursed with a curse; for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation.'

"Now, 1st, I witness my testimony against the public resolutioners, for bringing in the malignant party to places of power and trust, for which this poor land is smarting, and bearing the weight of their hands to this day. 2dly, I leave my testimony against that act of supremacy, and the act rescissory by which two they have overturned the whole work of reformation, both in kirk and state. 3dly, I leave my testimony against the unfaithfulness of ministers, both indulged, and others, who are sheltering themselves under the wings of those who have declared themselves enemies to all godliness: and I wonder how they can say, they are even-down for God, yet never one of them is troubled, be troubled who will; for before my face, one of these ministers said (viz. Mr. Anthony Shaw by name,) he prayed, God save him from the man that would not pray for the king in his person and government; to whom I said, magistrates ought to punish evil-doers: 'indeed so he doth,' said he. 4thly, I leave my testimony against the wrongers of my lovely Lord's crown, all in general. 5thly, I leave my testimony against the hearers of these perjured curates, throughout the land; but especially in that corner of the land, to wit, Kilmarnock, for their going to kirks, subscribing of bonds, paying of fines, which includeth in it the acknowledgment of a fault, which I deny we have done, but they have done it to us; and yet never a watchman to testify against it! 6thly, I leave my testimony against paying of the cess, or any other thing that may strengthen the hands of evil-doers: Isa. lxxv. 11. 'For ye are they that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish a drink-offering unto that number.'

"Now I will speak a word to three sorts of folk: 1st, To you that are strangers, enemies to my lovely Lord, let your estrangedness be done away, fly to him, ere he break out in fury against you. O consider how near you are to the destroyer, if ye fly not unto him: and if you fly in unto him he will abundantly pardon. Therefore, I entreat, that ye would turn from your evil ways, and leave off your persecution, and flee to him, for there is mercy with him that he may be feared:

and if ye will not turn, wrath will be upon you to all eternity. A second sort, are those that formerly have known God, and now are fallen from their first love: O consider your former ways, and turn again to your first husband, lest there be no space to repent; for all the ways that ye have taken to get past trouble, will not hide you from him who is the great sin-revenging God; and he will bring all your sins, and your compliance, to stand witness against you; therefore delay not repentance, for ye will find death have enough ado, with itself. A third sort, are those who desire to walk in his way, and to keep themselves from the crying wickedness of these times. O stand fast in the faith; for there is no other burden laid upon you, but ‘hold fast till he come.’ O for that day when ye shall be made one stick in his hand, and have fervent charity among yourselves!—and ‘Let him that standeth, take heed lest he fall,’ for ye will find enough ado with it, when death comes; therefore let the main thing be your study, and get once *that* made sure that cannot be taken from you; for ye have many enemies to fight with, if ye get through, for the way to heaven is very strait: for it is no wonder Satan seek to tempt poor Christians, when he essayed to tempt our blessed Lord and Master. Let none of you think it strange, concerning what hath befallen me, for it is in his holy wisdom he hath carved out my lot, such; and I have been made to bless him for my lot. O! study to wrestle against your own corruptions, which are very heavy to me sometimes, but his love hath been great in bringing me out of the state of nature, and hath brought me to see my own weakness, and also hath given me a sight of the remedy, for which my soul shall be made to praise him throughout all eternity.

“Now, my dear friends in Christ, study to walk blameless in all manner of conversation, as becometh the gospel; let your light so shine before the world, that they may be ashamed that shall accuse your good conversation in Christ: for now ye need not think, if ye keep the way of God, but ye will have many enemies, both within and without, therefore seek strength from him who is able to give it: ye need not think, that all the stock of grace that a man hath, will be sufficient when the trial comes, if there be not fresh supply given in the time of need. O! wrestle with him, that ye may be hid in the day of his wrath, that seems to be poured out on this generation, for their great treachery and departure from God,—the breach of his laws, and subjecting to the laws of men; but my eyes shall be closed, that I shall not see it, and I am well content, seeing I get my soul for a prey,—then I shall have no loss.

“Now, as for His way with his church, it is mysterious to me; but this I think is a token for good, that he is taking some to witness for his despised and trampled-upon truths, and he will keep some witnessing still, until he return again: but indeed I think it seems it is but very few that will see him return again in this generation. Now, death is called ‘the king of terrors,’ but I think it is not so with me; 1 Cor. xv. 55. ‘O death, where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?’ 2 Cor. v. 1. ‘For we know if this earthly tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in

the heavens : for which we long earnestly, to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord, which is far better.'

"Now, I declare I am free of the blood of all men ; and although men have no public scandal to charge me with, yet by original and actual transgression, I am the chief of sinners ; but *His* love hath been great, the manifestations of his presence hath been great also ; for Satan hath not been wanting to assault, but yet glory to *His* name, who hath resisted him, and hath not permitted him to get his will. Now, as my last words, I recommend it to all, to be tender one of another, without sinning ; and be in earnest with God, for ye will find death will have enough ado with itself ; therefore delay not repentance, lest he come when ye are not aware. Now, as for these men that are unjustly taking away my life, only for adhering to the truth, and for no other end ;—now for what they do to me, as I am of myself, I freely forgive them and all others, and especially these blinded soldiers, that do what they do ignorantly (some of them) ; but as they do it to the image of God in me, that is not mine to forgive ; but I leave to him, 'to whom vengeance doth belong,' that he may do with them what may most glorify himself.

"Now, my work is finished, I have fought the good fight ; I have finished my course ; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness ; but let such as will condemn me read that scripture, Rom. viii. 33. 'Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect ? it is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth ? For my lot is fallen to me in pleasant places ; I have a goodly heritage ;' for I would not change my lot for the greatest man's upon earth. Men and angels praise him for this ; all the creation praise him ; O ! my soul shall praise him, through all the ages of eternity.

"Now, farewell all true friends in Christ ; farewell Christian relations ; farewell sweet and holy scriptures ; farewell prayer and meditation ; farewell sinning and suffering. Welcome heaven ; welcome innumerable company of angels, and the church of the first-born, and the spirits of just men made perfect ; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; welcome praises for evermore. Now, dear Father, receive my Spirit, for it is thine, even so come Lord Jesus.

Sic sub.—JOHN NISBET.*

XXVIII. JOHN WILSON.

[This was a man of great integrity and worth, with no small share of learning and talent. He was, by profession a Writer in the town of Lanark, and having held a commission in the Presbyterian army at the battle of Bothwell, he was with many others condemned, though absent, to suffer death as soon as he should be apprehended. At what time he was taken cannot be ascertained ; but on the 17th of April, he was brought before the Council, examined, and remitted to

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 272, 283.

the Justiciary ;—by whom, notwithstanding his acute and able reasonings to the contrary,—he was at length found guilty. Previous to the reading of the sentence, he was urged to receive the Test, but refused ; and thus adhering to his principles, he was executed on the 17th of May, 1683. His testimony is contained in the following Papers :]

1. HIS ANSWERS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

“ THE chancellor said, We having called James Laurie, produced to him a letter wrote by you to him, wherein you reprove him for calling Bothwell, *rebellion* : he owned, That it had convinced his conscience, and said, That he was sorry for what he spoke ; and we produced him a letter supposed to be writ in answer to yours, which he denied ;—tell us, who wrote that letter ? John Wilson answered, I will not tell by whom, only it was not written by James Laurie. Q. Who is the lady mentioned in the end of the letter ? A. I dare not burden my conscience to tell. Q. Do you own authority ? A. What authority ? Q. What think you of Bothwell ? Was it not unlawful to rise in arms ? A. I dare not say that it is unlawful ; for the confession contained in your Test says, Article 15. ‘ That it is a good work to defend the life of the harmless ;’ and however God hath disposed of those people, yet I suppose the Lord will own those for defending themselves against those that *sought their life*, that hearing their neighbours who had been worshipping God, were in jeopardy of their lives, thought it their duty to rise for their relief. Q. Was Pentland, *rebellion* ? A. The oppression of these poor people was such, that the then rulers condemned Sir James Turner for his cruelty. Upon this, one answered, That he knew, Sir James went not the length of his commission. Q. Was the bishop’s death, murder ? ‘ Have me excused, gentlemen, I will not answer to that.’ Being urged farther, he said, It being nothing concerning my salvation, I do not pry into it. Upon this they said, Did Bothwell concern your salvation ? To which he replied, There are none that engage themselves in service to God, but it behoves them to be at His call, and it being for saving the life of the harmless, I durst not sit God’s bidding. Q. Are you a minister ? A. No. They here alleged some of his letters importing so much : and being desired to read the place, they read somewhat about a call to some ministry, nothing relating thereto. Q. Will you not condemn the bishop’s death, as murder ? A. I dare not, for fear God having justified some of these actors, they should rise in judgment and condemn me. Q. Is there no other way but to rise in arms against the king ? A. I suppose you have read bishop Honeyman’s answer to Naphtali, wherein he says, “ A king may be resisted, in case he should alienate the kingdom to strangers :” and that being granted, religion being taken away, was as dear to us as any outward interest. One replied, The bishop got little thanks for that. Q. Think you it lawful to rise against a state that are not of your opinion ? Will ye go to Bothwell again ? These questions they gave him not leave to answer, but ordered him to be taken away, asking, if he was a Captain at Bothwell ? Which he assented to.

2. HIS FURTHER ANSWERS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AND CRIMINAL COURT.

Being again examined before the whole Council, his answers, as detailed by himself, were as follows :—“ Q. Was you at Bothwell, and a captain there? I answered as formerly. Q. Is Bothwell rebellion or not? A. No. It being for the defence of the harmless, who for hearing a preaching, and defending themselves, were in jeopardy to be cut off. They replied, The preaching was done. I said as before, The confession of faith contained in your Test, says, ‘ It is a good work to defend the life of the harmless.’ Q. Then you approve of the Test; will you take it? A. I am not speaking of the Test, but of the confession of faith therein contained. Q. Think you it lawful to rise against the Magistrate? A. Will you condemn the reformation from popery carried on by John Knox? One said, We are not come here to answer questions, but to ask. I said, The answering of that to me would be a full answer by me, to your question. Then said Bishop Paterson, The reformation was good, but the way of carrying it on was ill. A. That is a marvellous thing, to think God would approve the actors in such actions, and yet the method be ill; and they to have a most solid peace in these actions, and to have such a mouth to defend it, as all the wits in their days could not be able to withstand,—as will be clear to any that read the History of the Reformation. O, said one, he has read the History of the Reformation: ay, but you will not find it in Scripture, that the people may resist the prince; for then they take the Magistrate’s part on them, and therein declare themselves to be above their prince. A. The people resisted Saul, and would not let him kill Jonathan, (1 Sam. xiv. 45.) The Bishop said, The people were in the wrong. A. The scripture never condemns the deed. Then they again urged that rising in arms is unlawful. I told, again, that Bishop Honeyman granted there might lawfully be a rising in arms, if the kingdom were alienated to strangers. The Bishop said, *that* would be a distracted act. Then they asked if the Bishop’s death was murder? I answered, I would neither say it was, nor was not. Q. Do you own authority? A. Authority may be taken several ways; 1. For the simple command of the prince. 2. For the more public command of the prince and people. 3. For a power, a prince may be clothed with, by a people. 4. For a prince’s right to govern. And in the first two senses, since many both of the prince’s edicts, and public acts of parliament, are directly against presbyterians and presbyterian government,—to own it in *these* senses, I should deny myself to be a presbyterian. In the third sense, since the people have clothed the king with the headship of the Church, I cannot own that; because the eleventh article of the Confession of Faith, contained in the Test, says, ‘ That office belongs properly to Christ alone, and it is not lawful for man, or angel, to intrude therein.’ As for the last sense of authority,—his right to govern, I have not seen through the denial of it. Q. Will you venture your life on these things? A. My life is in God’s hand. Then they read what they had

set down, that I was a Captain at Bothwell, and other things, stated imperfectly, which they desired me to subscribe, but I refused."

On the 4th of May he was brought before the criminal court, when the advocate accosted him thus:—"Though, sir, you have been a rebel, and though ye have studied to draw that poor man Laurie to the gallows; yet you see how merciful the king is to these men, (viz. four who swore the Test,) and there is place left to you for mercy, if you will not obstinately persist in your opinion." He answered, "I have neither done any deed, nor given you an account of any opinion, but what I have justified from the Confession of faith, which you have lately sworn; from the ancient reformation, which ye cannot condemn; and from the concessions of your own Doctor." "What! (says Perth) will you justify your taking arms at Bothwell?" A. Your own Test justifies the defence of the life of the harmless. The advocate says, All the indulged, yea, almost all the presbyterians condemn it. "Then," says he, "Will ye *bond** before sentence, for there is no place left for the king's mercy after sentence?" A. "I will not; but remember, that one day, all sentences will be canvassed before the great Judge of heaven and earth."†

3. HIS REASONS FOR THE FOREGOING ANSWERS.

"When I was on my journey betwixt Edinburgh and Lanark, and several times before, having considered the bold testimony of Stephen, Acts vii. 51, 52. 'Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart,' &c., and Peter's testimony, Acts v. 30. 'Whom ye slew, and hanged on a tree:' and his desire that with all boldness they might make mention of the name of Jesus: and, lastly, that promise, Phil. i. 28. 'In nothing terrified by your adversaries,' &c. I say, considering these, I resolve to use the utmost freedom before the Council; but being come to this town, and having considered, that the council desired to pick such quarrels with any in our condition, as might give the least umbrage to the world of the justice of their dealing; 2. Considering that by many professed friends we are judged imprudent; yea, so far condemned, that they stick not to say, that we have a hand in our own death. 3. Their own public proclamations still bearing, That our design was not religion, but covetousness,—to possess ourselves of the government. For eviting of these, I resolved to be as cautious as I could, without prejudice to truth. So that taking my answers for defensive arms, out of the Test, which they had sworn; from the concessions of their greatest doctors, and from the deed of their predecessor council, whereof some present were members,—I thought it had been a ridiculous thing to make me condemn that which they had ratified by an oath, their great doctor had yielded, and their predecessor council had approved. But that I might have God's approbation in demeaning myself so, and do what I did therein in faith; I took that rule, 1 Pet. iii. 15. 'Be ready always to give a reason of the

* i. e. take the Test.

† Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 284—286, corrected and enlarged from Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 299, et seq.

hope that is in you with meekness and fear.' And as I thought I had reason to bless God, that had guided my tongue so, that I was not a whit concerned either with shame or fear, so I came back to prison with a heart sorry that I should have left these two questions of the Chancellor's unanswered, viz. 'Thought I it my duty to rise in arms against a state not of my opinion?' In answer to which question, I thought, if ever I had occasion, I would have been punctual in telling them, the question was wrong stated; for the right state of the question was, 'When a state destroys the true profession of godliness sworn to by the land, and persecutes the owners thereof.' The second question; 'If I would have gone to Bothwell again?' I thought if such a question came in my way, I would have told them, 'That I behoved to be at God's call.' And, likewise I was sorry that I had not been nimble enough to take opportunity, when the question anent authority was moved, to have testified against the ecclesiastical headship and sinful acts against God's church; I say, my omission, occasioned through their confused asking, bred me humiliation after I returned to prison.

"As to my second examination,* as I desired opportunity to testify against the headship of the church, and other sinful acts, destroying God's work, so I got opportunity, and so I discharged my conscience: but yet there was something left to exercise me with; and that was, 1. When the bishop said, That it were a distracted act for the king to alienate the kingdom to strangers, that I said not, It was an act of more distraction to destroy religion. 2. That in citing the words of the eleventh article of the confession against the headship, I should have said simply, It was unlawful to presume to intrude on that office; whereas the confession itself calls them blasphemers, and thereby mincing his word. 3. That when the bishop said, It were a Turkish way to carry on reformation by the sword, I had not opened their present practice and violence in pressing men's consciences; and had said, since they looked upon conscience as so tender a thing, to beware of squeezing it so, by oppression. I know, I have an infirmity in answering off-hand, anent which I hope all God's people will observe the rule of bearing one another's infirmities: next, I am sure that the Lord hath not supplied me as to these answers, for my further exercise. As to the reason why I said, I could not see through the denial of authority in the last sense, (for though I could not see through it, yet it being such an abominable stating of themselves, in a continual opposition unto God and godliness, I scunnered to own it,) the reason that moved me to say, that I could not see through it, was, I desire to tread the paths of our old reformers, who delayed the casting off authority, till they had a probable power to back it; yet, afterwards considering his breach of covenant to us, and that deeds were done by that authority, that in any well guided commonwealth, would annul his right,—I thought I had worded authority ill in the last sense, and that

* Mr. Wilson was at two different times brought before the council, as may be observed by the foregoing papers. In the first instance, he was examined by a committee of seven or eight, and on the second occasion by the whole council.

it had been more proper, had I said, 'I could not see through the denying of obedience to such commands as were indifferent, or according to God's word:' and indeed till God had furnished us with a probable power, I could never see through this; and I am verily of that opinion, that we having lusted for a king, got him in God's wrath; and that since we have entered into covenant with him, God will take his own way to take him away in his displeasure, and will not let it be by our hand: though I grant that his breach of paction to us looseth us,—our paction being still conditional, to own him in defence of religion; and my earnest desire is, There may be no difference among presbyterians anent this, for I have a strong opinion, that God will take that question out of the way shortly.

"As for the Bishop's death, I could not call it *murder*, because of Jael, Ehud, and Phineas, their facts; Jael using that expression, 'Turn in thither; that there was peace between Heber the Kenite and Jaban;'—Jael being of that family; and whatever may be alleged against these extraordinary acts, and that to do such deeds is to take the Magistrate's power! I am sure Phineas was a priest, and it was none of his office to kill any man, and yet his fact is commended! Next, Knox's preaching too, and abiding with the killers of Cardinal Beaton; and Calderwood's History, which was approved by the Assembly, calling them men of courage and resolution, whom God stirred up: next, the lord Ruthven and others killing a companion that abused Queen Mary by his ill-counsel, and yet approved in Knox's history: therefore if the killers of the Bishop, having a zeal against the blood-thirstiness of that wretch, and being deeply affected therewith, and with love to the brethren, (whom he, like a wolf, was seeking to have devoured, and had devoured,) slew him; *I durst not call it murder*: but if the actors were touched with any thing of *particular* prejudice or other by-ends, I am very confident *that* scripture, of avenging the blood of Jezebel upon the house of Jehu,—would not suffer me to justify it: so, not knowing the actors' hearts therein, I could neither say yea, nor nay; but Christians should judge charitably. I forgot likewise to tell them, that the Bishop of Glasgow's laying down his gown, upon their making the Act Explanatory, might be an aggravation of my sin, if I should own the king's headship over the church;—which I had really resolved to say, but forgot."*

4. HIS REASONS FOR NOT ASKING A REPRIEVE.

"Upon the 7th of May, 1683, being desired to petition, I answered, I could think upon no petition, nor arguments that could be acceptable with them, but such as were either directly or indirectly a receding from what I had professed. The reason of my petition was moved thus: 1. To seek a longer time till I was better advised anent my answers given to the council; to which I answered,—That would say to all the world, that for as tenacious as we were of our principles, yet we might seem to call them in question; and it might say, that I was pressing with others to die on these principles, that death put me to a stand

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 286—289.

anent myself ; and so I should give ground of hardening to enemies. 2. It was moved, that through my confusions since I came to prison, I should seek a reprival. To this I answered, I durst not slander Christ's cross, wherein every step to me hath been mercy and truth ; and my rebellious flesh needed no less (conform to my own acknowledgment to God) than what was come to subdue it : and that I could not well see through that, fearing it would be bad company so near my death, that I firmly trusted all should work for my well-being ; and to say that, were to contradict my conscience and God's goodness, and make me contradict my own prayer, viz., 'Let neither flesh nor spirit be moved and failed, lest enemies rejoice.' 3. That I should petition, that I might have a longer time, simply to prepare for eternity. To which I said, I could not do it in faith ; for ever since I came to prison, God has made me believe, that he who has begun a good work in me, would also finish it, and that he would perfect that which concerned me, according to his own word ; and however little a business this may seem in the eyes of the world, yet to me it imports my going to another airth, for the perfecting and finishing of this work begun by God. Then, if they refused it, they might taunt and say, Whatever confidence he had at his death, yet it is gotten of a very short space ; and if a reprival should be given, they might at my sentence say, if I believed my salvation, I was their debtor for it. And besides all this, I fear when I might come back to God for preservation, he should send me to the broken cistern I had been hewing out, Jer. ii. 13. And I know, if conscience permitted me to do it, that enemies would think,—either he is lying, in pretending want of preparation, and so, it is the best time to hold to him, when he has committed sin ; or otherwise, they would think, I were speaking truth, and so say,—the only best way is to hold to him when he is tottering.

"When all this is done, they came saying, 'Will you not seek your life?' 'Yes,' said I, 'if I might without sin ;' so they desired me to consider in my mind, and after consideration to give in a petition. So, after consideration, finding nothing I could petition upon but that which would rather raise than abate their anger, and verily thinking my wife would be as soon in her grave as I, and that the Council would lay her blood at my door, as not willing to seek a reprieve on her account, I petitioned, merely in respect of her case, being great with child ;—doing this, lest they should pretend ignorance, and my whole strain being to justify my sufferings to their consciences, and the eyes of the unbiassed world ; and for what I did herein, I bless the Lord I did it in faith, and had solid peace therein ; that their ridiculousness, in taking away my life, might occasion a stop to the taking away that of others, if possible."*

5. HIS CONFERENCE WITH SIR W. PATERSON.

"Sir William, after some compliments, advised Mr. Wilson to give in a petition, requiring some time to advise on his principles. 'Think

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 289, 290, as corrected and enlarged from Wodrow's History, p. 299, et seq.

you,' says he, 'your principles so sure, and the rising in arms such a business, and so clear that you dare die therein?' J. W. As to that business of defensive arms, I have long ere now convassed it to and fro. Sir W. What say you to that of our Saviour—All that take the sword shall perish by the sword? and his reproving Peter in that defence, it being a most abominable murder to take away a man's life? J. W. I find our Saviour in another place saying, sell your coat to buy a sword. Sir W. That is meant by the sword of the spirit. J. W. That were a Quakerish tenet to deny all defence. Sir W. But what say you to my argument of Christ's reproving Peter at his death? J. W. That action of Christ's passion was a determined thing; wherefore he reproved Peter for desiring him to pity himself, and therefore he would suffer no defence whatever therein; and he approves defence in so far as he says, suffer it this far, thinkest thou not that I could call so many angels, which to me imports,—if this were not a thing I must lay my account with, I need not want defence. Sir W. Think you yourself so well buckled therein, seeing there is so much difference among divines about it? J. W. What divines? Sir W. Protestant divines. J. W. That cannot be, for all the Protestants in Europe have wrestled from under the yoke of Popery by the sword; and I am sure, if there had been any Protestant divines had so affirmed, Bishop Honyman—a man among you of the greatest learning—would have raked them up, but he is forced to confess them lawful in some cases; and though your brother said that was a distracted act, yet I assure you, to me the act of undoing religion is far more unwise; and as I said to your brother, if I should condemn defensive arms, I would condemn most of the Protestants in Europe, and our worthy reformers, to whom, under God, we are obliged for so great a gospel light. Sir W. Though the reformation was good, the carrying it on was treasonable. J. W. If I should say or think so, I should look on them all as damned men, conform to the apostle, 'He that does evil that good may come of it, his damnation is just.' Sir W. You must not think it a small matter to lay down your life on trivial things, and neglect your family, whose care lies on you; and your not providing for them, makes you worse than an infidel. J. W. It is not trivials but truths that are solidly grounded; and as to the care of my family, since the Lord called me to suffering, I am commanded to leave them, or be unworthy of Christ. Sir W. You never make it out to me, but your blood and your family will lay at your door. J. W. No, Sir William, for mine is not a naked opinion, but grounded on that Confession of Faith you have sworn,—my Catechism,—to do all I can to save the life of neighbours, and the word of God,—'do judgment and relieve the oppressed;' and since it is so, I dare not act against my conscience. Sir W. Will you approve of a multitude of men gathering, plundering, and robbing a country? J. W. Sir, as for any such commission, I was both grieved and angry at it, and I wish such had not been among us; but I hope that could not be charged upon the generality, since they were known to be men of conscience; and as for my own part, I used such disgracefully when I had any power. Mr. M'Gilligen was brought in at Sir William's desire, but said nothing. Sir William said he was sure

Mr. Kirkton would not say with me. I said I knew the utmost Mr. Kirkton would go, was that the enterprise was foolishly carried on, but would never condemn defensive arms. Sir William asked me if death was not a terror to me. I said, no doubt once it would be a terror to all men, but whatever it had been, I had got submission to the Lord's dispensations. This is the sum of what passed, omitting some needless commendations of me. Sir W. added, think you all are damned that are of the Episcopal Church? J. W. I have learned the Protestant doctrine better, than to think all are damned that are of the Popish Church. Sir W. Well then, may you not believe as we do and be saved? J. W. No, for me to do but doubtingly, is damnation; let alone, to do against my conscience. Sir W. Conscience should be well-informed. J. W. You see I have grounded it on what you have sworn,—my Catechism and the word of God. Sir W. Do not think the quitting of these things is the quitting of Christ, since there is no quarrel this day about the fundamental points of doctrine. J. W. Yes, sir, it is, for since I have taken Christ for a King and Prophet, if I contradict his counsel or command before man, I deny him; and since I have evidenced the truth of what I have spoken, I dare not contradict my conscience.*

6. HIS TESTIMONY.

“Now, being called to lay down my life, which I do cheerfully, I do declare, I adhere to the Confession of Faith; anent which, for exoneration of my own conscience, I am under a necessity to leave this caution, in reference to that clause contained in chap. xxiii. § 24. viz. That ‘infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrate’s just and legal authority.’ Though the composers having an eye to the Pope’s scurvy usurpations, to dethrone protestant kings, and dispose of their kingdoms, under the notion of heretics, did put it in: yet I could find no further proof for that in the scripture, but what only respects Christians scattered up and down in a heathenish empire; and that it can be no prejudice against deposing a protestant king, who turns papist or pagan—since amcng people professing God, the idolater should die the death—for then it would seem to jumble with Queen Mary’s deposition in our ancient reformation:—designing offence to none hereby, but the satisfying of my own conscience. Also, I adhere to the work of reformation, former and latter; and I think our catechisms well worded, for evading of errors. As also, to the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, in anno 1648, and Engagement to Duties; Covenants, National and Solemn League; and particularly to the government of the church by a parity of ministers, and subordination of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, according to the presbyterian way, as being the most exactly according to the word of God, and as tending most to the furtherance of purity and godliness; and I profess myself a member thereof, as being reformed from prelacy and Erastianism.

“I leave my testimony against the Indulgence, as making a breach

* Wodrow’s History, Vol. II. p. 299, *et seq.*

of the sweet unity, that should have been among presbyterians, and as depending on the magistrates as to the exercise of their office ; and for their overweening love of ease, and for being bound up as to the shewing of public duties, and reproofing of public sins ; and for refusing the exercise of their office, to these without their parish, of marrying and baptizing, denying themselves thereby to be ministers of the church catholic, and declaring plainly thereby, they will follow the injunctions laid on them by men. Yet I advise all the godly to leave off hatred towards them, and to cherish any thing that may look like good in them. I leave my testimony against the paying cess, the payment whereof is a perfect test of the payer's adhering to the rooting out of conventicles, as the rendezvouses of rebellion, and acknowledging the king's grandeur over church and state, as it is presently established by the laws of this realm ; this being the very narrative and foundation of that act ; and I have found the indulged averse to condemn it,—the narrative of their license being somewhat sib thereto. But as to the other public burdens, such as the common revenue of the crown, or locality, (though I speak not this to justify myself,—these not being my tentations,) I desire a tenderness to be used to all such as have not clearness therein, in respect that the apostle seems to difference them, 1 Cor. x. 28. ' But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not.'

" I leave my testimony against hearing of Curates, especially by professed presbyterians ; as being contradictory to the covenants, binding us to the uttermost of our power to the extirpating of prelacy. Our active power being stopped, our next should be to leave a testimony by suffering, and as being contrary to the rule of faith : for what presbyterian can pray for a blessing to that ordinance, where the chief dispenser is a blasphemer, by swearing the test ; wherein the headship of the church, Christ's prerogative, is sworn by them to pertain to a man : and as being expressly contrary to that scripture, John x. 5. ' My sheep hear my voice, but a stranger they will not follow, but flee from him.' And here, I think it not amiss to add the words of Philpot, that learned and godly martyr, respecting the joiners of the papistical church,—seeing the reason he gives, holds good here. ' We can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, (whereof he is the only head) nor to seem to have forsaken her, by cleaving to her adversary ; and that God's jealousy in the day of vengeance will cry for vengeance against such, unless they cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ ; and that there must be no counterfeit illusion with them in this ; and there must be no presence of the body there,—we being commanded to glorify God, as well in body as spirit.' These are his words imperfectly, yet truly, as I remember ; and since the prelatical church has not Christ for her only head, the reasons hold still good.

" I could heartily wish that all the serious godly, would leave off their joining with the indulgence ; for in respect (to my own view) it has been attended with a coldriveness as to public sins, a gluedness to the world, and an infatuatedness as to approaching judgments ; and, lastly, being a countenancing of them in their compliance with enemies. But since I have little hopes thereof, I wish all the seriously godly to

be tender towards such, whose eyes are not enlightened to behold the evil of it, and to restrict their withdrawments to persons of their own number, who recede from what they profess; since the end proposed by that rule ('withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly') is 'to make ashamed,' it cannot be supposed to attain its end any where else; and to study to do that which may be most edifying to all men, 'Let all things be done to edifying.'

"I leave my testimony against that abominable Test, declaration, act of supremacy, and all other acts overturning the work of God, and against all the blood shed upon that account.

"And next, I think no man coming before the council can acknowledge the king's authority simply, (considering that he is clothed with one of the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, viz. The headship of the church, wherein to intrude is blasphemy for man or angel,) unless he be guilty of giving him that usurped title. And this is the ground of my suffering, mainly,—for affirming Christ's headship over the church, to be *His* prerogative alone, which is the occasion of the brunt of the Ruler's anger. And herein I have a most solid peace; for, Christ says, he came to bear witness to that truth, that he was a King: and so I think that my sufferings are merely a part of Christ's sufferings. And though, some say, I might have been sparing as to this confession; I say, I durst not keep up my lips, they themselves having that in the Confession of Faith, in their Test, which I affirmed, namely, That it is a blasphemy for man or angel to usurp this title;—yet is the great heat of malice stated hereon: but there is no piece of my sufferings yields me more content. Nor can any Christian come before them acknowledging authority *simply*, without being guilty of yielding this,—it being declared essential to the crown,—as Mr. Donald Cargill well notes in his testimony. And I think that question of authority being propounded,—a man has a fair open door to witness against the encroachments on Christ's rights. I understand somewhat more of the mystery of this state than I did: and conform to my weak conceptions, you may take it up thus:—

"The king, having through straits abroad, been complimented, and probably supplied by Papists, lies under engagements to introduce Popery; and for that effect, takes this method to overturn the hedge of church government and discipline, and turn out all honest-hearted ministers, and force people to a compliance with hirelings, to debauch men's consciences; and, from one degree to another, to bring in Popery; but he being a man so addicted to pleasures, and (sometimes counteracted by parliaments,) loving ease; wherefore Papists practise to put him in mind of his engagements, by aiming at his life. He finding himself in this strait, and being in straits through his lavishness to court ladies,—these straits must be supplied by the king of France and the Pope; and for requital thereof, the management of the government must be turned over to his brother,—who must have a cardinal, and some Jesuits to contrive the mystery of iniquity, and bring this land to Babylon. In order thereunto, statesmen must be set up, who are emulators of others, and men that studied to pick quarrels with others, and then comes a general mittimus from court, to act after such

a method of cruelty : for the Jesuits know, where two contrary parties act this game, they will be sure, for fear of their places, to consent to go along to the utmost of cruelty. The next mystery is to convene the whole country by circuit courts, as guilty,—some of treason, some for one transgression, and some for another (the whole country being generally guilty by their law) and force them to rise in arms ; and then gather Papists, and take occasion to burn and slay all the country over. The Lord in his mercy take them in their own net ; but I fear Popery shall once overspread. And I am really of that opinion, that God shall root this race of kings, root and branch, away, and make them Zeba and Zalmunna-like, not only for taking God's house in possession, but also emitting in their last printed proclamation or indemnity, that they resolved to root out the seed of the godly, under the name of Fanatics.

“ My advice and humble request to ministers is, to be tender toward any this day that have zeal, though knowledge be not so great ; and to be less fearful of outward danger, and more active where persecution hath been hottest, where they may have any freedom. My advice to all professors is, to lay no imposition on ministers' consciences ; and that for the Lord's sake, they would study to take some in among them, that have light and judgment to withstand the flood of defection and Popery that is like to overspread the land. And again, I have another advice to ministers and professors, that where any have suffered for their consciences, they would be sparing to condemn them.

“ I come now to declare my first engagement with God, which was about ten years hence, which was through reading of ‘ The Fulfilling of the Scriptures,’ and scripture truths therein contained, and the grounds of out-making thereof, which gave a check to my atheism,—which is naturally seated in all men's hearts. The next was ‘ Gray's Sermons on Prayer ;’ and the last, ‘ Guthrie's Trial of an Interest in Christ :’ all which, God so powerfully laid home to my conscience, that I then covenanted with God ; and though at that time I could not get the faith of perseverance, yet I had a respect to all his statutes ; so that, the Bible was a most sweet book to me ; and I took up my whole time for near a year thereafter in studying religion, (the most pleasant time that ever I had in my lifetime,) yea, it was a burden to me to turn me to my necessary affairs in the world. I found religion sharpened me in all my natural parts ; yea, bring me, who was naturally a most anxious, fretting, grudging, creature, to such a calmness and serenity in cross providences, that I thought,—though there were neither hell nor heaven,—religion was a reward to itself. And I was so taken up with Christ's gracious condescendency, that his name was most pleasing ; yet durst I not draw a conclusion of assurance and perseverance,—yea, was put to question the work itself, upon account of the quality of my repentance ; but meeting with Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ, I found that sensibly swallowed up a law-work, in love ; but I found this, that there is not a more excellent piece of the armour of God, than the helmet of salvation, and which Satan is most busy with a Christian to keep off. I found likewise, as knowledge and grace grew, that presumption grew ; that is, that with

what I had gotten, I could walk alone : but that truth, ' Without me ye can do nothing,' was known to my sad cost. But after all this sweet time,—yea, I may say, most sweet time,—falling more and more engaged in worldly affairs, I found an impossibility to me to be instant in business, and fervent in spirit ; so that some throngs in these, abated that life which I had ; and accordingly as love grew to outward things, so decreased that power and life I had attained ; yet so all along, I find that God has still been holding me by the hand : and I desire, with submission to other men's judgments, to say, I think a person falling in love with godliness,—covenanting with God, having a respect to all his statutes without exception, counting the cost, and seeing the cost of themselves incalculable, and believing that Christ, who was the author, will be the finisher of such a work ; I say, I cannot think that ever God will part with such, who do so covenant with him ; yea, it has been a comfort to me, when I could see no more of my interest in him, but that I said, ' Thou art my God.' And as I cannot conceal the loving-kindness of God, so upon the other hand, without compliments, as the words of a dying man, I look upon myself as the most worthless object that ever free love has paged and waited upon through the world,—compassed about with so many sins, and clothed with such a perverse nature ; but it is He with whom I made the bargain that makes crooked things straight, and rugged places plain.

" Next, I advise all sufferers to beware of proposing to themselves, to do this and the other thing, for safety of life, which is sinful ; for if such a false mind be in folk,—' God will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity ;' and they will not miss stumbling-blocks to be laid before them : I say this to them who have sinned, and yet continue in the furnace ; I fear that be their doom, Jer. xxii. 10. ' They shall go from their native land, and return no more.' As for you that have tested,—that which has been a terror to me, may be now a terror to you ; ' It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, if they fall away,' &c. by putting Christ to open shame, ' to renew them to repentance.' As for unconcerned folk, I shall only say this, Think ye nothing of men's choosing death before life ! I know I have gotten Roman gallantry cast up to me, since I came to prison ; but for my own part, I could never bear tell, that it set up the head of it in the world, to face a gallows, since the word of hell became so rife in the world. But let me tell you this one thing, That though I have read of some single ones dying for opinion, (not truth) yet could I never read of a tract of men, such as has been in Scotland these twenty-two years, laying down their lives for a naked opinion, so calmly, so solidly and composedly, with so much peace and serenity. As for my own part, I am a man naturally most timorous, yet the Lord has made sufferings easy. It might do you good to inquire into the cause of our sufferings, so owned by God. It is a bad cause that is defended with swords, and beating of drums on sufferers. And, besides, the Lord has forced a testimony from the mouths of several of our dying adversaries, and from the mouths of executioners and apprehenders. Yea, in this place, some psalms which were of clear application to themselves they would not suffer

to be sung. And as to professed Presbyterians,—to many of you for your unconcernedness, I am sure the Lord says,—Ye shall drink of another sort of a cup, that is brewing for you,—shun it as you will, by your compliance. As for our really concerned friends, I pray the Lord to protect you, and multiply his grace towards you. I am confident, when you are beneath the rod, ye shall find it an ease to your own smart,—however great a lift you have taken of others' sufferings.

“Next, I say to all that come under the rod, let no terrors of men, nor temptations of Satan anent eternity, come into your mind; but go to God with them, acknowledging your unworthiness of his protection and counsel, and you will find him faithful, ‘not to suffer you to be tempted above what you are able.’ It is no new thing to be assaulted with ‘terrors without, and within with fears.’ The Apostle, a most experienced Christian, wanted not this. I see a Christian to be a most passive creature in his own salvation; yet there must be an *All* of diligence, otherwise the roaring lion will soon get advantages. And you must know this, that the sufferers have a large allowance; and although, His own want not in their sufferings to the faith of adherence to him, yet ye must not think to sail that way in a bed of roses to heaven; but that ye must have fire in your trial;—I mean a deserting-God—as to apprehension: yet, wait patiently, and at length he will incline his ear, and you shall not want experience to say, ‘For a moment lasts his wrath.’

“And now, I leave my dear wife, children, and sisters, upon the Lord, who gave me such sweet refreshing relations, and desire all the people of God to be kind to them; and I bless the Lord he has enabled me to quit them to him: and though the Lord has made every one of them so sweet and so pleasing to me, that I have been forced to curb my affection with the bridle of religion; yet herein I bless the Lord, he has given me heart to go through my cross, with forgetfulness of all; yea, to be most unconcerned to the tears and weeping of my relations.

“And now, I leave all God's people, and others, with this, That his cross is beautiful; yea, though I had had occasion of escaping prison since sentence, yet I durst not without a check of conscience have done it: and though I did petition,—yet there was (to me) two necessary ends therein: first, they designing to make me odious, that I would not seek my life; and I desiring to make my suffering clear to their own consciences, to be unjust: and next, if any thing ailed my wife, I might lay her blood at their door. But I would advise all to beware of them, for there must be frequent consulting with God, and a reasonable judgment, to discern their snares; it being their main design to ensnare. I advise any called to suffering, never to quit with the faith of adherence, and they shall not want the faith of assurance; for since ever I came to prison, I saw and believed God's design to me was love: and having emptied me of all promises to sufferers, and of all my own righteousness, made me close with him, and take him for all, and believingly to rest on him, and to have recourse to him, for grace to supply necessity, and give me a believing of (though

to me incomprehensible) 'seeing him as he is,' and knowing him even 'as I am known of him.'

"Now I die, commending to all the people of God the duty of *unity*, conform to 2 Tim. ii. 22. 'Follow peace with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart.' And that, 1 John i. 7. 'If we have fellowship one with another, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth from all sin.' I do not say this to make up an union or joining with these I testify against.

Sic sub.—JOHN WILSON."*

XXVII. DAVID M'MILLAN.

[With respect to this individual, history has transmitted no particulars. It appears that on the 4th of May, 1683, he was, with some others, brought before the Justiciary, after having been previously examined by the Council. He was found guilty of being in arms at Bothwell, and of judicially owning the lawfulness of joining with those who were there, and sentenced accordingly. He maintained his constancy even to the last, for the clerk of court, while reading the sentence, being stopped,—he was informed that after being read out, it could not be recalled, and offered the Test; but his answer was, "Go on;"—and when it was finished, being asked what he thought of it now, he said, it was very welcome. He died in company with John Wilson, on the 16th of May, 1683, leaving in writing an account of his examination, and a Testimony, which are subjoined.]

1. HIS ANSWERS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AND JUSTICIARY.

WHEN he was brought before a Committee of the Council, their queries and his answers were, "Do you keep the kirk? He answered he was taken out of it, not when hiding, but when retired to it for reading the Scriptures. Being asked who took him, and for what; he answered,—Claverhouse, for being at Bothwell. Then he was questioned, Do you not count Bothwell rebellion? No, answered he, it was in defence of the truth. Next he was asked, Do you acknowledge lawful authority? He answered, he is not a Christian that does not so. But, added they, Do you acknowledge the present authority? Ans. In so far as he hath kept his engagements according to the word of God. Then he was asked, Will you take on to be a soldier, and go over sea? for if you abide here you will be hanged. He answered, Being under your power now, I will not cut out mine own lot."

Before the Justiciary his confession before the Council was adduced against him, upon which he alleged that it contained some things which he had not spoken, particularly about the Bishop's death. "Well," said the Judge who presided, "What say you to that now?" He answered, he had no judgment to judge such heads. He adhered to what he had said as to Bothwell; and being asked if he had any thing to

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 291—299.

say to the Assizers, he said, he knew none of them, "but betwixt you and them and God, be it." He was told there was yet room to renounce his ill principles that took him to Bothwell, by taking the Test. He answered, if he took it, it would not be willingly, and his heart would not come up, and so he thought it best to adhere to his right.*

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"I bless the Lord that chose me to join with that persecuted party, with whom I joined for defence of the truth, and when many fled on horse,—I and my horse going away with the rest,—I shot him from me, and went back and joined with the standing foot, and there was pursued by some riders, to whom I cried for quarter, who said they should give me quarter, and so felled me down to the ground; and thereafter there came an Highland-man, and at about 30 feet distance, shot two balls at me out of a musket, which hit me on the breast, and fell down on the grass without hurting me,—which was so great a marvel to me, that I durst not doubt of his providence since; and then being far from friends, I was through *His* providence, cured of my wounds. And when I went home my friends said how will you live now, (having lost the power of my arms,) but blessed be *He* ever since, his providence has never left me without abundance. And I desire that godly love may continue amongst all the godly, notwithstanding matters of judgment. And I would desire every one to look first into his own sins as the great cause of this undoing of religion. I desire all seriously to consider what price was paid for the church. And for my own part, I think it an admiration that ever he has honoured me with his cross; and let none think ill of it. And I bless the Lord I ever heard field-preachings, for thereby God convinced me of sin, and stirred up a love to Christ. And when it was desired I might deny my deed, I durst not for that word, 'Keep the truth, and the truth shall set you free.' And that of Isaiah, 'For we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood we have hid ourselves, and the hail should sweep away the refuge of lies,' and that woe to the rebellious children, who take counsel, but not of God, and cover with a covering but not of his Spirit.' And I think, of the covenant that was made with Levi, of peace, because of the fear wherewith he feared God, 'That the rulers having no fear of God, nor intending peace, have no interest in that covenant.' And I durst not take man's counsel, because of that woe to the rebellious children that took counsel, but not of God. I desire every one to take heed when they stand, lest they fall; for if folk begin to consult with flesh and blood and fetch their steps, they will be fair to slip. And, labour to strengthen the things that remain, that are ready to die. For my part, I durst not meddle with petitioning for fear of the sinful snare therein, for they labour to mark them either in the forehead or hand, that they part with. And that word comforted me, 'Thou hast a little strength, and hast not denied my name, and I have opened a door, and no man can shut it.' I could not argue for the truth as others, but I had

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 298.

never a look to go back, and never any wrong thoughts. Some said Bothwell was an ill contrived business ; but I loathed all such constructions, of not only enemies, but also pretended friends,—which was a great grief always as I heard it. I see many that would have said, ‘ Am I a dog to do such a thing,’ that run with the bulk, but let them mind *that* ‘ If any man draw back, *My* soul shall have no pleasure in him.’ You that are Christians should not be idle, when *they* are undoing religion at this rate. And yet I think some pretended friends are as great enemies as the church has. Labour to mourn for broken vows, promises, slighted offers and opportunities, and a broken covenant. For when I take a back-look, I wonder at the Lord’s long-suffering patience, considering a despised gospel, and considering his dealing with other nations. O mourn while he may be in terms of agreement with you, and pray that the Lord may return to his covenanted land, though your carcasses should fall in the wilderness ; and that he would be pleased to return to the following generation, who has not had the opportunity we have had. We have enough to account for, though we have not that posterity’s blood on us. I have solid faith, though the world should turn upside down, it will be well with them that are at their duty. And I die in the faith that he will return again, for the Lord is most wise in his dealings ; he can bring things about for his own glory and the good of his people ; however difficult it may seem now. But I think, the Lord, for innocent blood, and other acts, shall sweep away the most part of the generation. I adhere to the Confession of Faith, to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, to the National and Solemn League and Covenant ; and I leave my testimony against hearing of Curates, paying cess, and against the indulgence. And now I bless him who made me see the odiousness of my sin, and nakedness, and a white raiment from himself for a covering, and made me accept and close with him on his own terms. My soul shall bless him through all the ages of eternity.*

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"DEAR FATHER and Mother,—I beseech you to forgive me all the offences I have done to you, for ye know it is natural to children to offend and grieve their parents. Now this I seek in His name, and for His sake, and I heartily forgive any provocations that my father has given me, as I am of myself; and desire the Lord may take a dealing with your heart, O my father. Now, my dear father, seek the Lord, that your soul may live; and make religion your main work, and let it not be a bye-business to you, but strive and wrestle to get time spent rightly in the fear of the Lord, minding always and at all times, that the eye of a holy and just God is upon you; and be serious with God, and deal in earnest with Him, that He would help you to self-denial,—to be denied to all things beneath the clouds; and study to get at mortification, and let your affections follow nothing further than ye can be mortified to it; and be submissive to his holy will. Now the Lord himself persuade you to fall in love with lovely Christ: and I desire the Lord may give you unfeigned repentance, and faith in Jesus Christ, and strength to stand out and resist these ensnaring courses, viz. locality paying, and the compearing at courts, and hearing of curates, and the like. Dear father, mother, brethren, and sisters, quit with me, and give me up to the Lord, who gave me to you. Give me up freely without any hankering and repining; for he loveth a cheerful giver. I dare not say but he has been kind to me; O matchless love! O praise, praise him that ever he honoured the like of me with cords on my arms, and stocks on my legs;—irons have been sweet and easy to me, and no trouble. Now hold up my case to the Lord, and doubt not of his faithfulness and all-sufficiency, for he is both able and willing, and he has said, 'In all your afflictions I am afflicted;' and he carries his and their cross both, and he 'sends none a warfare on their own charges.' John xii. 24. 'Verily verily I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' And ver. 25. 'He that loveth his life, shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.' And I can say upon good grounds, I am well helped of my lovely Master in all that I have been trysted with. I desire with all my heart and soul to bless and praise the holy name of my God for his love, and that ever he looked on the like of me, a poor sinful thing. O praise him, and rejoice with me,

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that it is so well with me. Now, the manner of my taking, was not surprising to me: I was not afraid, for I dare not question but the place, and also the time was come: glory to His name in so ordering it. No more at present, but have my love remembered to you, and desire you to take up yourselves with your duty. Now I quit you all to him 'who is able to save to the utmost.' Be much taken up with the church's condition, and be not at ease in the time of Zion's trouble. My brethren, my advice to you is, to join yourselves in a society or fellowship meeting, in the strength of the Lord. Now my lovely Lord, give thy blessing to all thine, and pardon the sins of all the elect.

Sic sub.—JAMES SMITH.*

XXX. ANDREW GUILLAN.

[This, according to Wodrow, was the *only* individual of those really present at it, who suffered, "precisely on account of the Archbishop's death;" and even he was not *actually* engaged in compassing that event. He was by trade a weaver, and living in the neighbourhood of Magus-Muir,—was called out on the occasion, to hold the horses of those by whom the deed was perpetrated. He seems to have been a serious, and for his station, a well-informed man. He was apprehended as a nonconformist, by the Curate of the parish, in which for some time, by way of concealing himself, he had resided in the capacity of a farm-servant; and refusing to drink the king's health, he was first put into prison at Dalkeith, and afterwards removed to Edinburgh. As yet, nothing could be alleged against him, till he was artfully drawn into something like a confession of having been present at the Archbishop's death. He was tried, brought in guilty, and condemned to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, hanged at Edinburgh, his head fixed at Coupar, and his body hung in chains at Magus Muir: a sentence which was executed on the 20th of July, 1683.†]

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Being here to die for my dearest Lord's precious truths, I thought fit to leave this with you, as my last advice. Seek to do good to all in your day. Let your moderation be known unto all men. Study to be imploring your God, for there is sudden wrath pronounced from heaven against all that have been doing, or continue to do evil: for he hath said, Jer. x. 25. 'Pour out thy fury

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 270—271.

† "After his body," says Wodrow, "had hung in chains for some time, some people came and took it down, for which the country about was put to no small trouble. I find that in May, 1684, the council granted a commission to the earl of Balcarres, to pass sentence of banishment against the persons who took it down, as being owners of the Archbishop's murder." Wodrow, vol. II. p. 304.

upon the heathen, and upon the families that call not upon thy name.' We had need to know what we shall answer, when we shall come before him, with whom we have to do; for he is a holy God, and 'a consuming fire to the workers of iniquity,' Wherefore, dear friends, study holiness in all manner of conversation; make it your earnest care to have your conversation as becomes the gospel, and then he will be forthcoming unto you. My friends, I leave you with the Lord, who hath promised to be the God of his people. He is given of the Father to be a leader and commander to his people, and he will lead them. And I entreat every particular person, never to be at rest till they give away themselves personally in covenant to God, and promise through his grace, to be for him, and not for another. I leave you to him, who 'leads Joseph like a flock.' If you would have him speaking peace to you in your life, and in your end, cleave to the Son of God and his truths. And remember, if speedy repentance do not prevent, you will utterly ruin your immortal souls. Now, my dear friends, ye that are desiring singly to stand for God, hold on your way, and wait for the Lord, and quit not a hoof of the truth: he will be an up-making God to you, and he has promised to be a present help in the time of your need.

"There is a great confluence come here at this time: I would wish with all my heart they would get good by it. I am come here to lay down my life. I declare I die not as a murderer, nor as an evil-doer; although this covenant-breaking, perjured, murdering generation lay it to my charge, as though I was a murderer, on account of the justice that was executed on that *Judas* who sold the kirk of Scotland for 50,000 merks a year. And we being bound to extirpate Popery and Prelacy, and that to the utmost of our power, and we having no other that were appearing for God at that day, but such as took away his life, therefore I was bound to join with them, in defending the true religion, and all the land. Every man was bound in covenant, when *he* had sold the church,—they were bound, I say, to meet him by the way, when he came down from London, and have him presently put to the edge of the sword, for that heinous indignity done to the holy Son of God. But it is, alas! too apparent that men have never known God rightly, nor considered that he is a holy God. O terrible backsliding! they will not believe that God will call them to an account for what they owed to God: but assure yourselves, as he is in heaven, he will call every one to an account, how they have stood to that covenant and work of reformation. I need say no more; but I would have you consider, that in breaking the covenant, we have trampled under foot the precious truths of Jesus Christ.

Now, being straitened of time, I must leave off writing. Wherefore, farewell holy Scriptures, wherewith my soul hath been many a day refreshed: farewell sweet societies with whom I have been, and whose company was so refreshful to me; farewell my mother, brethren, sisters, and all other relations; farewell all earthly pleasures; farewell sun, moon, and stars. Welcome spirits of just men made perfect;

welcome angels ; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—into whose hands I commit my spirit.

Sic sub.—ANDREW GUILLAN.*

The inhuman treatment this martyr met with ought not to be forgotten, as a pregnant instance of the hellish rage and fury of the persecutors, and of the Lord's rich grace, who wonderfully countenanced and strengthened him to endure the tortures inflicted upon him, with an undaunted braveness of spirit : for besides the tortures he suffered in prison, they ordered both his hands to be cut off, while he was alive : and it was observed by onlookers, though (by reason the executioner was drunk) he received *nine* strokes in cutting them off, yet he bore it with invincible patience. And after the right hand was cut off, he held out the stump in view of the multitude, saying, "As my blessed Lord sealed my salvation with his blood, so am I honoured this day to seal his truths with my blood."—*C. W.*

XXXIII. JOHN COCHRAN.

[This was one of Three countrymen, who suffered together on the 30th of November, 1683. He was by trade a shoemaker, and belonged to the parish of Lesmahagow. With his two companions he was indicted in the usual form, for treason, as having been in the rising at Bothwell. They were brought before the council on the 26th ; and their confession there emitted was all that was adduced as evidence at their trial, on the 28th of said month. They were, of course, condemned,—and two days after, hurried into eternity. "They were persons," says Wodrow, "from whom the government had nothing to fear, and their blood was shed (for what I can see) merely out of love of blood." It appears that John Cochran confessed his having been both at Drumclog and Bothwell-bridge, armed with a fork, and that he refused to own or pray for the king, or to give his opinion of the Archbishop's death. His testimony, in which the other two concurred, is as follows.]

"BEING brought before the lords of Justiciary, they asked, Where I went in to the rebels ? I answered, I went in to the people of God, whom ye call so, at Drumclog. They asked, If I had arms ? I told them, I had a fork. They asked, If I thought it rebellion ? I said, No. And they said, What was it then ? I told them, It was in defence of the gospel. They asked, If I did own the authority ? I told them, As far as it did agree with the word of God. Then they asked, If I would pray for the king ? I told them, That prayer should be gone about in decency and order. Then they asked, If I would say 'God save the king ?' And I refused. Then they said, Was I not bound to

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 263—264.

pray for him? I told them, That I was bound to pray for all that were within the bounds of election. Then they said, Was the Bishop's death murder? I told, I was no judge. Then they asked, If I was at Bothwell? I told, I was. They said, Was it rebellion? I said, No. Then I was taken back to prison again, and the irons laid on me: but blessed be the Lord, that was no discouragement to me; for when the storm blew hardest the smiles of my Lord were at the sweetest. It is matter of rejoicing unto me, to think how my Lord hath passed by many a tall cedar, and hath laid his love upon a poor bramble-bush, like me. And O! that I could bless the Lord for it, and say, 'Come all ye that fear the Lord, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul.' And now I am made to say, 'That the Lord doth all things well, and holy is his name.' And as for my part, I have good cause to bless the Lord, that ever I was a hearer of the persecuted gospel; and however the world think of us, that our lot is hard in a world, yet remember, that he saith in his holy word, that 'whosoever will live godly, must suffer persecution; and whosoever will not take up his cross, and follow me, is not worthy of me. And fear not him that can kill the body,' but said he, 'I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear; fear him that can kill both soul and body, and cast both into hell.' And 'If judgment begin at the house of God, where shall the wicked and ungodly appear in that day, when he shall take vengeance on them that fear him not, and obey not the gospel?' And now, alas! I am afraid, that even much of the gospel amongst us, will be a witness against us; for it was the judgment of Capernaum, that so many mighty works were done in it, and yet they believed not: and yet, for all that came upon it, it was said to be exalted up to heaven; and then we hear of its being thrust down to hell: even so, I fear the having so much light will be the plague of our land: for it was once a praise to all the earth; but now a mocking, even among the heathens.

"And now as a dying man, I do heartily declare my adherence unto all the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and preaching of that blessed gospel, by a faithful, sent, presbyterian gospel ministry. As also, I do, with all my soul and heart, agree with, and assent unto the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Sum of Saving Knowledge; the National and Solemn League and Covenants, Directory for Worship, the Solemn Acknowledgment of public Sins and Breaches of the Covenant, and Engagement to all Duties, together with all and whatsoever is contained within the fore-said book. And likewise I do hereby heartily witness and testify against popery, prelacy, Erastianism, heresy, and other errors, especially quakerism, and whatsoever is disconform and disagreeable to the holy Scriptures, and these other sound writings above-mentioned. And likewise, I witness and testify my abhorrence and detestation of that abominable and blasphemous Test, which is now so violently pressed upon the people, tending to the destruction of their souls. Moreover, I leave my wife and six small children to the care and protection of Almighty God, who hath promised 'to be a father to the fatherless, and an husband to the widow,'—and my soul to God who gave it, for

whose cause I now willingly lay down my life: and now I bid farewell to all earthly and carnal comforts. Farewell all Christian acquaintance: and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit!

Sic sub.—JOHN COCHRAN.*

At the same time also suffered upon the same heads of truth, and adhering to the same testimony, these two pious martyrs, John Whitelaw, and Arthur Bruce, who were interrogated upon the same things before the Council or Lords of Justiciary, and agreed with the foregoing martyr in every respect, and expressed in their testimonies the like satisfaction with their lot, and cheerfulness under the cross, and their adherence to the same principles, and abhorrence of the same errors.—C. W.

XXXIV. GEORGE MARTIN.

[It appears that this good man who had for some time practised as a Notary at Dailly in Ayrshire, endured with exemplary patience, a long tract of sufferings. He was apprehended towards the end of 1679, and for upwards of four years—remained under great severities. He was for a great part of that time, day and night, *in irons*; and mostly without fire and other necessities,—even during the most inclement weather. Why he was so long detained in prison, we have no account. It was, however, not till the 18th of February, 1684, that he was brought to trial, after having been previously examined on the 11th of that month. He was found guilty, of course; and that on the usual grounds of refusing to pray for the king, to renounce the covenant, to declare the rising at Bothwell *rebellion*, and the bishop's death, *murder*. He was executed, in pursuance of his sentence, on the 22d of February following—leaving behind him the testimony which is subjoined.]

“MY DEAR FRIENDS,—After four years' and nearly four months' captivity and bondage, for this glorious and honourable cause of Jesus Christ,—for which I have been kept sometimes in bolts and fetters, night and day, without fire and other necessities; and now at the end of the foresaid space, being sentenced to die, I thought it fit to signify to you why I was so sentenced, as the adversaries gave it forth: and it is thus; I could not own nor allow of the king's authority, as it is now established, nor pray for him in a superstitious and idolatrous manner, nor call the late prelate of St. Andrews', and the late king's death *murder*, nor Bothwell-bridge *rebellion*, and abjure the Covenant: all which I refused, and could do upon no terms.

“As to the first, I could not own nor allow of the present

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 265, 267.

government, as it is now established, because it is derogatory to the crown and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in robbing him of his royal prerogatives ; ‘ in their setting of their threshold by his threshold, and their posts by his posts, and the wall between him and them, they have even defiled his holy name, by their abominations that they have committed.’ Ezek. xliii. 8. And, Ezek. xlv. 6, 7, 8. ‘ And thou shalt say to the rebellious house, even to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God, O ye house of Israel, let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought into my sanctuary strangers, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary to pollute it, even my house, when ye offer my bread, the fat and the blood, and they have broken my covenant, because of all their abominations. And ye have not kept the charge of mine holy things : but ye have set keepers of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves.’ ‘ Shall even he that hateth right govern ? and wilt thou condemn him that is most just ?’ Job xxxiv. 17. Who durst do it and be guiltless ? and moreover,—‘ Which say to the seers see not, and to the prophets, prophesy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits. Get ye out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the holy One of Israel cease from before us,’ Isa. xxx. 10, 11. And I cannot, nor dare not pray for him so superstitiously. 1st, Because it imports a set form of prayer, which is most superstitious, and that which is their dreadful design. 2dly, It imports idolatry, like unto the cry of the people made mention of, Acts xix. 34. who had a cry for the space of two hours, of that idol, ‘ Great is Diana of the Ephesians,’ which was rejected by some of their own sort, with some kind of reason, though heathens, and much more ought it here. 3dly, Another reason why I cannot pray after such a manner, is, I find when prayer is rightly discharged, and seriously gone about, in the manner, time, and place, as is warranted by the word of God ; God is thereby worshipped and honoured ; and if irreverently gone about, he is dishonoured, and his name profaned, and taken in vain, which is abomination to him,—which he saith, his enemies do, and for which he will not hold them guiltless. 4thly, I dare not pray so superstitiously for him, because I find Jeremiah expressly forbidden to pray for a people, not guilty of all the things that he is guilty of, though he be guilty of all their sins, and many others also. See for this, Jer. vii. 16. where it is said, ‘ Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me ; for I will not hear thee.’ Jer. xi. 14. ‘ Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up a cry or prayer for them ; for I will not hear them in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble.’ And Jer. xiv. 11, 12. ‘ Then said the Lord unto me, Pray not for this people for their good : when they fast, I will not hear their prayer.’ Psalm xlv. 20, 21. ‘ If we have forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange god ; shall not God search this out ; for he knoweth the secrets of the heart.’ 1 John v. 16. ‘ If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death ; I do not say, that he shall pray for it.’ I fear some

sins in this land have too near bordering with that sin. Innumerable scriptures are to this purpose, but these may suffice at present. Another thing makes me scruple, because they command no more prayers to be prayed, 'save unto thee O king,' Dan. vi. 7. And lastly, I dare not pray it, because all the profane profligate persons have it always in their mouth, especially when they are drunk; and if I do what they do, I fear I go where they go: but blessed be the Lord, who has yet prevented me from the paths of these destroyers. Much of this was spoken when I was before them, and so I shall forbear to speak any more as to this question.

"The next question is, in order to the prelate's death, Whether it was murder or not? Murder I dare not call it, more than Eglon's, Sisera's, and Balaam's deaths, but the just judgment of God for his fearful apostasy and backsliding, together with the horrid murders committed by him upon the saints and servants of God. The third is, That of the death of the late king; whether it was murder or not? I am not much to meddle with it; but the many thousands that were slain in England,—the horrid murder committed by the Irish in Ireland, and the dreadful slaughter of the protestants in Scotland, cause great thoughts of heart, that it was a fatal stroke. A fourth thing, Whether Bothwell bridge was rebellion? which whether it was so or not, may appear, if ye consider our former engagements to that effect. And, fifthly, Anent owning and adhering to the covenants,—We answered publicly before the court, That in all the scripture it was warrantable, both to make covenants, and also to keep them, and that there was never a covenant so broken, but that which was punished by signal judgments and plagues by the Lord.—These were the answers to the indictment, whereupon the sentence of death passed, or for not answering to some of these questions; for which I must lay down my life. And if this be not murder, let Christian nations bear witness, if ever the like was done in any Christian kingdom heretofore.

"But now being straitened for want of time and other inconveniences, I cannot say much more to you. Only, I leave it with you as my last advice, that you would endeavour to keep the way of the Lord sincerely, and not to meddle with them that are given to such changes, which alas! too many plead for, and are given to this day; and that ye would not be so formal in many things, concerning godliness, and the work and worship of God.—Formality, it may be feared, will give many a beguile, when it cannot be mended. As first, I beseech you, be more observant in keeping the Lord's day, in rising betimes in the morning, and in spending the whole time in worshipping God sincerely: take heed to your thoughts, words, and actions. And when ye set a day apart, I mean of humiliation, give God the whole day, and notice what success ye have had, and how ye have found the work thrive and prosper among you: and use less disputings even in things seemingly necessary: and be more in examination and edification both of yourselves and others; and believe that a well spent Sabbath will be helpful to spend the week well. And also, labouring to have your conversation aright through the week, will be a noble presage to begin the Sabbath. And what ye spare of your ordinary diet, bestow it upon the poor and needy. There is this among many, who profess to be reli-

gious, which is odious, that they take well with it to be called religious, and yet they have little or no scruple to do wrong, and speak wrong of others, and towards them. I beseech you sin not,—though there were no eye to see you but God,—either by doing or suffering: you will never perform religious duties aright, till ye be at this, that ye dare do wrong in no kind to any. ‘Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with your God.’ Alas! it is sad to see and hear judgments and plagues multiplied, and sin so much increasing. O for more tenderness one towards another! and of a spirit of meekness and zeal for God, give yourselves to be ever in prayer one with another, and for another: wrestle with him in behalf of his church, and ruined work now borne down; and that he may return to the land, and pity his people; and be importunate with him in this, lest the ruin thereof be found to be under your hand. I fear you may expect judgments to come suddenly upon this sinful land; so that ye will think, happy were they that got away before they came: therefore so many of you as would in any measure escape the deluge of wrath, that is coming on this sinful generation,—keep clean hands, and be free of the sinful abominations committed therein; and for witnessing against them, we are to lay down our lives this day.

“And now as a dying man, and a dying Christian, I join with, and approve of all the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, both of threatenings and promises therein. As also I agree with, and allow of that excellent book, called the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship; and particularly, I adhere to, and allow of the two Covenants, both National and Solemn League and Covenant, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, with all others contained in the forenamed book. As also I do witness and testify my dislike of the breaches and burnings of these covenants, and of all other horrid abominations of that nature. And likewise I abhor and detest all compliance or joining with the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ; and more particularly, of bonding, bargaining, and informing, or putting them to do hurt, any manner of way, to any of the Lord’s poor afflicted, borne down, wandering and distressed people. And in like manner I hate and detest all communing with, speaking favourably of, or eating or drinking with any such, except in case of necessity. And in like manner, I testify my dislike of that dreadful, blasphemous, and abominable unparalleled test, and of all pretended magistrates and ministers, who have taken the same, and of all that meddle or join with them, or pay fines for hearing the gospel, or transact or colleague with any such, any manner of way, upon the foresaid account. And lastly, I hate too much covetousness in prisoners who are in a capacity to maintain themselves, and yet are burdensome to other poor, mean (though charitable) people. And I join heartily with the testimonies of our dear suffering brethren, who suffered either formerly or of late. And likewise, I join my testimony to a faithfully preached gospel, by faithful, presbyterian, lawfully called and authorized ministers, and lawful magistrates placed and empowered, as is agreeable and warranted by the word of God, and none other. And notwithstanding I be branded with not admitting of magistracy and kingly authority,

I do hereby declare and make it known to the world, that I do allow of lawful authority, agreeable and conformable to the will and command of God, the only lawgiver, as much as any man in my station in Scotland, and account a land happy and blest, in having and enjoying such.

“And now, being honoured to die for adhering to the truth, and to die this same day, being the 22d of February, 1684,—I do hereby forgive all persons all wrongs done to me, and wish them forgiveness, as I desire to be forgiven of God. And now, I leave all my friends and Christian relations to the good guiding of Almighty God, and bid you all farewell in the Lord: farewell all worldly enjoyments, and created comforts. And welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit!

Sic sub.—GEORGE MARTIN.”*

Together with this martyr suffered John Gilrig,† wright in the parish of Hownam in Teviotdale, whose indictment was founded upon the same heads, and his testimony is much of a piece with his. He dies admiring and praising free grace, adhering to the truths of Jesus, and firmly trusting in him for salvation.—*C. W.*

XXXV. JOHN DICK.

[This distinguished martyr was a Student of divinity, and son to Mr. David Dick, Writer in Edinburgh. He was apprehended, and brought before the Council, so early as August 1683, and thereafter tried, condemned, and sentenced to be executed, on the 28th of September following. Before the day arrived, however, he, with a number of other prisoners, made his escape from the Tolbooth-

* *Cloud of Witnesses*, pp. 229, 305.

† The person here alluded to, is spoken of by Wodrow under the name of John Kerr. Whether he is here called Gilrig by mistake, or that he was accustomed to assume both, names, we have no means of ascertaining. The latter supposition seems to be favoured by the following statement from Wodrow. “I have,” says he, “before me, two original letters signed John Gilrig, from the Iron-house, December 27th, 1683, which savour much of humility, self-diffidence, and meekness,—wherein he offers many solid grounds of support to sufferers, and presses them to observe providences, and believe well of God. I doubt not but it is the same person here mentioned, and know no more about him than what is stated (as above) in the *Cloud of Witnesses*.” And yet it appears that he is spoken of under the name of John Kerr, as the following quotation from the registers renders evident. “John Kerr refuses to own the king’s authority. He says the king lays things on his subjects contrary to the word of God, and so he cannot own his authority;—that Bothwell-bridge was lawful, as a defence of the truth. As to the bishop’s murder, he says, it is not his part to judge. As to the late king’s murder, he refuses to answer. He owns the covenant, and adheres to the end of it. Refuses to sign.”

It appears that besides these two, and along with them, a third individual, by name James Muir, belonging to Cessford-Boat, was condemned, and most probably suffered. The grounds of his indictment, and the nature of the evidence adduced against him were precisely the same with those of the others, and consequently equally insufficient to infer the last penalty of the law.—See Wodrow, Vol. ii. pp. 368, 369.

prison,* nor was it till the beginning of March, 1684, that he was retaken. Being, immediately after, remitted to the Justiciary, he

* The account of this curious incident, as given by Wodrow, will, though somewhat long, give no small gratification to the reader.

“ It was upon the 16th of September, that Mr. John Dick and upwards of 24 other prisoners, none of whom almost could ever have expected to come out of prison, but for execution,—found means to cut a window and get out. The circumstances accompanying their escape, were such as were truly remarkable; and the more to be observed, that not one of them, save Mr. Dick, fell again into the enemies’ hands. There was a sentinel in the street just below the window at which they got out; whether for the security of the prison, or because the Earl of Linlithgow, justice-general, and colonel to the red regiment, had his lodgings just opposite to the tolbooth,—my informer cannot tell. The window was cross-barred with iron, and after they had cut one bar, they found the space not large enough to get out at, which cost them the cutting of three other iron bars, and this took them so much time and pains, that the matter was talked of among their friends, not only in the town of Edinburgh, but even at Glasgow, before they could get it accomplished; yet it came not to the ears of their enemies, but which is yet stranger, as my author very well remembers,—it so happened that the first bar they cut fell from the window, which was on the third story, upon the street of the town, about nine of the clock at night, and continued laying there all night and next morning,—till about the same hour, a friend coming in to see them was sent down to the street, not so much as to look after the bar, (for that they did not so much as expect,) as to know if the want of it was easily perceivable from the street, and he found it just where it fell, and got it sent up to them, and they made a shift to fix it again in its place, till they had ended the rest of their project. They could not but wonder, that the street being so narrow there, and the Earl of Linlithgow’s lodgings just opposite to, and on a level, with their window, a sentinel at his sentry, within a few paces of where the bar fell, and the bar being amissing for some hours, and they putting it again in its place,—they could not (I say) but with admiration remark, that they were not observed and hindered; *that* night, likewise, they had also cut the beam of the floor above them, and made way for some of their fellow-prisoners, in that room, to get out with them.

“ When all was ready, and they just coming out, two friends surprised the sentinel at the centry foresaid, threatening him with present death if he spoke one word; and the fellow was not only silent at the time, but spoke nothing when he was relieved from his post, which gave them full time to shift for themselves; and several of them were country people who knew not the town, and had no friends nor acquaintance with them to direct them how to dispose of themselves, yet they all escaped: yea, it was affirmed, that one ——— Miller, an Eaglesham man, wandering up and down and seeing a light in a house went to it, and knocking, a servant opened to him, and he most ingenuously told his circumstances: this happened to be the Bishop’s lodgings, but the maid had the generosity to hide the man, till next day she told some of her acquaintance, whom she knew to be favourers of the sufferers, and they came and took care of him. This passage being fully verified to me, I thought it deserved room here.

“ No small noise was made about this escape. The Council could not be got to gather till the 20th of September, when I find, by the registers, a committee of their number was appointed to go to prison and call for the magistrates of Edinburgh and view it, and see what was necessary to be done for its security: they appoint, likewise, general Dalziel to call a council of war, and examine the behaviour of captain, lieutenant, sergeants, corporals, and sentinels, that night, and report. And January 22d, next year,—I find a process before the council against the magistrates and town of Edinburgh. They are libelled for suffering Mr. John Dick, Adam Philip, George Atkin, prisoners for high treason, and about two and twenty others, criminal prisoners,—to escape. The town’s lawyers are heard, and the magistrates assolied as being a casual and fortuitous escape, and the president is appointed to give them a reprimand and admonition to take heed to their prison in time to come.”—Wodrow, Vol. II. pp. 289 290.

2. HIS FURTHER ANSWERS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AND CRIMINAL COURT.

Being again examined before the whole Council, his answers, as detailed by himself, were as follows:—"Q. Was you at Bothwell, and a captain there? I answered as formerly. Q. Is Bothwell rebellion or not? A. No. It being for the defence of the harmless, who for hearing a preaching, and defending themselves, were in jeopardy to be cut off. They replied, The preaching was done. I said as before, The confession of faith contained in your Test, says, 'It is a good work to defend the life of the harmless.' Q. Then you approve of the Test; will you take it? A. I am not speaking of the Test, but of the confession of faith therein contained. Q. Think you it lawful to rise against the Magistrate? A. Will you condemn the reformation from popery carried on by John Knox? One said, We are not come here to answer questions, but to ask. I said, The answering of that to me would be a full answer by me, to your question. Then said Bishop Paterson, The reformation was good, but the way of carrying it on was ill. A. That is a marvellous thing, to think God would approve the actors in such actions, and yet the method be ill; and they to have a most solid peace in these actions, and to have such a mouth to defend it, as all the wits in their days could not be able to withstand,—as will be clear to any that read the History of the Reformation. O, said one, he has read the History of the Reformation: ay, but you will not find it in Scripture, that the people may resist the prince; for then they take the Magistrate's part on them, and therein declare themselves to be above their prince. A. The people resisted Saul, and would not let him kill Jonathan, (1 Sam. xiv. 45.) The Bishop said, The people were in the wrong. A. The scripture never condemns the deed. Then they again urged that rising in arms is unlawful. I told, again, that Bishop Honeyman granted there might lawfully be a rising in arms, if the kingdom were alienated to strangers. The Bishop said, *that* would be a distracted act. Then they asked if the Bishop's death was murder? I answered, I would neither say it was, nor was not. Q. Do you own authority? A. Authority may be taken several ways; 1. For the simple command of the prince. 2. For the more public command of the prince and people. 3. For a power, a prince may be clothed with, by a people. 4. For a prince's right to govern. And in the first two senses, since many both of the prince's edicts, and public acts of parliament, are directly against presbyterians and presbyterian government,—to own it in *these* senses, I should deny myself to be a presbyterian. In the third sense, since the people have clothed the king with the headship of the Church, I cannot own that; because the eleventh article of the Confession of Faith, contained in the Test, says, 'That office belongs properly to Christ alone, and it is not lawful for man, or angel, to intrude therein.' As for the last sense of authority,—his right to govern, I have not seen through the denial of it. Q. Will you venture your life on these things? A. My life is in God's hand. Then they read what they had

set down, that I was a Captain at Bothwell, and other things, stated imperfectly, which they desired me to subscribe, but I refused."

On the 4th of May he was brought before the criminal court, when the advocate accosted him thus:—"Though, sir, you have been a rebel, and though ye have studied to draw that poor man Laurie to the gallows; yet you see how merciful the king is to these men, (viz. four who swore the Test,) and there is place left to you for mercy, if you will not obstinately persist in your opinion." He answered, "I have neither done any deed, nor given you an account of any opinion, but what I have justified from the Confession of faith, which you have lately sworn; from the ancient reformation, which ye cannot condemn; and from the concessions of your own Doctor." "What! (says Perth) will you justify your taking arms at Bothwell?" A. Your own Test justifies the defence of the life of the harmless. The advocate says, All the indulged, yea, almost all the presbyterians condemn it. "Then," says he, "Will ye *bond** before sentence, for there is no place left for the king's mercy after sentence?" A. "I will not; but remember, that one day, all sentences will be canvassed before the great Judge of heaven and earth."†

3. HIS REASONS FOR THE FOREGOING ANSWERS.

"When I was on my journey betwixt Edinburgh and Lanark, and several times before, having considered the bold testimony of Stephen, Acts vii. 51, 52. 'Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart,' &c., and Peter's testimony, Acts v. 30. 'Whom ye slew, and hanged on a tree:' and his desire that with all boldness they might make mention of the name of Jesus: and, lastly, that promise, Phil. i. 28. 'In nothing terrified by your adversaries,' &c. I say, considering these, I resolve to use the utmost freedom before the Council; but being come to this town, and having considered, that the council desired to pick such quarrels with any in our condition, as might give the least umbrage to the world of the justice of their dealing; 2. Considering that by many professed friends we are judged imprudent; yea, so far condemned, that they stick not to say, that we have a hand in our own death. 3. Their own public proclamations still bearing, That our design was not religion, but covetousness,—to possess ourselves of the government. For eviting of these, I resolved to be as cautious as I could, without prejudice to truth. So that taking my answers for defensive arms, out of the Test, which they had sworn; from the concessions of their greatest doctors, and from the deed of their predecessor council, whereof some present were members,—I thought it had been a ridiculous thing to make me condemn that which they had ratified by an oath, their great doctor had yielded, and their predecessor council had approved. But that I might have God's approbation in demeaning myself so, and do what I did therein in faith; I took that rule, 1 Pet. iii. 15. 'Be ready always to give a reason of the

* i. e. take the Test.

† Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 284—286, corrected and enlarged from Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 299, et seq.

hope that is in you with meekness and fear.' And as I thought I had reason to bless God, that had guided my tongue so, that I was not a whit concerned either with shame or fear, so I came back to prison with a heart sorry that I should have left these two questions of the Chancellor's unanswered, viz. 'Thought I it my duty to rise in arms against a state not of my opinion?' In answer to which question, I thought, if ever I had occasion, I would have been punctual in telling them, the question was wrong stated; for the right state of the question was, 'When a state destroys the true profession of godliness sworn to by the land, and persecutes the owners thereof.' The second question; 'If I would have gone to Bothwell again?' I thought if such a question came in my way, I would have told them, 'That I behoved to be at God's call.' And, likewise I was sorry that I had not been nimble enough to take opportunity, when the question anent authority was moved, to have testified against the ecclesiastical headship and sinful acts against God's church; I say, my omission, occasioned through their confused asking, bred me humiliation after I returned to prison.

"As to my second examination,* as I desired opportunity to testify against the headship of the church, and other sinful acts, destroying God's work, so I got opportunity, and so I discharged my conscience: but yet there was something left to exercise me with; and that was, 1. When the bishop said, That it were a distracted act for the king to alienate the kingdom to strangers, that I said not, It was an act of more distraction to destroy religion. 2. That in citing the words of the eleventh article of the confession against the headship, I should have said simply, It was unlawful to presume to intrude on that office; whereas the confession itself calls them blasphemers, and thereby mincing his word. 3. That when the bishop said, It were a Turkish way to carry on reformation by the sword, I had not opened their present practice and violence in pressing men's consciences; and had said, since they looked upon conscience as so tender a thing, to beware of squeezing it so, by oppression. I know, I have an infirmity in answering off-hand, anent which I hope all God's people will observe the rule of bearing one another's infirmities: next, I am sure that the Lord hath not supplied me as to these answers, for my further exercise. As to the reason why I said, I could not see through the denial of authority in the last sense, (for though I could not see through it, yet it being such an abominable stating of themselves, in a continual opposition unto God and godliness, I scunnered to own it,) the reason that moved me to say, that I could not see through it, was, I desire to tread the paths of our old reformers, who delayed the casting off authority, till they had a probable power to back it; yet, afterwards considering his breach of covenant to us, and that deeds were done by that authority, that in any well guided commonwealth, would annul his right,—I thought I had worded authority ill in the last sense, and that

* Mr. Wilson was at two different times brought before the council, as may be observed by the foregoing papers. In the first instance, he was examined by a committee of seven or eight, and on the second occasion by the whole council.

it had been more proper, had I said, 'I could not see through the denying of obedience to such commands as were indifferent, or according to God's word : ' and indeed till God had furnished us with a probable power, I could never see through this ; and I am verily of that opinion, that we having lusted for a king, got him in God's wrath ; and that since we have entered into covenant with him, God will take his own way to take him away in his displeasure, and will not let it be by our hand : though I grant that his breach of paction to us looseth us,—our paction being still conditional, to own him in defence of religion ; and my earnest desire is, There may be no difference among presbyterians anent this, for I have a strong opinion, that God will take that question out of the way shortly.

" As for the Bishop's death, I could not call it *murder*, because of Jael, Ehud, and Phineas, their facts ; Jael using that expression, ' Turn in thither ; that there was peace between Heber the Kenite and Jaban ; '—Jael being of that family ; and whatever may be alleged against these extraordinary acts, and that to do such deeds is to take the Magistrate's power ! I am sure Phineas was a priest, and it was none of his office to kill any man, and yet his fact is commended ! Next, Knox's preaching too, and abiding with the killers of Cardinal Beaton ; and Calderwood's History, which was approved by the Assembly, calling them men of courage and resolution, whom God stirred up : next, the lord Ruthven and others killing a companion that abused Queen Mary by his ill-counsel, and yet approved in Knox's history : therefore if the killers of the Bishop, having a zeal against the blood-thirstiness of that wretch, and being deeply affected therewith, and with love to the brethren, (whom he, like a wolf, was seeking to have devoured, and had devoured,) slew him ; *I durst not call it murder* : but if the actors were touched with any thing of *particular* prejudice or other by-ends, I am very confident *that* scripture, of avenging the blood of Jezebel upon the house of Jehu,—would not suffer me to justify it : so, not knowing the actors' hearts therein, I could neither say yea, nor nay ; but Christians should judge charitably. I forgot likewise to tell them, that the Bishop of Glasgow's laying down his gown, upon their making the Act Explanatory, might be an aggravation of my sin, if I should own the king's headship over the church ;—which I had really resolved to say, but forgot."*

4. HIS REASONS FOR NOT ASKING A REPRIEVE.

" Upon the 7th of May, 1683, being desired to petition, I answered, I could think upon no petition, nor arguments that could be acceptable with them, but such as were either directly or indirectly a receding from what I had professed. The reason of my petition was moved thus : 1. To seek a longer time till I was better advised anent my answers given to the council ; to which I answered,—That would say to all the world, that for as tenacious as we were of our principles, yet we might seem to call them in question ; and it might say, that I was pressing with others to die on these principles, that death put me to a stand

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 286—289.

anent myself; and so I should give ground of hardening to enemies. 2. It was moved, that through my confusions since I came to prison, I should seek a reprival. To this I answered, I durst not slander Christ's cross, wherein every step to me hath been mercy and truth; and my rebellious flesh needed no less (conform to my own acknowledgment to God) than what was come to subdue it: and that I could not well see through that, fearing it would be bad company so near my death, that I firmly trusted all should work for my well-being; and to say that, were to contradict my conscience and God's goodness, and make me contradict my own prayer, viz., 'Let neither flesh nor spirit be moved and failed, lest enemies rejoice.' 3. That I should petition, that I might have a longer time, simply to prepare for eternity. To which I said, I could not do it in faith; for ever since I came to prison, God has made me believe, that he who has begun a good work in me, would also finish it, and that he would perfect that which concerned me, according to his own word; and however little a business this may seem in the eyes of the world, yet to me it imports my going to another airth, for the perfecting and finishing of this work begun by God. Then, if they refused it, they might taunt and say, Whatever confidence he had at his death, yet it is gotten of a very short space; and if a reprival should be given, they might at my sentence say, if I believed my salvation, I was their debtor for it. And besides all this, I fear when I might come back to God for preservation, he should send me to the broken cistern I had been hewing out, Jer. ii. 13. And I know, if conscience permitted me to do it, that enemies would think,—either he is lying, in pretending want of preparation, and so, it is the best time to hold to him, when he has committed sin; or otherwise, they would think, I were speaking truth, and so say,—the only best way is to hold to him when he is tottering.

"When all this is done, they came saying, 'Will you not seek your life?' 'Yes,' said I, 'if I might without sin;' so they desired me to consider in my mind, and after consideration to give in a petition. So, after consideration, finding nothing I could petition upon but that which would rather raise than abate their anger, and verily thinking my wife would be as soon in her grave as I, and that the Council would lay her blood at my door, as not willing to seek a reprieve on her account, I petitioned, merely in respect of her case, being great with child;—doing this, lest they should pretend ignorance, and my whole strain being to justify my sufferings to their consciences, and the eyes of the unbiassed world; and for what I did herein, I bless the Lord I did it in faith, and had solid peace therein; that their ridiculousness, in taking away my life, might occasion a stop to the taking away that of others, if possible."*

5. HIS CONFERENCE WITH SIR W. PATERSON.

"Sir William, after some compliments, advised Mr. Wilson to give in a petition, requiring some time to advise on his principles. 'Think

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 289, 290, as corrected and enlarged from Wodrow's History, p. 299, et seq.

you,' says he, 'your principles so sure, and the rising in arms such a business, and so clear that you dare die therein?' J. W. As to that business of defensive arms, I have long ere now convassed it to and fro. Sir W. What say you to that of our Saviour—All that take the sword shall perish by the sword? and his reproving Peter in that defence, it being a most abominable murder to take away a man's life? J. W. I find our Saviour in another place saying, sell your coat to buy a sword. Sir W. That is meant by the sword of the spirit. J. W. That were a Quakerish tenet to deny all defence. Sir W. But what say you to my argument of Christ's reproving Peter at his death? J. W. That action of Christ's passion was a determined thing; wherefore he reproved Peter for desiring him to pity himself, and therefore he would suffer no defence whatever therein; and he approves defence in so far as he says, suffer it this far, thinkest thou not that I could call so many angels, which to me imports,—if this were not a thing I must lay my account with, I need not want defence. Sir W. Think you yourself so well buckled therein, seeing there is so much difference among divines about it? J. W. What divines? Sir W. Protestant divines. J. W. That cannot be, for all the Protestants in Europe have wrestled from under the yoke of Popery by the sword; and I am sure, if there had been any Protestant divines had so affirmed, Bishop Honyman—a man among you of the greatest learning—would have raked them up, but he is forced to confess them lawful in some cases; and though your brother said that was a distracted act, yet I assure you, to me the act of undoing religion is far more unwise; and as I said to your brother, if I should condemn defensive arms, I would condemn most of the Protestants in Europe, and our worthy reformers, to whom, under God, we are obliged for so great a gospel light. Sir W. Though the reformation was good, the carrying it on was treasonable. J. W. If I should say or think so, I should look on them all as damned men, conform to the apostle, 'He that does evil that good may come of it, his damnation is just.' Sir W. You must not think it a small matter to lay down your life on trivial things, and neglect your family, whose care lies on you; and your not providing for them, makes you worse than an infidel. J. W. It is not trivials but truths that are solidly grounded; and as to the care of my family, since the Lord called me to suffering, I am commanded to leave them, or be unworthy of Christ. Sir W. You never make it out to me, but your blood and your family will lay at your door. J. W. No, Sir William, for mine is not a naked opinion, but grounded on that Confession of Faith you have sworn,—my Catechism,—to do all I can to save the life of neighbours, and the word of God,—'do judgment and relieve the oppressed;' and since it is so, I dare not act against my conscience. Sir W. Will you approve of a multitude of men gathering, plundering, and robbing a country? J. W. Sir, as for any such commission, I was both grieved and angry at it, and I wish such had not been among us; but I hope that could not be charged upon the generality, since they were known to be men of conscience; and as for my own part, I used such disgracefully when I had any power. Mr. M'Gilligen was brought in at Sir William's desire, but said nothing. Sir William said he was sure

Mr. Kirkton would not say with me. I said I knew the utmost Mr. Kirkton would go, was that the enterprise was foolishly carried on, but would never condemn defensive arms. Sir William asked me if death was not a terror to me. I said, no doubt once it would be a terror to all men, but whatever it had been, I had got submission to the Lord's dispensations. This is the sum of what passed, omitting some needless commendations of me. Sir W. added, think you all are damned that are of the Episcopal Church? J. W. I have learned the Protestant doctrine better, than to think all are damned that are of the Popish Church. Sir W. Well then, may you not believe as we do and be saved? J. W. No, for me to do but doubtingly, is damnation; let alone, to do against my conscience. Sir W. Conscience should be well-informed. J. W. You see I have grounded it on what you have sworn,—my Catechism and the word of God. Sir W. Do not think the quitting of these things is the quitting of Christ, since there is no quarrel this day about the fundamental points of doctrine. J. W. Yes, sir, it is, for since I have taken Christ for a King and Prophet, if I contradict his counsel or command before man, I deny him; and since I have evidenced the truth of what I have spoken, I dare not contradict my conscience.”*

6. HIS TESTIMONY.

“Now, being called to lay down my life, which I do cheerfully, I do declare, I adhere to the Confession of Faith; anent which, for exoneration of my own conscience, I am under a necessity to leave this caution, in reference to that clause contained in chap. xxiii. § 24. viz. That ‘infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrate’s just and legal authority.’ Though the composers having an eye to the Pope’s scurvy usurpations, to dethrone protestant kings, and dispose of their kingdoms, under the notion of heretics, did put it in: yet I could find no further proof for that in the scripture, but what only respects Christians scattered up and down in a heathenish empire; and that it can be no prejudice against deposing a protestant king, who turns papist or pagan—since ameng people professing God, the idolater should die the death—for then it would seem to justle with Queen Mary’s deposition in our ancient reformation:—designing offence to none hereby, but the satisfying of my own conscience. Also, I adhere to the work of reformation, former and latter; and I think our catechisms well worded, for evading of errors. As also, to the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, in anno 1648, and Engagement to Duties; Covenants, National and Solemn League; and particularly to the government of the church by a parity of ministers, and subordination of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, according to the presbyterian way, as being the most exactly according to the word of God, and as tending most to the furtherance of purity and godliness; and I profess myself a member thereof, as being reformed from prelacy and Erastianism.

“I leave my testimony against the Indulgence, as making a breach

* Wodrow’s History, Vol. II. p. 299, *et seq.*

of the sweet unity, that should have been among presbyterians, and as depending on the magistrates as to the exercise of their office ; and for their overweening love of ease, and for being bound up as to the shewing of public duties, and reproving of public sins ; and for refusing the exercise of their office, to these without their parish, of marrying and baptizing, denying themselves thereby to be ministers of the church catholic, and declaring plainly thereby, they will follow the injunctions laid on them by men. Yet I advise all the godly to leave off hatred towards them, and to cherish any thing that may look like good in them. I leave my testimony against the paying cess, the payment whereof is a perfect test of the payer's adhering to the rooting out of conventicles, as the rendezvouses of rebellion, and acknowledging the king's grandeur over church and state, as it is presently established by the laws of this realm ; this being the very narrative and foundation of that act ; and I have found the indulged averse to condemn it,—the narrative of their license being somewhat sib thereto. But as to the other public burdens, such as the common revenue of the crown, or locality, (though I speak not this to justify myself,—these not being my tentations,) I desire a tenderness to be used to all such as have not clearness therein, in respect that the apostle seems to difference them, I Cor. x. 28. ' But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not.'

" I leave my testimony against hearing of Curates, especially by professed presbyterians ; as being contradictory to the covenants, binding us to the uttermost of our power to the extirpating of prelacy. Our active power being stopped, our next should be to leave a testimony by suffering, and as being contrary to the rule of faith : for what presbyterian can pray for a blessing to that ordinance, where the chief dispenser is a blasphemer, by swearing the test ; wherein the headship of the church, Christ's prerogative, is sworn by them to pertain to a man : and as being expressly contrary to that scripture, John x. 5. ' My sheep hear my voice, but a stranger they will not follow, but flee from him.' And here, I think it not amiss to add the words of Philpot, that learned and godly martyr, respecting the joiners of the papistical church,—seeing the reason he gives, holds good here. ' We can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, (whereof he is the only head) nor to seem to have forsaken her, by cleaving to her adversary ; and that God's jealousy in the day of vengeance will cry for vengeance against such, unless they cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ ; and that there must be no counterfeit illusion with them in this ; and there must be no presence of the body there,—we being commanded to glorify God, as well in body as spirit.' These are his words imperfectly, yet truly, as I remember ; and since the prelatical church has not Christ for her only head, the reasons hold still good.

" I could heartily wish that all the serious godly, would leave off their joining with the indulgence ; for in respect (to my own view) it has been attended with a coldrifeness as to public sins, a gluedness to the world, and an infatuatedness as to approaching judgments ; and, lastly, being a countenancing of them in their compliance with enemies. But since I have little hopes thereof, I wish all the seriously godly to

be tender towards such, whose eyes are not enlightened to behold the evil of it, and to restrict their withdrawments to persons of their own number, who recede from what they profess; since the end proposed by that rule ('withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly') is 'to make ashamed,' it cannot be supposed to attain its end any where else; and to study to do that which may be most edifying to all men, 'Let all things be done to edifying.'

"I leave my testimony against that abominable Test, declaration, act of supremacy, and all other acts overturning the work of God, and against all the blood shed upon that account.

"And next, I think no man coming before the council can acknowledge the king's authority simply, (considering that he is clothed with one of the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, viz. The headship of the church, wherein to intrude is blasphemy for man or angel,) unless he be guilty of giving him that usurped title. And this is the ground of my suffering, mainly,—for affirming Christ's headship over the church, to be *His* prerogative alone, which is the occasion of the brunt of the Ruler's anger. And herein I have a most solid peace; for, Christ says, he came to bear witness to that truth, that he was a King: and so I think that my sufferings are merely a part of Christ's sufferings. And though, some say, I might have been sparing as to this confession; I say, I durst not keep up my lips, they themselves having that in the Confession of Faith, in their Test, which I affirmed, namely, That it is a blasphemy for man or angel to usurp this title;—yet is the great heat of malice stated hereon: but there is no piece of my sufferings yields me more content. Nor can any Christian come before them acknowledging authority *simply*, without being guilty of yielding this,—it being declared essential to the crown,—as Mr. Donald Cargill well notes in his testimony. And I think that question of authority being propounded,—a man has a fair open door to witness against the encroachments on Christ's rights. I understand somewhat more of the mystery of this state than I did: and conform to my weak conceptions, you may take it up thus:—

"The king, having through straits abroad, been complimented, and probably supplied by Papists, lies under engagements to introduce Popery; and for that effect, takes this method to overturn the hedge of church government and discipline, and turn out all honest-hearted ministers, and force people to a compliance with hirelings, to debauch men's consciences; and, from one degree to another, to bring in Popery; but he being a man so addicted to pleasures, and (sometimes counteracted by parliaments,) loving ease; wherefore Papists practise to put him in mind of his engagements, by aiming at his life. He finding himself in this strait, and being in straits through his lavishness to court ladies,—these straits must be supplied by the king of France and the Pope; and for requital thereof, the management of the government must be turned over to his brother,—who must have a cardinal, and some Jesuits to contrive the mystery of iniquity, and bring this land to Babylon. In order thereunto, statesmen must be set up, who are emulators of others, and men that studied to pick quarrels with others, and then comes a general mittimus from court, to act after such

a method of cruelty: for the Jesuits know, where two contrary parties act this game, they will be sure, for fear of their places, to consent to go along to the utmost of cruelty. The next mystery is to convene the whole country by circuit courts, as guilty,—some of treason, some for one transgression, and some for another (the whole country being generally guilty by their law) and force them to rise in arms; and then gather Papists, and take occasion to burn and slay all the country over. The Lord in his mercy take them in their own net; but I fear Popery shall once overspread. And I am really of that opinion, that God shall root this race of kings, root and branch, away, and make them Zeba and Zalmunna-like, not only for taking God's house in possession, but also emitting in their last printed proclamation or indemnity, that they resolved to root out the seed of the godly, under the name of Fanatics.

“My advice and humble request to ministers is, to be tender toward any this day that have zeal, though knowledge be not so great; and to be less fearful of outward danger, and more active where persecution hath been hottest, where they may have any freedom. My advice to all professors is, to lay no imposition on ministers' consciences; and that for the Lord's sake, they would study to take some in among them, that have light and judgment to withstand the flood of defection and Popery that is like to overspread the land. And again, I have another advice to ministers and professors, that where any have suffered for their consciences, they would be sparing to condemn them.

“I come now to declare my first engagement with God, which was about ten years hence, which was through reading of ‘The Fulfilling of the Scriptures,’ and scripture truths therein contained, and the grounds of out-making thereof, which gave a check to my atheism,—which is naturally seated in all men's hearts. The next was ‘Gray's Sermons on Prayer;’ and the last, ‘Guthrie's Trial of an Interest in Christ:’ all which, God so powerfully laid home to my conscience, that I then covenanted with God; and though at that time I could not get the faith of perseverance, yet I had a respect to all his statutes; so that, the Bible was a most sweet book to me; and I took up my whole time for near a year thereafter in studying religion, (the most pleasant time that ever I had in my lifetime,) yea, it was a burden to me to turn me to my necessary affairs in the world. I found religion sharpened me in all my natural parts; yea, bring me, who was naturally a most anxious, fretting, grudging, creature, to such a calmness and serenity in cross providences, that I thought,—though there were neither hell nor heaven,—religion was a reward to itself. And I was so taken up with Christ's gracious condescendency, that his name was most pleasing; yet durst I not draw a conclusion of assurance and perseverance,—yea, was put to question the work itself, upon account of the quality of my repentance; but meeting with Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ, I found that sensibly swallowed up a law-work, in love; but I found this, that there is not a more excellent piece of the armour of God, than the helmet of salvation, and which Satan is most busy with a Christian to keep off. I found likewise, as knowledge and grace grew, that presumption grew; that is, that with

2. HIS FURTHER ANSWERS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AND CRIMINAL COURT.

Being again examined before the whole Council, his answers, as detailed by himself, were as follows:—"Q. Was you at Bothwell, and a captain there? I answered as formerly. Q. Is Bothwell rebellion or not? A. No. It being for the defence of the harmless, who for hearing a preaching, and defending themselves, were in jeopardy to be cut off. They replied, The preaching was done. I said as before, The confession of faith contained in your Test, says, 'It is a good work to defend the life of the harmless.' Q. Then you approve of the Test; will you take it? A. I am not speaking of the Test, but of the confession of faith therein contained. Q. Think you it lawful to rise against the Magistrate? A. Will you condemn the reformation from popery carried on by John Knox? One said, We are not come here to answer questions, but to ask. I said, The answering of that to me would be a full answer by me, to your question. Then said Bishop Paterson, The reformation was good, but the way of carrying it on was ill. A. That is a marvellous thing, to think God would approve the actors in such actions, and yet the method be ill; and they to have a most solid peace in these actions, and to have such a mouth to defend it, as all the wits in their days could not be able to withstand,—as will be clear to any that read the History of the Reformation. O, said one, he has read the History of the Reformation: ay, but you will not find it in Scripture, that the people may resist the prince; for then they take the Magistrate's part on them, and therein declare themselves to be above their prince. A. The people resisted Saul, and would not let him kill Jonathan, (1 Sam. xiv. 45.) The Bishop said, The people were in the wrong. A. The scripture never condemns the deed. Then they again urged that rising in arms is unlawful. I told, again, that Bishop Honeyman granted there might lawfully be a rising in arms, if the kingdom were alienated to strangers. The Bishop said, *that* would be a distracted act. Then they asked if the Bishop's death was murder? I answered, I would neither say it was, nor was not. Q. Do you own authority? A. Authority may be taken several ways; 1. For the simple command of the prince. 2. For the more public command of the prince and people. 3. For a power, a prince may be clothed with, by a people. 4. For a prince's right to govern. And in the first two senses, since many both of the prince's edicts, and public acts of parliament, are directly against presbyterians and presbyterian government,—to own it in *these* senses, I should deny myself to be a presbyterian. In the third sense, since the people have clothed the king with the headship of the Church, I cannot own that; because the eleventh article of the Confession of Faith, contained in the Test, says, 'That office belongs properly to Christ alone, and it is not lawful for man, or angel, to intrude therein.' As for the last sense of authority,—his right to govern, I have not seen through the denial of it. Q. Will you venture your life on these things? A. My life is in God's hand. Then they read what they had

set down, that I was a Captain at Bothwell, and other things, stated imperfectly, which they desired me to subscribe, but I refused."

On the 4th of May he was brought before the criminal court, when the advocate accosted him thus:—"Though, sir, you have been a rebel, and though ye have studied to draw that poor man Laurie to the gallows; yet you see how merciful the king is to these men, (viz. four who swore the Test,) and there is place left to you for mercy, if you will not obstinately persist in your opinion." He answered, "I have neither done any deed, nor given you an account of any opinion, but what I have justified from the Confession of faith, which you have lately sworn; from the ancient reformation, which ye cannot condemn; and from the concessions of your own Doctor." "What! (says Perth) will you justify your taking arms at Bothwell?" A. Your own Test justifies the defence of the life of the harmless. The advocate says, All the indulged, yea, almost all the presbyterians condemn it. "Then," says he, "Will ye *bond** before sentence, for there is no place left for the king's mercy after sentence?" A. "I will not; but remember, that one day, all sentences will be canvassed before the great Judge of heaven and earth."†

3. HIS REASONS FOR THE FOREGOING ANSWERS.

"When I was on my journey betwixt Edinburgh and Lanark, and several times before, having considered the bold testimony of Stephen, Acts vii. 51, 52. 'Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart,' &c., and Peter's testimony, Acts v. 30. 'Whom ye slew, and hanged on a tree:' and his desire that with all boldness they might make mention of the name of Jesus: and, lastly, that promise, Phil. i. 28. 'In nothing terrified by your adversaries,' &c. I say, considering these, I resolve to use the utmost freedom before the Council; but being come to this town, and having considered, that the council desired to pick such quarrels with any in our condition, as might give the least umbrage to the world of the justice of their dealing; 2. Considering that by many professed friends we are judged imprudent; yea, so far condemned, that they stick not to say, that we have a hand in our own death. 3. Their own public proclamations still bearing, That our design was not religion, but covetousness,—to possess ourselves of the government. For eviting of these, I resolved to be as cautious as I could, without prejudice to truth. So that taking my answers for defensive arms, out of the Test, which they had sworn; from the concessions of their greatest doctors, and from the deed of their predecessor council, whereof some present were members,—I thought it had been a ridiculous thing to make me condemn that which they had ratified by an oath, their great doctor had yielded, and their predecessor council had approved. But that I might have God's approbation in demeaning myself so, and do what I did therein in faith; I took that rule, 1 Pet. iii. 15. 'Be ready always to give a reason of the

* i. e. take the Test.

† Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 284—286, corrected and enlarged from Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 299, et seq.

hope that is in you with meekness and fear.' And as I thought I had reason to bless God, that had guided my tongue so, that I was not a whit concerned either with shame or fear, so I came back to prison with a heart sorry that I should have left these two questions of the Chancellor's unanswered, viz. 'Thought I it my duty to rise in arms against a state not of my opinion?' In answer to which question, I thought, if ever I had occasion, I would have been punctual in telling them, the question was wrong stated; for the right state of the question was, 'When a state destroys the true profession of godliness sworn to by the land, and persecutes the owners thereof.' The second question; 'If I would have gone to Bothwell again?' I thought if such a question came in my way, I would have told them, 'That I behoved to be at God's call.' And, likewise I was sorry that I had not been nimble enough to take opportunity, when the question anent authority was moved, to have testified against the ecclesiastical headship and sinful acts against God's church; I say, my omission, occasioned through their confused asking, bred me humiliation after I returned to prison.

"As to my second examination,* as I desired opportunity to testify against the headship of the church, and other sinful acts, destroying God's work, so I got opportunity, and so I discharged my conscience: but yet there was something left to exercise me with; and that was, 1. When the bishop said, That it were a distracted act for the king to alienate the kingdom to strangers, that I said not, It was an act of more distraction to destroy religion. 2. That in citing the words of the eleventh article of the confession against the headship, I should have said simply, It was unlawful to presume to intrude on that office; whereas the confession itself calls them blasphemers, and thereby mincing his word. 3. That when the bishop said, It were a Turkish way to carry on reformation by the sword, I had not opened their present practice and violence in pressing men's consciences; and had said, since they looked upon conscience as so tender a thing, to beware of squeezing it so, by oppression. I know, I have an infirmity in answering off-hand, anent which I hope all God's people will observe the rule of bearing one another's infirmities: next, I am sure that the Lord hath not supplied me as to these answers, for my further exercise. As to the reason why I said, I could not see through the denial of authority in the last sense, (for though I could not see through it, yet it being such an abominable stating of themselves, in a continual opposition unto God and godliness, I scunnered to own it,) the reason that moved me to say, that I could not see through it, was, I desire to tread the paths of our old reformers, who delayed the casting off authority, till they had a probable power to back it; yet, afterwards considering his breach of covenant to us, and that deeds were done by that authority, that in any well guided commonwealth, would annul his right,—I thought I had worded authority ill in the last sense, and that

* Mr. Wilson was at two different times brought before the council, as may be observed by the foregoing papers. In the first instance, he was examined by a committee of seven or eight, and on the second occasion by the whole council.

it had been more proper, had I said, 'I could not see through the denying of obedience to such commands as were indifferent, or according to God's word:' and indeed till God had furnished us with a probable power, I could never see through this; and I am verily of that opinion, that we having lusted for a king, got him in God's wrath; and that since we have entered into covenant with him, God will take his own way to take him away in his displeasure, and will not let it be by our hand: though I grant that his breach of paction to us looseth us,—our paction being still conditional, to own him in defence of religion; and my earnest desire is, There may be no difference among presbyterians anent this, for I have a strong opinion, that God will take that question out of the way shortly.

"As for the Bishop's death, I could not call it *murder*, because of Jael, Ehud, and Phineas, their facts; Jael using that expression, 'Turn in thither; that there was peace between Heber the Kenite and Jaban;'—Jael being of that family; and whatever may be alleged against these extraordinary acts, and that to do such deeds is to take the Magistrate's power! I am sure Phineas was a priest, and it was none of his office to kill any man, and yet his fact is commended! Next, Knox's preaching too, and abiding with the killers of Cardinal Beaton; and Calderwood's History, which was approved by the Assembly, calling them men of courage and resolution, whom God stirred up: next, the lord Ruthven and others killing a companion that abused Queen Mary by his ill-counsel, and yet approved in Knox's history: therefore if the killers of the Bishop, having a zeal against the blood-thirstiness of that wretch, and being deeply affected therewith, and with love to the brethren, (whom he, like a wolf, was seeking to have devoured, and had devoured,) slew him; *I durst not call it murder*: but if the actors were touched with any thing of *particular* prejudice or other by-ends, I am very confident *that* scripture, of avenging the blood of Jezebel upon the house of Jehu,—would not suffer me to justify it: so, not knowing the actors' hearts therein, I could neither say yea, nor nay; but Christians should judge charitably. I forgot likewise to tell them, that the Bishop of Glasgow's laying down his gown, upon their making the Act Explanatory, might be an aggravation of my sin, if I should own the king's headship over the church;—which I had really resolved to say, but forgot."*

4. HIS REASONS FOR NOT ASKING A REPRIEVE.

"Upon the 7th of May, 1683, being desired to petition, I answered, I could think upon no petition, nor arguments that could be acceptable with them, but such as were either directly or indirectly a receding from what I had professed. The reason of my petition was moved thus: 1. To seek a longer time till I was better advised anent my answers given to the council; to which I answered,—That would say to all the world, that for as tenacious as we were of our principles, yet we might seem to call them in question; and it might say, that I was pressing with others to die on these principles, that death put me to a stand

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 286—289.

anent myself; and so I should give ground of hardening to enemies. 2. It was moved, that through my confusions since I came to prison, I should seek a reprival. To this I answered, I durst not slander Christ's cross, wherein every step to me hath been mercy and truth; and my rebellious flesh needed no less (conform to my own acknowledgment to God) than what was come to subdue it: and that I could not well see through that, fearing it would be bad company so near my death, that I firmly trusted all should work for my well-being; and to say that, were to contradict my conscience and God's goodness, and make me contradict my own prayer, viz., 'Let neither flesh nor spirit be moved and failed, lest enemies rejoice.' 3. That I should petition, that I might have a longer time, simply to prepare for eternity. To which I said, I could not do it in faith; for ever since I came to prison, God has made me believe, that he who has begun a good work in me, would also finish it, and that he would perfect that which concerned me, according to his own word; and however little a business this may seem in the eyes of the world, yet to me it imports my going to another airth, for the perfecting and finishing of this work begun by God. Then, if they refused it, they might taunt and say, Whatever confidence he had at his death, yet it is gotten of a very short space; and if a reprival should be given, they might at my sentence say, if I believed my salvation, I was their debtor for it. And besides all this, I fear when I might come back to God for preservation, he should send me to the broken cistern I had been hewing out, Jer. ii. 13. And I know, if conscience permitted me to do it, that enemies would think,—either he is lying, in pretending want of preparation, and so, it is the best time to hold to him, when he has committed sin; or otherwise, they would think, I were speaking truth, and so say,—the only best way is to hold to him when he is tottering.

"When all this is done, they came saying, 'Will you not seek your life?' 'Yes,' said I, 'if I might without sin;' so they desired me to consider in my mind, and after consideration to give in a petition. So, after consideration, finding nothing I could petition upon but that which would rather raise than abate their anger, and verily thinking my wife would be as soon in her grave as I, and that the Council would lay her blood at my door, as not willing to seek a reprieve on her account, I petitioned, merely in respect of her case, being great with child;—doing this, lest they should pretend ignorance, and my whole strain being to justify my sufferings to their consciences, and the eyes of the unbiassed world; and for what I did herein, I bless the Lord I did it in faith, and had solid peace therein; that their ridiculousness, in taking away my life, might occasion a stop to the taking away that of others, if possible."*

5. HIS CONFERENCE WITH SIR W. PATERSON.

"Sir William, after some compliments, advised Mr. Wilson to give in a petition, requiring some time to advise on his principles. 'Think

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 289, 290, as corrected and enlarged from Wodrow's History, p. 299, et seq.

you,' says he, 'your principles so sure, and the rising in arms such a business, and so clear that you dare die therein?' J. W. As to that business of defensive arms, I have long ere now canvassed it to and fro. Sir W. What say you to that of our Saviour—All that take the sword shall perish by the sword? and his reproving Peter in that defence, it being a most abominable murder to take away a man's life? J. W. I find our Saviour in another place saying, sell your coat to buy a sword. Sir W. That is meant by the sword of the spirit. J. W. That were a Quakerish tenet to deny all defence. Sir W. But what say you to my argument of Christ's reproving Peter at his death? J. W. That action of Christ's passion was a determined thing; wherefore he reproved Peter for desiring him to pity himself, and therefore he would suffer no defence whatever therein; and he approves defence in so far as he says, suffer it this far, thinkest thou not that I could call so many angels, which to me imports,—if this were not a thing I must lay my account with, I need not want defence. Sir W. Think you yourself so well buckled therein, seeing there is so much difference among divines about it? J. W. What divines? Sir W. Protestant divines. J. W. That cannot be, for all the Protestants in Europe have wrestled from under the yoke of Popery by the sword; and I am sure, if there had been any Protestant divines had so affirmed, Bishop Honyman—a man among you of the greatest learning—would have raked them up, but he is forced to confess them lawful in some cases; and though your brother said that was a distracted act, yet I assure you, to me the act of undoing religion is far more unwise; and as I said to your brother, if I should condemn defensive arms, I would condemn most of the Protestants in Europe, and our worthy reformers, to whom, under God, we are obliged for so great a gospel light. Sir W. Though the reformation was good, the carrying it on was treasonable. J. W. If I should say or think so, I should look on them all as damned men, conform to the apostle, 'He that does evil that good may come of it, his damnation is just.' Sir W. You must not think it a small matter to lay down your life on trivial things, and neglect your family, whose care lies on you; and your not providing for them, makes you worse than an infidel. J. W. It is not trivials but truths that are solidly grounded; and as to the care of my family, since the Lord called me to suffering, I am commanded to leave them, or be unworthy of Christ. Sir W. You never make it out to me, but your blood and your family will lay at your door. J. W. No, Sir William, for mine is not a naked opinion, but grounded on that Confession of Faith you have sworn,—my Catechism,—to do all I can to save the life of neighbours, and the word of God,—'do judgment and relieve the oppressed;' and since it is so, I dare not act against my conscience. Sir W. Will you approve of a multitude of men gathering, plundering, and robbing a country? J. W. Sir, as for any such commission, I was both grieved and angry at it, and I wish such had not been among us; but I hope that could not be charged upon the generality, since they were known to be men of conscience; and as for my own part, I used such disgracefully when I had any power. Mr. M'Gilligen was brought in at Sir William's desire, but said nothing. Sir William said he was sure

Mr. Kirkton would not say with me. I said I knew the utmost Mr. Kirkton would go, was that the enterprise was foolishly carried on, but would never condemn defensive arms. Sir William asked me if death was not a terror to me. I said, no doubt once it would be a terror to all men, but whatever it had been, I had got submission to the Lord's dispensations. This is the sum of what passed, omitting some needless commendations of me. Sir W. added, think you all are damned that are of the Episcopal Church? J. W. I have learned the Protestant doctrine better, than to think all are damned that are of the Popish Church. Sir W. Well then, may you not believe as we do and be saved? J. W. No, for me to do but doubtingly, is damnation; let alone, to do against my conscience. Sir W. Conscience should be well-informed. J. W. You see I have grounded it on what you have sworn,—my Catechism and the word of God. Sir W. Do not think the quitting of these things is the quitting of Christ, since there is no quarrel this day about the fundamental points of doctrine. J. W. Yes, sir, it is, for since I have taken Christ for a King and Prophet, if I contradict his counsel or command before man, I deny him; and since I have evidenced the truth of what I have spoken, I dare not contradict my conscience.*

6. HIS TESTIMONY.

“Now, being called to lay down my life, which I do cheerfully, I do declare, I adhere to the Confession of Faith; anent which, for exoneration of my own conscience, I am under a necessity to leave this caution, in reference to that clause contained in chap. xxiii. § 24. viz. That ‘infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrate’s just and legal authority.’ Though the composers having an eye to the Pope’s scurvy usurpations, to dethrone protestant kings, and dispose of their kingdoms, under the notion of heretics, did put it in: yet I could find no further proof for that in the scripture, but what only respects Christians scattered up and down in a heathenish empire; and that it can be no prejudice against deposing a protestant king, who turns papist or pagan—since among people professing God, the idolater should die the death—for then it would seem to jumble with Queen Mary’s deposition in our ancient reformation:—designing offence to none hereby, but the satisfying of my own conscience. Also, I adhere to the work of reformation, former and latter; and I think our catechisms well worded, for evading of errors. As also, to the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, in anno 1648, and Engagement to Duties; Covenants, National and Solemn League; and particularly to the government of the church by a parity of ministers, and subordination of presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, according to the presbyterian way, as being the most exactly according to the word of God, and as tending most to the furtherance of purity and godliness; and I profess myself a member thereof, as being reformed from prelacy and Erastianism.

“I leave my testimony against the Indulgence, as making a breach

* Wodrow’s History, Vol. II. p. 299, *et seq.*

of the sweet unity, that should have been among presbyterians, and as depending on the magistrates as to the exercise of their office ; and for their overweening love of ease, and for being bound up as to the shewing of public duties, and reproving of public sins ; and for refusing the exercise of their office, to these without their parish, of marrying and baptizing, denying themselves thereby to be ministers of the church catholic, and declaring plainly thereby, they will follow the injunctions laid on them by men. Yet I advise all the godly to leave off hatred towards them, and to cherish any thing that may look like good in them. I leave my testimony against the paying cess, the payment whereof is a perfect test of the payer's adhering to the rooting out of conventicles, as the rendezvouses of rebellion, and acknowledging the king's grandeur over church and state, as it is presently established by the laws of this realm ; this being the very narrative and foundation of that act ; and I have found the indulged averse to condemn it,—the narrative of their license being somewhat sib thereto. But as to the other public burdens, such as the common revenue of the crown, or locality, (though I speak not this to justify myself,—these not being my tentations,) I desire a tenderness to be used to all such as have not clearness therein, in respect that the apostle seems to difference them, 1 Cor. x. 28. ' But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not.'

" I leave my testimony against hearing of Curates, especially by professed presbyterians ; as being contradictory to the covenants, binding us to the uttermost of our power to the extirpating of prelacy. Our active power being stopped, our next should be to leave a testimony by suffering, and as being contrary to the rule of faith : for what presbyterian can pray for a blessing to that ordinance, where the chief dispenser is a blasphemer, by swearing the test ; wherein the headship of the church, Christ's prerogative, is sworn by them to pertain to a man : and as being expressly contrary to that scripture, John x. 5. ' My sheep hear my voice, but a stranger they will not follow, but flee from him.' And here, I think it not amiss to add the words of Philpot, that learned and godly martyr, respecting the joiners of the papistical church,—seeing the reason he gives, holds good here. ' We can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, (whereof he is the only head) nor to seem to have forsaken her, by cleaving to her adversary ; and that God's jealousy in the day of vengeance will cry for vengeance against such, unless they cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ ; and that there must be no counterfeit illusion with them in this ; and there must be no presence of the body there,—we being commanded to glorify God, as well in body as spirit.' These are his words imperfectly, yet truly, as I remember ; and since the prelatical church has not Christ for her only head, the reasons hold still good.

" I could heartily wish that all the serious godly, would leave off their joining with the indulgence ; for in respect (to my own view) it has been attended with a coldrifeness as to public sins, a gluedness to the world, and an infatuatedness as to approaching judgments ; and, lastly, being a countenancing of them in their compliance with enemies. But since I have little hopes thereof, I wish all the seriously godly to

be tender towards such, whose eyes are not enlightened to behold the evil of it, and to restrict their withdrawments to persons of their own number, who recede from what they profess; since the end proposed by that rule ('withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly') is 'to make ashamed,' it cannot be supposed to attain its end any where else; and to study to do that which may be most edifying to all men, 'Let all things be done to edifying.'

"I leave my testimony against that abominable Test, declaration, act of supremacy, and all other acts overturning the work of God, and against all the blood shed upon that account.

"And next, I think no man coming before the council can acknowledge the king's authority simply, (considering that he is clothed with one of the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, viz. The headship of the church, wherein to intrude is blasphemy for man or angel,) unless he be guilty of giving him that usurped title. And this is the ground of my suffering, mainly,—for affirming Christ's headship over the church, to be *His* prerogative alone, which is the occasion of the brunt of the Ruler's anger. And herein I have a most solid peace; for, Christ says, he came to bear witness to that truth, that he was a King: and so I think that my sufferings are merely a part of Christ's sufferings. And though, some say, I might have been sparing as to this confession; I say, I durst not keep up my lips, they themselves having that in the Confession of Faith, in their Test, which I affirmed, namely, That it is a blasphemy for man or angel to usurp this title;—yet is the great heat of malice stated hereon: but there is no piece of my sufferings yields me more content. Nor can any Christian come before them acknowledging authority *simply*, without being guilty of yielding this,—it being declared essential to the crown,—as Mr. Donald Cargill well notes in his testimony. And I think that question of authority being propounded,—a man has a fair open door to witness against the encroachments on Christ's rights. I understand somewhat more of the mystery of this state than I did: and conform to my weak conceptions, you may take it up thus:—

"The king, having through straits abroad, been complimented, and probably supplied by Papists, lies under engagements to introduce Popery; and for that effect, takes this method to overturn the hedge of church government and discipline, and turn out all honest-hearted ministers, and force people to a compliance with hirelings, to debauch men's consciences; and, from one degree to another, to bring in Popery; but he being a man so addicted to pleasures, and (sometimes counteracted by parliaments,) loving ease; wherefore Papists practise to put him in mind of his engagements, by aiming at his life. He finding himself in this strait, and being in straits through his lavishness to court ladies,—these straits must be supplied by the king of France and the Pope; and for requital thereof, the management of the government must be turned over to his brother,—who must have a cardinal, and some Jesuits to contrive the mystery of iniquity, and bring this land to Babylon. In order thereunto, statesmen must be set up, who are emulators of others, and men that studied to pick quarrels with others, and then comes a general mittimus from court, to act after such

a method of cruelty: for the Jesuits know, where two contrary parties act this game, they will be sure, for fear of their places, to consent to go along to the utmost of cruelty. The next mystery is to convene the whole country by circuit courts, as guilty,—some of treason, some for one transgression, and some for another (the whole country being generally guilty by their law) and force them to rise in arms; and then gather Papists, and take occasion to burn and slay all the country over. The Lord in his mercy take them in their own net; but I fear Popery shall once overspread. And I am really of that opinion, that God shall root this race of kings, root and branch, away, and make them Zeba and Zalmunna-like, not only for taking God's house in possession, but also emitting in their last printed proclamation or indemnity, that they resolved to root out the seed of the godly, under the name of Fanatics.

“My advice and humble request to ministers is, to be tender toward any this day that have zeal, though knowledge be not so great; and to be less fearful of outward danger, and more active where persecution hath been hottest, where they may have any freedom. My advice to all professors is, to lay no imposition on ministers' consciences; and that for the Lord's sake, they would study to take some in among them, that have light and judgment to withstand the flood of defection and Popery that is like to overspread the land. And again, I have another advice to ministers and professors, that where any have suffered for their consciences, they would be sparing to condemn them.

“I come now to declare my first engagement with God, which was about ten years hence, which was through reading of ‘The Fulfilling of the Scriptures,’ and scripture truths therein contained, and the grounds of out-making thereof, which gave a check to my atheism,—which is naturally seated in all men's hearts. The next was ‘Gray's Sermons on Prayer;’ and the last, ‘Guthrie's Trial of an Interest in Christ:’ all which, God so powerfully laid home to my conscience, that I then covenanted with God; and though at that time I could not get the faith of perseverance, yet I had a respect to all his statutes; so that, the Bible was a most sweet book to me; and I took up my whole time for near a year thereafter in studying religion, (the most pleasant time that ever I had in my lifetime,) yea, it was a burden to me to turn me to my necessary affairs in the world. I found religion sharpened me in all my natural parts; yea, bring me, who was naturally a most anxious, fretting, grudging, creature, to such a calmness and serenity in cross providences, that I thought,—though there were neither hell nor heaven,—religion was a reward to itself. And I was so taken up with Christ's gracious condescendency, that his name was most pleasing; yet durst I not draw a conclusion of assurance and perseverance,—yea, was put to question the work itself, upon account of the quality of my repentance; but meeting with Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ, I found that sensibly swallowed up a law-work, in love; but I found this, that there is not a more excellent piece of the armour of God, than the helmet of salvation, and which Satan is most busy with a Christian to keep off. I found likewise, as knowledge and grace grew, that presumption grew; that is, that with

what I had gotten, I could walk alone : but that truth, ' Without me ye can do nothing,' was known to my sad cost. But after all this sweet time,—yea, I may say, most sweet time,—falling more and more engaged in worldly affairs, I found an impossibility to me to be instant in business, and fervent in spirit ; so that some throngs in these, abated that life which I had ; and accordingly as love grew to outward things, so decreased that power and life I had attained ; yet so all along, I find that God has still been holding me by the hand : and I desire, with submission to other men's judgments, to say, I think a person falling in love with godliness,—covenanting with God, having a respect to all his statutes without exception, counting the cost, and seeing the cost of themselves incalculable, and believing that Christ, who was the author, will be the finisher of such a work ; I say, I cannot think that ever God will part with such, who do so covenant with him ; yea, it has been a comfort to me, when I could see no more of my interest in him, but that I said, ' Thou art my God.' And as I cannot conceal the loving-kindness of God, so upon the other hand, without compliments, as the words of a dying man, I look upon myself as the most worthless object that ever free love has paged and waited upon through the world,—compassed about with so many sins, and clothed with such a perverse nature ; but it is He with whom I made the bargain that makes crooked things straight, and rugged places plain.

" Next, I advise all sufferers to beware of proposing to themselves, to do this and the other thing, for safety of life, which is sinful ; for if such a false mind be in folk,—' God will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity ;' and they will not miss stumbling-blocks to be laid before them : I say this to them who have sinned, and yet continue in the furnace ; I fear that be their doom, Jer. xxii. 10. ' They shall go from their native land, and return no more.' As for you that have tested,—that which has been a terror to me, may be now a terror to you ; ' It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, if they fall away,' &c. by putting Christ to open shame, ' to renew them to repentance.' As for unconcerned folk, I shall only say this, Think ye nothing of men's choosing death before life ! I know I have gotten Roman gallantry cast up to me, since I came to prison ; but for my own part, I could never bear tell, that it set up the head of it in the world, to face a gallows, since the word of hell became so rife in the world. But let me tell you this one thing, That though I have read of some single ones dying for opinion, (not truth) yet could I never read of a tract of men, such as has been in Scotland these twenty-two years, laying down their lives for a naked opinion, so calmly, so solidly and composedly, with so much peace and serenity. As for my own part, I am a man naturally most timorous, yet the Lord has made sufferings easy. It might do you good to inquire into the cause of our sufferings, so owned by God. It is a bad cause that is defended with swords, and beating of drums on sufferers. And, besides, the Lord has forced a testimony from the mouths of several of our dying adversaries, and from the mouths of executioners and apprehenders. Yea, in this place, some psalms which were of clear application to themselves they would not suffer

to be sung. And as to professed Presbyterians,—to many of you for your unconcernedness, I am sure the Lord says,—Ye shall drink of another sort of a cup, that is brewing for you,—shun it as you will, by your compliance. As for our really concerned friends, I pray the Lord to protect you, and multiply his grace towards you. I am confident, when you are beneath the rod, ye shall find it an ease to your own smart,—however great a lift you have taken of others' sufferings.

“Next, I say to all that come under the rod, let no terrors of men, nor temptations of Satan anent eternity, come into your mind; but go to God with them, acknowledging your unworthiness of his protection and counsel, and you will find him faithful, ‘not to suffer you to be tempted above what you are able.’ It is no new thing to be assaulted with ‘terrors without, and within with fears.’ The Apostle, a most experienced Christian, wanted not this. I see a Christian to be a most passive creature in his own salvation; yet there must be an *All* of diligence, otherwise the roaring lion will soon get advantages. And you must know this, that the sufferers have a large allowance; and although, His own want not in their sufferings to the faith of adherence to him, yet ye must not think to sail that way in a bed of roses to heaven; but that ye must have fire in your trial;—I mean a deserting-God—as to apprehension: yet, wait patiently, and at length he will incline his ear, and you shall not want experience to say, ‘For a moment lasts his wrath.’

“And now, I leave my dear wife, children, and sisters, upon the Lord, who gave me such sweet refreshing relations, and desire all the people of God to be kind to them; and I bless the Lord he has enabled me to quit them to him: and though the Lord has made every one of them so sweet and so pleasing to me, that I have been forced to curb my affection with the bridle of religion; yet herein I bless the Lord, he has given me heart to go through my cross, with forgetfulness of all; yea, to be most unconcerned to the tears and weeping of my relations.

“And now, I leave all God's people, and others, with this, That his cross is beautiful; yea, though I had had occasion of escaping prison since sentence, yet I durst not without a check of conscience have done it: and though I did petition,—yet there was (to me) two necessary ends therein: first, they designing to make me odious, that I would not seek my life; and I desiring to make my suffering clear to their own consciences, to be unjust: and next, if any thing ailed my wife, I might lay her blood at their door. But I would advise all to beware of them, for there must be frequent consulting with God, and a reasonable judgment, to discern their snares; it being their main design to ensnare. I advise any called to suffering, never to quit with the faith of adherence, and they shall not want the faith of assurance; for since ever I came to prison, I saw and believed God's design to me was love: and having emptied me of all promises to sufferers, and of all my own righteousness, made me close with him, and take him for all, and believingly to rest on him, and to have recourse to him, for grace to supply necessity, and give me a believing of (though

to me incomprehensible) 'seeing him as he is,' and knowing him even 'as I am known of him.'

"Now I die, commending to all the people of God the duty of *unity*, conform to 2 Tim. ii. 22. 'Follow peace with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart.' And that, 1 John i. 7. 'If we have fellowship one with another, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth from all sin.' I do not say this to make up an union or joining with these I testify against.

Sic sub.—JOHN WILSON."*

XXVII. DAVID M'MILLAN.

[With respect to this individual, history has transmitted no particulars. It appears that on the 4th of May, 1683, he was, with some others, brought before the Justiciary, after having been previously examined by the Council. He was found guilty of being in arms at Bothwell, and of judicially owning the lawfulness of joining with those who were there, and sentenced accordingly. He maintained his constancy even to the last, for the clerk of court, while reading the sentence, being stopped,—he was informed that after being read out, it could not be recalled, and offered the Test; but his answer was, "Go on;"—and when it was finished, being asked what he thought of it now, he said, it was very welcome. He died in company with John Wilson, on the 16th of May, 1683, leaving in writing an account of his examination, and a Testimony, which are subjoined.]

1. HIS ANSWERS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AND JUSTICIARY.

WHEN he was brought before a Committee of the Council, their queries and his answers were, "Do you keep the kirk? He answered he was taken out of it, not when hiding, but when retired to it for reading the Scriptures. Being asked who took him, and for what; he answered,—Claverhouse, for being at Bothwell. Then he was questioned, Do you not count Bothwell rebellion? No, answered he, it was in defence of the truth. Next he was asked, Do you acknowledge lawful authority? He answered, he is not a Christian that does not so. But, added they, Do you acknowledge the present authority? Ans. In so far as he hath kept his engagements according to the word of God. Then he was asked, Will you take on to be a soldier, and go over sea? for if you abide here you will be hanged. He answered, Being under your power now, I will not cut out mine own lot."

Before the Justiciary his confession before the Council was adduced against him, upon which he alleged that it contained some things which he had not spoken, particularly about the Bishop's death. "Well," said the Judge who presided, "What say you to that now?" He answered, he had no judgment to judge such heads. He adhered to what he had said as to Bothwell; and being asked if he had any thing to

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 291—299.

say to the Assizers, he said, he knew none of them, "but betwixt you and them and God, be it." He was told there was yet room to renounce his ill principles that took him to Bothwell, by taking the Test. He answered, if he took it, it would not be willingly, and his heart would not come up, and so he thought it best to adhere to his right.*

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"I bless the Lord that chose me to join with that persecuted party, with whom I joined for defence of the truth, and when many fled on horse,—I and my horse going away with the rest,—I shot him from me, and went back and joined with the standing foot, and there was pursued by some riders, to whom I cried for quarter, who said they should give me quarter, and so felled me down to the ground; and thereafter there came an Highland-man, and at about 30 feet distance, shot two balls at me out of a musket, which hit me on the breast, and fell down on the grass without hurting me,—which was so great a marvel to me, that I durst not doubt of his providence since; and then being far from friends, I was through *His* providence, cured of my wounds. And when I went home my friends said how will you live now, (having lost the power of my arms,) but blessed be *He* ever since, his providence has never left me without abundance. And I desire that godly love may continue amongst all the godly, notwithstanding matters of judgment. And I would desire every one to look first into his own sins as the great cause of this undoing of religion. I desire all seriously to consider what price was paid for the church. And for my own part, I think it an admiration that ever he has honoured me with his cross; and let none think ill of it. And I bless the Lord I ever heard field-preachings, for thereby God convinced me of sin, and stirred up a love to Christ. And when it was desired I might deny my deed, I durst not for that word, 'Keep the truth, and the truth shall set you free.' And that of Isaiah, 'For we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood we have hid ourselves, and the hail should sweep away the refuge of lies,' and that woe to the rebellious children, who take counsel, but not of God, and cover with a covering but not of his Spirit.' And I think, of the covenant that was made with Levi, of peace, because of the fear wherewith he feared God, 'That the rulers having no fear of God, nor intending peace, have no interest in that covenant.' And I durst not take man's counsel, because of that woe to the rebellious children that took counsel, but not of God. I desire every one to take heed when they stand, lest they fall; for if folk begin to consult with flesh and blood and fetch their steps, they will be fair to slip. And, labour to strengthen the things that remain, that are ready to die. For my part, I durst not meddle with petitioning for fear of the sinful snare therein, for they labour to mark them either in the forehead or hand, that they part with. And that word comforted me, 'Thou hast a little strength, and hast not denied my name, and I have opened a door, and no man can shut it.' I could not argue for the truth as others, but I had

* Wodrow's History, Vol. II. p. 298.

never a look to go back, and never any wrong thoughts. Some said Bothwell was an ill contrived business; but I loathed all such constructions, of not only enemies, but also pretended friends,—which was a great grief always as I heard it. I see many that would have said, ‘Am I a dog to do such a thing,’ that run with the bulk, but let them mind *that* ‘If any man draw back, *My* soul shall have no pleasure in him.’ You that are Christians should not be idle, when *they* are undoing religion at this rate. And yet I think some pretended friends are as great enemies as the church has. Labour to mourn for broken vows, promises, slighted offers and opportunities, and a broken covenant. For when I take a back-look, I wonder at the Lord’s long-suffering patience, considering a despised gospel, and considering his dealing with other nations. O mourn while he may be in terms of agreement with you, and pray that the Lord may return to his covenanted land, though your carcasses should fall in the wilderness; and that he would be pleased to return to the following generation, who has not had the opportunity we have had. We have enough to account for, though we have not that posterity’s blood on us. I have solid faith, though the world should turn upside down, it will be well with them that are at their duty. And I die in the faith that he will return again, for the Lord is most wise in his dealings; he can bring things about for his own glory and the good of his people; however difficult it may seem now. But I think, the Lord, for innocent blood, and other acts, shall sweep away the most part of the generation. I adhere to the Confession of Faith, to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, to the National and Solemn League and Covenant; and I leave my testimony against hearing of Curates, paying cess, and against the indulgence. And now I bless him who made me see the odiousness of my sin, and nakedness, and a white raiment from himself for a covering, and made me accept and close with him on his own terms. My soul shall bless him through all the ages of eternity.*

DAVID M‘MILLAN.”

XXVIII. JOHN WHARRY.

[The case of this and the following Witness is somewhat singular for the injustice and cruelty displayed in it,—even in the persecuting period to which it belongs. With respect to their personal history, not even a hint has come down to us. It appears, however, that about the beginning of June, 1683, they had been journeying together, (each having a walking staff,) and had sat down to rest themselves near Inchbelly-bridge, a few miles to the north-east of Glasgow, when they were discovered by some soldiers, who were in quest of a band of country people, by whom a prisoner had been violently

* For this short Testimony, (which he believes has never before been published) the Editor is indebted to one of the Wodrow manuscripts in the Advocates’ Library, from which it was copied expressly for this work. The title of the MS. is, *Jac. V. i. 25, No. 49.*

rescued from them, on the previous part of the day. They were immediately apprehended as having been of the said party—brought to Glasgow—tried—and without the least evidence as to the identity of their persons,—on the mere presumption arising from their being in the neighbourhood,—condemned as guilty of relieving the prisoner, and executed on the 13th of the said month. John Wharry's testimony is contained in the following letter, addressed to his near relatives, shortly before his death.]

“DEAR MOTHER, Brother and Sisters,—I beseech you, in the name of my sweet and altogether lovely, incomprehensible, matchless, precious, beautiful, and glorious Redeemer, captain and conqueror over all his enemies, be not discouraged; for, through his free love cast on me in black nature, who was born an heir of sin and wrath, I am now, by his blessed purchase, made free, by the laying down of his sweet life for poor sinners, of which I was one of the chiefest in the world, that I might get life eternal,—which is his own gift bestowed on me: and now, through his blessed hand of providence,—has made choice of poor unworthy me to be his prisoner; who ordereth all things well to those whom he sets his love on; and ‘those whom he loves, he loves unto the end.’ I do not question his all-sufficiency: dear mother, do not you question it, but that he is sufficient to make me conqueror over my inward and outward enemies. O mother, bless the Lord that ever he gave you a son, and flesh and bones, to be honoured to be a sufferer for his precious name, truths, and interest, cause, covenant, and concerns, according to his own rule in his blessed word, which is contained in the Old and New Testaments, agreeable to all truths contained therein. O mother, will ye be entreated for his love's sake, to give me back again to him in a free-will offering! O I am persuaded, that it would please my matchless Lord, and then it would fare better with me, and you both. O if ye knew what of the kisses of love and kindness I got, since I was brought to carts, stocks, and irons! O unworthy I, that should be honoured with this! O mother, I beseech you for his love's sake, that you do not repine, and thereby provoke the Lord to anger. O bless him, for making all things pleasant and delightful, refreshful and comfortable to my soul, and my brother's. I cannot express what love I have met with, since they apprehended me, and my brother. O bless him for dealing so with me. I beseech you, mother, be serious with the Lord, that what he hath begun, he may also perfect in us to his own glory, and for his own work in the souls of all that are within the compass of the decree of election of free grace. I cannot describe him,—he is incomprehensible, and he is without compare. O he is beautiful and glorious, strong and almighty,—powerful to break through difficulties, and to bring through his own elect: all which is necessary, and nothing less, that his own being cast in the furnace for the trial of their faith and patience, may be helped to endure; for he knows well enough to purge away the dross and the scum of his own elect. O! but some souls he plunges over and over; to others he limits and permits their winnowing by Satan. O! but true faith, believing and casting all the weight upon the promises,

will bring you to the accomplishment ; if ye endure with patience, he is the same always to poor sinners, to make them to conquer over all their inward and outward enemies, to those that have received him in the precious offers of the gospel, held out to poor sinners freely, and to poor me : and he hath engaged my heart to fall in love with him, and to follow the blessed persecuted gospel, through good report and ill report, upon all hazards whatsoever, through his strength. O ! bless him, all that is within me, that ever he made me to act faith on his great and precious promises, and also to trust to the faithful outmaking of them to his own in particular straits, and also to the church in general, in his due season, against all oppositions that can come from a tempting devil, and a wicked, conspiring, and desperate heart, and the wicked, flattering, deceiving, and bewitching world. O ! but these be three strong, arch, cunning, and subtle enemies ! I fear, if this question were asked at professors in the land, If they knew these ? they would answer, They knew them very well ; though I fear the contrary ; and it appears much in our day and generation. Woe is to us ! where is this married land gone to, judge ye ? I bless him that he has made me his prisoner, though I be unworthy ; he has stooped low, and with his delicates has come to me in my irons and cords, in that chamber in Glasgow, with his own wine, apples, and flagons. O ! if ye knew what a life we have here ; if ye knew the want of him ye would have longed for him, and would not have thought a prison, cords, stocks, irons, hard to bear, for his comely presence, and refreshing of our souls. O ! glory to his blessed and everlasting name, whose loving-kindness lasts for aye ! O friends ! give all the praise to precious and lovely Christ. O friends ! wrestle and hold on ; use importunity with him for your bleeding mother-church ; for it is not time to be slack. O pray for us, that we may get more and more of his support, that we may be strong in our Almighty God, who has done great things for his church, and is beginning to do great things for us in our prison. O ! praise him all ye people ; it may be nearer to the breaking of the day of our King Royal, than ye are aware. God has long been silent and conscience dumb amongst people. O be ye aware, that ye have not these two, when he arises to make war for all the wrongs he has sustained. We beseech you, in his own name, try whose ye are, what ye are, and in whose list ye are : know ye not, that true ‘ faith is the substance of things not seen, but hoped for ’ in him, and will be made forthcoming to the sensible feeling of his own elect ?

JOHN WHARRY.*

XXIX. JAMES SMITH.

[After what is said in the foregoing article, as referring equally to both sufferers, it is only necessary to add here—that the scuffle at relieving the prisoner having been severe, and one of the soldiers

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 267—270.

killed in it, the crime alleged against these two men, was no less than murder ; but so far from this being brought home to them, there was not a single witness adduced to prove, that they had even been in the affray. The sentence, too, which was passed against them and executed accordingly, was in the last degree ignominious and severe. After being hanged at the Cross of Glasgow, they were carried in a cart to Inchbelly-bridge, and there hung in chains. " It is worth recording to the praise of His grace, for whose royal dignities they witnessed, that they endured all these hardships with a great deal of Christian magnanimity—even to the conviction of enemies." The Testimony of James Smith is also in the form of a letter, and is as follows.]

" DEAR FATHER and Mother,—I beseech you to forgive me all the offences I have done to you, for ye know it is natural to children to offend and grieve their parents. Now this I seek in His name, and for His sake, and I heartily forgive any provocations that my father has given me, as I am of myself ; and desire the Lord may take a dealing with your heart, O my father. Now, my dear father, seek the Lord, that your soul may live ; and make religion your main work, and let it not be a bye-business to you, but strive and wrestle to get time spent rightly in the fear of the Lord, minding always and at all times, that the eye of a holy and just God is upon you ; and be serious with God, and deal in earnest with Him, that He would help you to self-denial,—to be denied to all things beneath the clouds ; and study to get at mortification, and let your affections follow nothing further than ye can be mortified to it ; and be submissive to his holy will. Now the Lord himself persuade you to fall in love with lovely Christ : and I desire the Lord may give you unfeigned repentance, and faith in Jesus Christ, and strength to stand out and resist these ensnaring courses, viz. locality paying, and the compearing at courts, and hearing of curates, and the like. Dear father, mother, brethren, and sisters, quit with me, and give me up to the Lord, who gave me to you. Give me up freely without any hankering and repining ; for he loveth a cheerful giver. I dare not say but he has been kind to me ; O matchless love ! O praise, praise him that ever he honoured the like of me with cords on my arms, and stocks on my legs ;—irons have been sweet and easy to me, and no trouble. Now hold up my case to the Lord, and doubt not of his faithfulness and all-sufficiency, for he is both able and willing, and he has said, ' In all your afflictions I am afflicted ; ' and he carries his and their cross both, and he ' sends none a warfare on their own charges.' John xii. 24. ' Verily verily I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone ; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' And ver. 25. ' He that loveth his life, shall lose it ; and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.' And I can say upon good grounds, I am well helped of my lovely Master in all that I have been trysted with. I desire with all my heart and soul to bless and praise the holy name of my God for his love, and that ever he looked on the like of me, a poor sinful thing. O praise him, and rejoice with me,

that it is so well with me. Now, the manner of my taking, was not surprising to me: I was not afraid, for I dare not question but the place, and also the time was come: glory to His name in so ordering it. No more at present, but have my love remembered to you, and desire you to take up yourselves with your duty. Now I quit you all to him 'who is able to save to the utmost.' Be much taken up with the church's condition, and be not at ease in the time of Zion's trouble. My brethren, my advice to you is, to join yourselves in a society or fellowship meeting, in the strength of the Lord. Now my lovely Lord, give thy blessing to all thine, and pardon the sins of all the elect.

Sic sub.—JAMES SMITH.*

XXX. ANDREW GUILLAN.

[This, according to Wodrow, was the *only* individual of those really present at it, who suffered, "precisely on account of the Archbishop's death;" and even he was not *actually* engaged in compassing that event. He was by trade a weaver, and living in the neighbourhood of Magus-Muir,—was called out on the occasion, to hold the horses of those by whom the deed was perpetrated. He seems to have been a serious, and for his station, a well-informed man. He was apprehended as a nonconformist, by the Curate of the parish, in which for some time, by way of concealing himself, he had resided in the capacity of a farm-servant; and refusing to drink the king's health, he was first put into prison at Dalkeith, and afterwards removed to Edinburgh. As yet, nothing could be alleged against him, till he was artfully drawn into something like a confession of having been present at the Archbishop's death. He was tried, brought in guilty, and condemned to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, hanged at Edinburgh, his head fixed at Coupar, and his body hung in chains at Magus Muir: a sentence which was executed on the 20th of July, 1683.†]

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Being here to die for my dearest Lord's precious truths, I thought fit to leave this with you, as my last advice. Seek to do good to all in your day. Let your moderation be known unto all men. Study to be imploring your God, for there is sudden wrath pronounced from heaven against all that have been doing, or continue to do evil: for he hath said, Jer. x. 25. 'Pour out thy fury

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 270—271.

† "After his body," says Wodrow, "had hung in chains for some time, some people came and took it down, for which the country about was put to no small trouble. I find that in May, 1684, the council granted a commission to the earl of Balcarras, to pass sentence of banishment against the persons who took it down, as being owners of the Archbishop's murder." Wodrow, vol. II. p. 304.

upon the heathen, and upon the families that call not upon thy name.' We had need to know what we shall answer, when we shall come before him, with whom we have to do; for he is a holy God, and 'a consuming fire to the workers of iniquity,' Wherefore, dear friends, study holiness in all manner of conversation; make it your earnest care to have your conversation as becomes the gospel, and then he will be forthcoming unto you. My friends, I leave you with the Lord, who hath promised to be the God of his people. He is given of the Father to be a leader and commander to his people, and he will lead them. And I entreat every particular person, never to be at rest till they give away themselves personally in covenant to God, and promise through his grace, to be for him, and not for another. I leave you to him, who 'leads Joseph like a flock.' If you would have him speaking peace to you in your life, and in your end, cleave to the Son of God and his truths. And remember, if speedy repentance do not prevent, you will utterly ruin your immortal souls. Now, my dear friends, ye that are desiring singly to stand for God, hold on your way, and wait for the Lord, and quit not a hoof of the truth: he will be an up-making God to you, and he has promised to be a present help in the time of your need.

"There is a great confluence come here at this time: I would wish with all my heart they would get good by it. I am come here to lay down my life. I declare I die not as a murderer, nor as an evil-doer; although this covenant-breaking, perjured, murdering generation lay it to my charge, as though I was a murderer, on account of the justice that was executed on that *Judas* who sold the kirk of Scotland for 50,000 merks a year. And we being bound to extirpate Popery and Prelacy, and that to the utmost of our power, and we having no other that were appearing for God at that day, but such as took away his life, therefore I was bound to join with them, in defending the true religion, and all the land. Every man was bound in covenant, when *he* had sold the church,—they were bound, I say, to meet him by the way, when he came down from London, and have him presently put to the edge of the sword, for that heinous indignity done to the holy Son of God. But it is, alas! too apparent that men have never known God rightly, nor considered that he is a holy God. O terrible backsliding! they will not believe that God will call them to an account for what they owed to God: but assure yourselves, as he is in heaven, he will call every one to an account, how they have stood to that covenant and work of reformation. I need say no more; but I would have you consider, that in breaking the covenant, we have trampled under foot the precious truths of Jesus Christ.

Now, being straitened of time, I must leave off writing. Wherefore, farewell holy Scriptures, wherewith my soul hath been many a day refreshed: farewell sweet societies with whom I have been, and whose company was so refreshful to me; farewell my mother, brethren, sisters, and all other relations; farewell all earthly pleasures; farewell sun, moon, and stars. Welcome spirits of just men made perfect;

welcome angels ; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—into whose hands I commit my spirit.

Sic sub.—ANDREW GUILLAN.*

The inhuman treatment this martyr met with ought not to be forgotten, as a pregnant instance of the hellish rage and fury of the persecutors, and of the Lord's rich grace, who wonderfully countenanced and strengthened him to endure the tortures inflicted upon him, with an undaunted braveness of spirit : for besides the tortures he suffered in prison, they ordered both his hands to be cut off, while he was alive : and it was observed by onlookers, though (by reason the executioner was drunk) he received *nine* strokes in cutting them off, yet he bore it with invincible patience. And after the right hand was cut off, he held out the stump in view of the multitude, saying, "As my blessed Lord sealed my salvation with his blood, so am I honoured this day to seal his truths with my blood."—*C. W.*

XXXIII. JOHN COCHRAN.

[This was one of Three countrymen, who suffered together on the 30th of November, 1683. He was by trade a shoemaker, and belonged to the parish of Lesmahagow. With his two companions he was indicted in the usual form, for treason, as having been in the rising at Bothwell. They were brought before the council on the 26th ; and their confession there emitted was all that was adduced as evidence at their trial, on the 28th of said month. They were, of course, condemned,—and two days after, hurried into eternity. "They were persons," says Wodrow, "from whom the government had nothing to fear, and their blood was shed (for what I can see) merely out of love of blood." It appears that John Cochran confessed his having been both at Drumclog and Bothwell-bridge, armed with a fork, and that he refused to own or pray for the king, or to give his opinion of the Archbishop's death. His testimony, in which the other two concurred, is as follows.]

"BEING brought before the lords of Justiciary, they asked, Where I went in to the rebels ? I answered, I went in to the people of God, whom ye call so, at Drumclog. They asked, If I had arms ? I told them, I had a fork. They asked, If I thought it rebellion ? I said, No. And they said, What was it then ? I told them, It was in defence of the gospel. They asked, If I did own the authority ? I told them, As far as it did agree with the word of God. Then they asked, If I would pray for the king ? I told them, That prayer should be gone about in decency and order. Then they asked, If I would say 'God save the king ?' And I refused. Then they said, Was I not bound to

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 263—264.

pray for him? I told them, That I was bound to pray for all that were within the bounds of election. Then they said, Was the Bishop's death murder? I told, I was no judge. Then they asked, If I was at Bothwell? I told, I was. They said, Was it rebellion? I said, No. Then I was taken back to prison again, and the irons laid on me: but blessed be the Lord, that was no discouragement to me; for when the storm blew hardest the smiles of my Lord were at the sweetest. It is matter of rejoicing unto me, to think how my Lord hath passed by many a tall cedar, and hath laid his love upon a poor bramble-bush, like me. And O! that I could bless the Lord for it, and say, 'Come all ye that fear the Lord, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul.' And now I am made to say, 'That the Lord doth all things well, and holy is his name.' And as for my part, I have good cause to bless the Lord, that ever I was a hearer of the persecuted gospel; and however the world think of us, that our lot is hard in a world, yet remember, that he saith in his holy word, that 'whosoever will live godly, must suffer persecution; and whosoever will not take up his cross, and follow me, is not worthy of me. And fear not him that can kill the body,' but said he, 'I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear; fear him that can kill both soul and body, and cast both into hell.' And 'If judgment begin at the house of God, where shall the wicked and ungodly appear in that day, when he shall take vengeance on them that fear him not, and obey not the gospel?' And now, alas! I am afraid, that even much of the gospel amongst us, will be a witness against us; for it was the judgment of Capernaum, that so many mighty works were done in it, and yet they believed not: and yet, for all that came upon it, it was said to be exalted up to heaven; and then we hear of its being thrust down to hell: even so, I fear the having so much light will be the plague of our land: for it was once a praise to all the earth; but now a mocking, even among the heathens.

"And now as a dying man, I do heartily declare my adherence unto all the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and preaching of that blessed gospel, by a faithful, sent, presbyterian gospel ministry. As also, I do, with all my soul and heart, agree with, and assent unto the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Sum of Saving Knowledge; the National and Solemn League and Covenants, Directory for Worship, the Solemn Acknowledgment of public Sins and Breaches of the Covenant, and Engagement to all Duties, together with all and whatsoever is contained within the fore-said book. And likewise I do hereby heartily witness and testify against popery, prelacy, Erastianism, heresy, and other errors, especially quakerism, and whatsoever is disconform and disagreeable to the holy Scriptures, and these other sound writings above-mentioned. And likewise, I witness and testify my abhorrence and detestation of that abominable and blasphemous Test, which is now so violently pressed upon the people, tending to the destruction of their souls. Moreover, I leave my wife and six small children to the care and protection of Almighty God, who hath promised 'to be a father to the fatherless, and an husband to the widow,'—and my soul to God who gave it, for

whose cause I now willingly lay down my life: and now I bid farewell to all earthly and carnal comforts. Farewell all Christian acquaintance: and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit!

Sic sub.—JOHN COCHRAN.*

At the same time also suffered upon the same heads of truth, and adhering to the same testimony, these two pious martyrs, John Whitelaw, and Arthur Bruce, who were interrogated upon the same things before the Council or Lords of Justiciary, and agreed with the foregoing martyr in every respect, and expressed in their testimonies the like satisfaction with their lot, and cheerfulness under the cross, and their adherence to the same principles, and abhorrence of the same errors.—C. W.

XXXIV. GEORGE MARTIN.

[It appears that this good man who had for some time practised as a Notary at Dailly in Ayrshire, endured with exemplary patience, a long tract of sufferings. He was apprehended towards the end of 1679, and for upwards of four years—remained under great severities. He was for a great part of that time, day and night, *in irons*; and mostly without fire and other necessities,—even during the most inclement weather. Why he was so long detained in prison, we have no account. It was, however, not till the 18th of February, 1684, that he was brought to trial, after having been previously examined on the 11th of that month. He was found guilty, of course; and that on the usual grounds of refusing to pray for the king, to renounce the covenant, to declare the rising at Bothwell *rebellion*, and the bishop's death, *murder*. He was executed, in pursuance of his sentence, on the 22d of February following—leaving behind him the testimony which is subjoined.]

“MY DEAR FRIENDS,—After four years' and nearly four months' captivity and bondage, for this glorious and honourable cause of Jesus Christ,—for which I have been kept sometimes in bolts and fetters, night and day, without fire and other necessities; and now at the end of the foresaid space, being sentenced to die, I thought it fit to signify to you why I was so sentenced, as the adversaries gave it forth: and it is thus; I could not own nor allow of the king's authority, as it is now established, nor pray for him in a superstitious and idolatrous manner, nor call the late prelate of St. Andrews', and the late king's death *murder*, nor Bothwell-bridge *rebellion*, and abjure the Covenant: all which I refused, and could do upon no terms.

“As to the first, I could not own nor allow of the present

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 265, 267.

government, as it is now established, because it is derogatory to the crown and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in robbing him of his royal prerogatives ; ‘ in their setting of their threshold by his threshold, and their posts by his posts, and the wall between him and them, they have even defiled his holy name, by their abominations that they have committed.’ Ezek. xliii. 8. And, Ezek. xliv. 6, 7, 8. ‘ And thou shalt say to the rebellious house, even to the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God, O ye house of Israel, let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought into my sanctuary strangers, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary to pollute it, even my house, when ye offer my bread, the fat and the blood, and they have broken my covenant, because of all their abominations. And ye have not kept the charge of mine holy things : but ye have set keepers of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves.’ ‘ Shall even he that hateth right govern ? and wilt thou condemn him that is most just ?’ Job xxxiv. 17. Who durst do it and be guiltless ? and moreover,—‘ Which say to the seers see not, and to the prophets, prophesy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits. Get ye out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the holy One of Israel cease from before us,’ Isa. xxx. 10, 11. And I cannot, nor dare not pray for him so superstitiously. 1st, Because it imports a set form of prayer, which is most superstitious, and that which is their dreadful design. 2dly, It imports idolatry, like unto the cry of the people made mention of, Acts xix. 34. who had a cry for the space of two hours, of that idol, ‘ Great is Diana of the Ephesians,’ which was rejected by some of their own sort, with some kind of reason, though heathens, and much more ought it here. 3dly, Another reason why I cannot pray after such a manner, is, I find when prayer is rightly discharged, and seriously gone about, in the manner, time, and place, as is warranted by the word of God ; God is thereby worshipped and honoured ; and if irreverently gone about, he is dishonoured, and his name profaned, and taken in vain, which is abomination to him,—which he saith, his enemies do, and for which he will not hold them guiltless. 4thly, I dare not pray so superstitiously for him, because I find Jeremiah expressly forbidden to pray for a people, not guilty of all the things that he is guilty of, though he be guilty of all their sins, and many others also. See for this, Jer. vii. 16. where it is said, ‘ Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me ; for I will not hear thee.’ Jer. xi. 14. ‘ Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up a cry or prayer for them ; for I will not hear them in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble.’ And Jer. xiv. 11, 12. ‘ Then said the Lord unto me, Pray not for this people for their good : when they fast, I will not hear their prayer.’ Psalm xliv. 20, 21. ‘ If we have forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange god ; shall not God search this out ; for he knoweth the secrets of the heart.’ 1 John v. 16. ‘ If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death ; I do not say, that he shall pray for it.’ I fear some

sins in this land have too near bordering with that sin. Innumerable scriptures are to this purpose, but these may suffice at present. Another thing makes me scruple, because they command no more prayers to be prayed, 'save unto thee O king,' Dan. vi. 7. And lastly, I dare not pray it, because all the profane profligate persons have it always in their mouth, especially when they are drunk; and if I do what they do, I fear I go where they go: but blessed be the Lord, who has yet prevented me from the paths of these destroyers. Much of this was spoken when I was before them, and so I shall forbear to speak any more as to this question.

"The next question is, in order to the prelate's death, Whether it was murder or not? Murder I dare not call it, more than Eglon's, Sisera's, and Balaam's deaths, but the just judgment of God for his fearful apostasy and backsliding, together with the horrid murders committed by him upon the saints and servants of God. The third is, That of the death of the late king; whether it was murder or not? I am not much to meddle with it; but the many thousands that were slain in England,—the horrid murder committed by the Irish in Ireland, and the dreadful slaughter of the protestants in Scotland, cause great thoughts of heart, that it was a fatal stroke. A fourth thing, Whether Bothwell bridge was rebellion? which whether it was so or not, may appear, if ye consider our former engagements to that effect. And, fifthly, Anent owning and adhering to the covenants,—We answered publicly before the court, That in all the scripture it was warrantable, both to make covenants, and also to keep them, and that there was never a covenant so broken, but that which was punished by signal judgments and plagues by the Lord.—These were the answers to the indictment, whereupon the sentence of death passed, or for not answering to some of these questions; for which I must lay down my life. And if this be not murder, let Christian nations bear witness, if ever the like was done in any Christian kingdom heretofore.

"But now being straitened for want of time and other inconveniences, I cannot say much more to you. Only, I leave it with you as my last advice, that you would endeavour to keep the way of the Lord sincerely, and not to meddle with them that are given to such changes, which alas! too many plead for, and are given to this day; and that ye would not be so formal in many things, concerning godliness, and the work and worship of God.—Formality, it may be feared, will give many a beguile, when it cannot be mended. As first, I beseech you, be more observant in keeping the Lord's day, in rising betimes in the morning, and in spending the whole time in worshipping God sincerely: take heed to your thoughts, words, and actions. And when ye set a day apart, I mean of humiliation, give God the whole day, and notice what success ye have had, and how ye have found the work thrive and prosper among you: and use less disputings even in things seemingly necessary: and be more in examination and edification both of yourselves and others; and believe that a well spent Sabbath will be helpful to spend the week well. And also, labouring to have your conversation aright through the week, will be a noble presage to begin the Sabbath. And what ye spare of your ordinary diet, bestow it upon the poor and needy. There is this among many, who profess to be reli-

gious, which is odious, that they take well with it to be called religious, and yet they have little or no scruple to do wrong, and speak wrong of others, and towards them. I beseech you sin not,—though there were no eye to see you but God,—either by doing or suffering: you will never perform religious duties aright, till ye be at this, that ye dare do wrong in no kind to any. ‘Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with your God.’ Alas! it is sad to see and hear judgments and plagues multiplied, and sin so much increasing. O for more tenderness one towards another! and of a spirit of meekness and zeal for God, give yourselves to be ever in prayer one with another, and for another: wrestle with him in behalf of his church, and ruined work now borne down; and that he may return to the land, and pity his people; and be importunate with him in this, lest the ruin thereof be found to be under your hand. I fear you may expect judgments to come suddenly upon this sinful land; so that ye will think, happy were they that got away before they came: therefore so many of you as would in any measure escape the deluge of wrath, that is coming on this sinful generation,—keep clean hands, and be free of the sinful abominations committed therein; and for witnessing against them, we are to lay down our lives this day.

“And now as a dying man, and a dying Christian, I join with, and approve of all the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, both of threatenings and promises therein. As also I agree with, and allow of that excellent book, called the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship; and particularly, I adhere to, and allow of the two Covenants, both National and Solemn League and Covenant, Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, with all others contained in the forenamed book. As also I do witness and testify my dislike of the breaches and burnings of these covenants, and of all other horrid abominations of that nature. And likewise I abhor and detest all compliance or joining with the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ; and more particularly, of bonding, bargaining, and informing, or putting them to do hurt, any manner of way, to any of the Lord’s poor afflicted, borne down, wandering and distressed people. And in like manner I hate and detest all communing with, speaking favourably of, or eating or drinking with any such, except in case of necessity. And in like manner, I testify my dislike of that dreadful, blasphemous, and abominable unparalleled test, and of all pretended magistrates and ministers, who have taken the same, and of all that meddle or join with them, or pay fines for hearing the gospel, or transact or colleague with any such, any manner of way, upon the foresaid account. And lastly, I hate too much covetousness in prisoners who are in a capacity to maintain themselves, and yet are burdensome to other poor, mean (though charitable) people. And I join heartily with the testimonies of our dear suffering brethren, who suffered either formerly or of late. And likewise, I join my testimony to a faithfully preached gospel, by faithful, presbyterian, lawfully called and authorized ministers, and lawful magistrates placed and empowered, as is agreeable and warranted by the word of God, and none other. And notwithstanding I be branded with not admitting of magistracy and kingly authority,

I do hereby declare and make it known to the world, that I do allow of lawful authority, agreeable and conformable to the will and command of God, the only lawgiver, as much as any man in my station in Scotland, and account a land happy and blest, in having and enjoying such.

“And now, being honoured to die for adhering to the truth, and to die this same day, being the 22d of February, 1684,—I do hereby forgive all persons all wrongs done to me, and wish them forgiveness, as I desire to be forgiven of God. And now, I leave all my friends and Christian relations to the good guiding of Almighty God, and bid you all farewell in the Lord: farewell all worldly enjoyments, and created comforts. And welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit!

Sic sub.—GEORGE MARTIN.”*

Together with this martyr suffered John Gilrig,† wright in the parish of Hownam in Teviotdale, whose indictment was founded upon the same heads, and his testimony is much of a piece with his. He dies admiring and praising free grace, adhering to the truths of Jesus, and firmly trusting in him for salvation.—*C. W.*

XXXV. JOHN DICK.

[This distinguished martyr was a Student of divinity, and son to Mr. David Dick, Writer in Edinburgh. He was apprehended, and brought before the Council, so early as August 1683, and thereafter tried, condemned, and sentenced to be executed, on the 28th of September following. Before the day arrived, however, he, with a number of other prisoners, made his escape from the Tolbooth-

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 229, 305.

† The person here alluded to, is spoken of by Wodrow under the name of John Kerr. Whether he is here called Gilrig by mistake, or that he was accustomed to assume both, names, we have no means of ascertaining. The latter supposition seems to be favoured by the following statement from Wodrow. “I have,” says he, “before me, two original letters signed John Gilrig, from the Iron-house, December 27th, 1683, which savour much of humility, self-diffidence, and meekness,—wherein he offers many solid grounds of support to sufferers, and presses them to observe providences, and believe well of God. I doubt not but it is the same person here mentioned, and know no more about him than what is stated (as above) in the Cloud of Witnesses.” And yet it appears that he is spoken of under the name of John Kerr, as the following quotation from the registers renders evident. “John Kerr refuses to own the king’s authority. He says the king lays things on his subjects contrary to the word of God, and so he cannot own his authority;—that Bothwell-bridge was lawful, as a defence of the truth. As to the bishop’s murder, he says, it is not his part to judge. As to the late king’s murder, he refuses to answer. He owns the covenant, and adheres to the end of it. Refuses to sign.”

It appears that besides these two, and along with them, a third individual, by name James Muir, belonging to Cessford-Boat, was condemned, and most probably suffered. The grounds of his indictment, and the nature of the evidence adduced against him were precisely the same with those of the others, and consequently equally insufficient to infer the last penalty of the law.—See Wodrow, Vol. ii. pp. 368, 369.

prison,* nor was it till the beginning of March, 1684, that he was retaken. Being, immediately after, remitted to the Justiciary, he

* The account of this curious incident, as given by Wodrow, will, though somewhat long, give no small gratification to the reader.

"It was upon the 16th of September, that Mr. John Dick and upwards of 24 other prisoners, none of whom almost could ever have expected to come out of prison, but for execution,—found means to cut a window and get out. The circumstances accompanying their escape, were such as were truly remarkable; and the more to be observed, that not one of them, save Mr. Dick, fell again into the enemies' hands. There was a sentinel in the street just below the window at which they got out; whether for the security of the prison, or because the Earl of Linlithgow, justice-general, and colonel to the red regiment, had his lodgings just opposite to the tolbooth,—my informer cannot tell. The window was cross-barred with iron, and after they had cut one bar, they found the space not large enough to get out at, which cost them the cutting of three other iron bars, and this took them so much time and pains, that the matter was talked of among their friends, not only in the town of Edinburgh, but even at Glasgow, before they could get it accomplished; yet it came not to the ears of their enemies, but which is yet stranger, as my author very well remembers,—it so happened that the first bar they cut fell from the window, which was on the third story, upon the street of the town, about nine of the clock at night, and continued laying there all night and next morning,—till about the same hour, a friend coming in to see them was sent down to the street, not so much as to look after the bar, (for that they did not so much as expect,) as to know if the want of it was easily perceivable from the street, and he found it just where it fell, and got it sent up to them, and they made a shift to fix it again in its place, till they had ended the rest of their project. They could not but wonder, that the street being so narrow there, and the Earl of Linlithgow's lodgings just opposite to, and on a level, with their window, a sentinel at his sentry, within a few paces of where the bar fell, and the bar being amissing for some hours, and they putting it again in its place,—they could not (I say) but with admiration remark, that they were not observed and hindered; that night, likewise, they had also cut the beam of the floor above them, and made way for some of their fellow-prisoners, in that room, to get out with them.

"When all was ready, and they just coming out, two friends surprised the sentinel at the centry foresaid, threatening him with present death if he spoke one word; and the fellow was not only silent at the time, but spoke nothing when he was relieved from his post, which gave them full time to shift for themselves; and several of them were country people who knew not the town, and had no friends nor acquaintance with them to direct them how to dispose of themselves, yet they all escaped: yea, it was affirmed, that one ——— Miller, an Eaglesham man, wandering up and down and seeing a light in a house went to it, and knocking, a servant opened to him, and he most ingenuously told his circumstances: this happened to be the Bishop's lodgings, but the maid had the generosity to hide the man, till next day she told some of her acquaintance, whom she knew to be favourers of the sufferers, and they came and took care of him. This passage being fully verified to me, I thought it deserved room here.

"No small noise was made about this escape. The Council could not be got to gather till the 20th of September, when I find, by the registers, a committee of their number was appointed to go to prison and call for the magistrates of Edinburgh and view it, and see what was necessary to be done for its security: they appoint, likewise, general Dalziel to call a council of war, and examine the behaviour of captain, lieutenant, sergeants, corporals, and sentinels, that night, and report. And January 22d, next year,—I find a process before the council against the magistrates and town of Edinburgh. They are libelled for suffering Mr. John Dick, Adam Philip, George Atkin, prisoners for high treason, and about two and twenty others, criminal prisoners,—to escape. The town's lawyers are heard, and the magistrates assolied as being a casual and fortuitous escape, and the president is appointed to give them a reprimand and admonition to take heed to their prison in time to come."—Wodrow, Vol. II. pp. 289 290.

was ordered to be executed on the 5th of that month, agreeably to his former sentence. He suffered accordingly—leaving behind him a very minute detail of his Examination, Trial, and Testimony, which together with his Last Words, have since been printed, and altogether, form a considerable pamphlet,—from which a few extracts are subjoined.]

“My *first* assertion I have to vindicate, is this ;—that I own the Work of reformation, as the same is contained in the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, conform to the covenant against popery, prelacy, and Erastianism, and am resolved, by the Lord’s strength, to bide by the same ; and to this I subjoin the inviolable obligation of the covenant, to adhere to these principles and practices. * * *

“The *second* assertion I am to defend is,—that the laws overturning the presbyterian church and establishing episcopacy, particularly these three acts—To wit, 1st, The act rescissory, whereby at one dash the glorious fabric, sometime the glory of these nations, is overturned ; 2dly, The act of supremacy, and act explanatory of the same, whereby our blessed Lord is set *by* his chair, and a poor worm set down in his room ; 3dly, That act called the Test, a hotchpotch of nonsense, lies, and contradictions ;—that these, and others of their nature, were null, and asserted principally, because contrary to express Texts of scripture. * * *

“The *third* thing I have in task, is to defend these assertions following ; To wit,—that I own the Hamilton Declaration, and that when we were invaded or assaulted by any person whatsoever, in the exercise of our reformed religion and worship—upon that account, we were obliged to stand to our own defence :—that I own the lawfulness of field conventicles, and our being in arms to defend ourselves in case of being molested ;—and that I myself was ever ready to own and defend my brethren in arms when invaded, as said is, and declaring that the invasions made against the Lord’s people at Pentland and Bothwell, they being then in the exercise of their religion,—were services done to the devil, and the resistance made by them in their own defence, was service done to God. Now, the sum of all these assertions is, that it is the duty of protestant reformed churches to stand to the defence of their reformation and religion :—especially with this consideration, that with their religion, they are also assaulted as to their privileges,—as in the freedom of parliaments, and many other particulars,—which if time would allow I could enumerate ; considering especially, that this church and kingdom are obliged so to do, by a most solemn oath made to the ever living God,—they, their kings, their princes, and nobles, and the whole body of the realm ;—and that this oath stands still inviolate. * * *

“And now, unto his Majesty our king, must I address myself, and to all under him, from his brother the Duke of York, to all the counsellors, sheriffs, justices, magistrates of boroughs, and members of parliament, since his majesty’s restoration. * * *

“Now, as to you all and sundry, I declare in the entry of my address, as in the sight of Jehovah, whose I am, and before whom both you and I ere long, must stand naked and bare, to answer for all

we have done in the flesh,—that my design in this my address, next to the glory of God, the good and edification of his people, and consequently the advancement of his work, has been your conviction from the highest to the lowest, if possible. * * *

“ And now, to you great Sir,—for to you and all under you, who instigate you to, and concur with you in these soul-destroying practices, I am in the strength of Jehovah to remonstrate,—I address myself;—and in the first place, must take the liberty to tell you, in the name of my great Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, that it is not unknown to your Majesty, nor any of those to whom I address myself, jointly with you, that not only at your coronation, your Majesty and all under you, from the highest to the lowest but also before,—these whole nations were, and yet are, engaged in a most solemn covenant with the ever-living God, party contractor on the one hand, and your Majesty and all under you in these nations, from the highest to the lowest, on the other hand; to the observance of which covenant, these nations and all in them, shall for ever be bound and obliged, from the highest to the lowest, while sun and moon endure; neither is there any imaginable way of dissolving the same,—especially considering, that therein our obligation being only to amend our lives, and to worship the Almighty God, conform to his own appointment, and to oppose ourselves, our lives and fortunes, to all courses and ways inconsistent with these ends;—these being moral duties to which we were antecedently bound, as is the nature also of all the duties we are obliged to by these covenants. Now, great sir, the case being thus, I hope you will not judge yourself obliged to such as make this defence for breaking of these covenants,—that your Majesty was forced thereto, for indeed I look upon it as a great imputation upon your Majesty, (especially being styled Defender of the Faith,) to have been in any measure under either necessity or constraint, to have joined in a duty so absolutely necessary, and if there was any thing of force, where was the intimation thereof? Sure I am, there was nothing thereof publicly to be seen, and yet giving but not granting it had been so, your Majesty and all under you, were inexpressibly more obliged to the performance thereof, than were the people of Israel to the performance of that made with the Gibeonites, as may be seen above; nor do I think your Majesty will think yourself obliged to them, who should for vindication of your breach of these covenants offer this defence, that your Majesty is under covenant of a posterior date bound to the pope, and some of his creatures, to introduce popery, and to mancipate these territories to that antichristian yoke. If any such thing be,—as the carriage of the court, this considerable time, too loudly insinuates, sure I am, it were more for your Majesty’s honour, and the glory of God, and the good of your nations, to break that covenant than to keep it, it being a covenant made against the Almighty, which by no imaginable pretence can be justified. But leaving these things to your majesty’s consideration, and to the consideration of such as may, with you, be concerned herein, I must make bold to ask again, by what authority you came to dissolve this contract? (yea, I may say, and that upon good grounds, as glorious a contract as ever was made on earth,

and while adhered to of as glorious effects,) I say I must make bold to ask by what authority this is broken? and unless you be so bold as to run yourself upon the bosses of the buckler of the Almighty, in refusing that which the Justice-clerk but faintly granted, (which the Lord avert,) I mean, unless you deny Jehovah to be supreme Lord and Master of heaven and earth, and all the kings and governors in the earth to be his deputies and servants. Now, we shall take it for granted, that these covenants stand still binding, and I am sure we have good ground so to do, for any thing we have either read or heard to the contrary. Then, great sir, must I, in the next place ask, how it comes to pass, that over the belly of these covenants Episcopacy and Erastianism (against which as to the unlawfulness thereof, and their inconsistency with the word of God, we have so many testimonies standing in record, not only in the word of God, but in human writings, drawn and founded thereupon, without the least satisfaction offered by our adversaries,)—come to be introduced amongst us, who besides the unlawfulness of the things themselves have this to say, that we have sworn with hands lifted up to the Almighty, not only never to join with, but with our lives and fortunes to oppose either;—I say how come these not only to be introduced, but we by armed force hunted, harassed, plundered, tortured, and haled to scaffolds, for no other reason, but our refusing? Anent which—the unlawfulness of the things were to us sufficient warrant; though we had not been in covenant, but much more being under the same; as for my part, I can dream of no reason for introducing these,—being strangers in the church of Christ, not only in his own blessed time, and the time of the apostles who survived him,—but also for three hundred years thereafter. Nor do I ever hear or read that for any other use they were introduced but for Antichrist, that man of sin's exaltation;—being made use of,—the one for his advancement in that damnable absolute supremacy of his, in the church, and the other for the same end, in the state,—and truly if this be the thing, it does not a little confirm me in the belief of that second covenant you and your brother have made with the pope, which I mentioned a little above. * * *

“Now let me obtest you all in the bowels of my blessed Lord Jesus Christ, if you have any respect to the glory of God, to the eternal well-being of your own immortal souls, to the well-being of your posterity, and to the peace and well-being of these nations, of which you are all members (though of different sizes,) in the fear of God, that you would lay aside your enmity against God, and follow that advice given in the second Psalm, from the 10th verse to the close. And that you may be the better helped to this, read and ponder well that whole Psalm,—not forgetting to pray over your meditations thereupon, and set some time apart for considering the greatness of the affronts you gave to Jehovah in all these acts and actions we have been weakly hinting at,—considering therein, your unparalleled despite done to the Spirit of God, in setting yourselves so palpably against the Almighty, and setting up your mock laws against and above that unerring law of his,—I mean his blessed will revealed in his word, as

also the weight of the blood you have engaged your shoulders under, in executing these your abominable wicked laws,—which is no less than the whole bloodshed, since the blood of righteous Abel to this very hour. For this consider that passage in the 23d of Matthew, from the 29th to the 37th verse ;—the more faithful you are, or any of you shall be helped to be in judging yourselves in this matter, the greater hope in your case. I pray God that none of you be so far left to yourselves, as offer to shift off this charge, which I am sure you shall never have ground to do till you have solidly answered all that is written in the word of God, for binding the same upon you, as also in the above-mentioned, and amongst the rest,—in this poor and feckless essay of mine,—which I declare as in the sight of God I have ventured upon, next to the glory of God, and the good of his people, with an eye to the everlasting well-being of the souls of one and all of you, even of my most inveterate enemy, Mr. Paterson, prelate of Edinburgh, as you call him. And because neither time will allow, nor is this so properly my task,—I recommend it to you for your help here, to consult the writings of our faithful divines, both in Britain and Ireland, where you may meet with what may afford you better help in this indispensable, necessary duty ; and whether I come speed or not, I must advise you also, even to consult in this matter such of your faithful ministers as are yet amongst us. I think it but reasonable you should essay this in the time of your health, which not a few of you have ventured upon at your death, fearing that then it may prove too late, for seldom is late repentance sure repentance. Now, if you shall be helped of the Lord to grant me this my suit, which is so much for the glory of God, the good of your own soul, the good of your posterity, and of the lands wherein you live, I do nothing doubt but ere all be done you shall find reason to bless the Lord, and to alter your sentiments not only of me, but of all who, with me, have been so tender of your souls as not to dare to harden you in your sinful courses, by concurring and going alongst with you in these so horrid abominations,—and shall not only think but find it verified upon your spirits, that we have been (that which we are indeed,) the only faithful and loyal subjects in these dominions,—endeavouring in our stations to render to the Almighty what is his, and to Cæsar what is his, which is true loyalty indeed. For we dare not join with these that have in their rage against God, combined with his deputies against him, and if you shall be yet so far hardened as to refuse this my so useful, and to you, profitable advice, then must I come, in the third place, to remonstrate the hazard of your refusal, which cannot fail but to be upon this account the greater,—that you shall refuse a message as it were sent from the dead unto you, and so a greater step of God's infinite condescendency unto you.

“ Well, then, that in this matter I may be the more particular with you,—I shall obtest one and all of you, to consider what ye will do in the day of visitation, I mean in the great and terrible day of the Lord, (for as to particular visitations in time, it may be you have laid your count by them, and therein done foolishly enough too,) when our blessed Lord Jesus Christ (against whom ye have been raging these two and twenty years, and it may be some of you longer,) shall

set his throne in the clouds, and cause sound the last trumpet,—at the hearing whereof, all that ever had a being must answer and compear, and stand naked before our great King and head of his own church, (to whom the Father has committed the judgment,) and answer for what they have done in the flesh: which,—his coming,—as it shall be the joyfulest sight that ever the people of the Lord did see,—so to all the wicked it shall be the most dreadful and terrible day that ever their eyes beheld, and this the rather that they could never be induced to believe the same in time, so it shall be a dreadful surprisal to them.

* *

“I say again unto you all, What resolve you to do in that great and terrible day of the Lord?—when our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, for meekness and pleasantness to his people, but to all who shall be found enemies in that day,—the Lion of the tribe of Judah; and a very terrible Lion shall he be. What are you resolved to do? Can it be possible, that men who were created reasonable creatures, can have fallen upon so desperate a cure as this, I mean as to have unanimously resolved (upon the first hearing of the trumpet that day,) to leap quick into hell, and there to hide themselves? Sure if this be the thing intended, it shall not only be a desperately mad, but ineffectual resolution also. What! do you not know that thence also the Omnipotent arm of Jehovah shall easily bring you out? Dream not, I say, dream not of any escape; for the interrogation here what shall you do, imports a very strong negation of all possible means of shunning that great appearance: where will you?—will not every individual one of you appear before that Lion, however averse you may be from it? and I dare not but tell you, that to look upon his (to you) terrible countenance shall be more afflicting, more tormenting, more astonishing, more soul and conscience-wounding, than a thousand years' torment in hell! This I can assure you of, and this you shall never shun by any means imaginable: so, if ye be resolved to refuse my friendly exhortation and advice, I must here warn you before him to make ready to answer for all you have done in the flesh, and though to some of you the slighting of this my advice may be the last, yet, it shall not be the least of the challenges you shall meet with, that day. Now, I hope I have prevailed with the most part, if not all of you, to believe, that before this Lion you must come and look him in the face also, and before him answer for what you have done in the flesh, and having told you who is to be your Judge, for your farther fitting for that rencounter, I shall also tell you by what law you are to be judged,—even by the written word of God, wherein is contained our blessed Lord's revealed will,—that self-same law that you refuse to be supreme; and when my companion in tribulation and fellow-sufferer for Christ Jesus, George Lapsley,* called it the

* In reference to this individual, who, it appears escaped altogether, after getting out of prison along with Mr. Dick,—it may be interesting to the reader to quote the following notices from Wodrow. He appears to have been tried, but not sentenced, along with Mr. Dick.

“It seems at this diet, the court had not time to come to a sentence against George Lapsley, and I find no more about him, in the registers. He escaped

acts of parliament of heaven, pertinently enough,—yet some of your number in rage against our great Law-maker disdainfully did laugh,—I say by this self same law are you all and every one of you to be judged: and however you may be so diabolically bold, as to contemn it now, you shall not then dare to whisper in the least against it! Now, having told who is to be Judge, and what the law by which you are to be judged, if you incline to know who are to be witnesses, we tell you—even your own consciences, with that great book of remembrance, the comparing of which together shall be as sufficient as millions of witnesses. Then for your assizers,—know you are to have the whole generation of the righteous, and amongst the rest, even these whom you in your rage against the Almighty have slain for the testimony of our blessed Lord and Master Christ Jesus,—whom you have not only renounced yourselves (as head of his church,) but also are raging in madness against all such as will not with you run into the same excess of riot. The diet of your compearance we have told you before. * * *

“Now, having ended with our blessed Lord’s enemies, I come to my last task, in this my testimony, which is to speak a short word by way of advice and exhortation to all my precious friends;—under which

with the rest of the prisoners, and was not again caught; from an attested account of his sufferings, I give what follows:—He was for some considerable time, Miller in Linlithgow mill, and, among multitudes of others, had a real change wrought on him by the gospel preached in the fields; at Bothwell he was shot through the leg and made prisoner. When before a committee of the council, he was very bold in his answers to their interrogatories. Bishop Paterson attacked him first, and when he asked if he thought Bothwell-bridge, *rebellion*; he answered, ‘Sir, you are a perjured prelate, I will answer you no questions.’ He did not refuse to answer the other lords of the committee, as appears by the following hints of what passed. Question, Wherefore are you in prison? Answer, For hearing the gospel. Q. Do you go to church? A. No. Q. Wherefore? A. Because they are not the sent ministers of Christ, and because of their perjury. Q. Will you own the king’s authority? A. According to the word of God and covenants, and no otherwise, which you have broken and burnt, and for which the Lord will be avenged. Q. Did you write to Mr. Dick? A. Yes. Q. Who wrote the letter? A. I will give no account. Q. Was the Bishop’s death, *murder*? A. I am not concerned with his life or death either. Q. Was Hackston’s death a murder? A. Yes, and all them whose lives you have taken these two and twenty years. Q. Was you at Bothwell-bridge? A. I will not accuse myself. Q. What thought you of it? A. I thought it duty and not rebellion, and all that were on the contrary party were in rebellion against God, and that ye shall find. Q. Did you converse with Mr. Welsh? A. Yes, and I bless God for it. Q. What book is that under your arm? (He had been brought in suddenly before the committee, when he had been reading the Bible in prison, and he had it with him.) A. It is the Acts of the parliament of heaven, and I charge you, as ye shall answer at the great day, when *you* and I shall stand in equal terms, that you judge me according to what is contained in it. Q. Is it lawful to resist the king’s forces at the field-meetings? A. Yes, the law of nature allows self-defence, and the word of God and our covenants, to stand to the defence of one another.

“It was much after such bold answers that he was not condemned; and had not the breaking of prison prevented it, no doubt, sentence would have been pronounced; but he escaped and lived a merchant in Edinburgh, many years after the Revolution.”—Wodrow, Vol. II. pp. 311, 312.

compellation, I comprehend—all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, and wait for his coming,—all that have given themselves to him in a covenant never to be forgotten,—all that are keeping up the fight against their corruptions, and struggling in the strength of our Lord against a body of death, and, in short, all that are sincerely arting heavenward, whether such are a farther or shorter way advanced in their journey; and to these and all such of whatsoever nation, country, tongue, or language, they be, whether at home or abroad, of whatsoever persuasion consistent with the foundations of religion; and particularly to all under the cross, whether abroad in Hungary, France, Germany, or any other where, who are in the furnace,—or at home in these three kingdoms, and to you all and every one who, in the strength of our blessed Lord, shall be helped to run that race with patience, and finish your Christian course with joy,—I hope I need not use arguments to prove, that the day of the Lord which we have been speaking of above, which to the wicked and to the enemies of our blessed Lord shall be so terrible, shall be to you the beginning of days, or rather the beginning of a day which is never to have an end, and that this day may be the more joyful to one and all of us, I shall obtest you all to join with me in the pursuance of these few Christian exhortations following.

“And first, in general, let there be a cordial endeavour in the strength of our blessed Master (the more this be employed the better speed shall we come,) to strive against every sin without exception, to close with every commanded duty with delight. The more universal we be in either, the more sincere in our resolutions this way, the more dependently upon Christ Jesus we go on in this course, and the more self-denial and denial to all other airths we be blessed of the Lord with,—the better speed surely shall we come.

“But, secondly, and more particularly, let us all unanimously concur in the endeavour after the cordial and sincere performance of these particular duties following:

“And, *first*,—I would offer for your exercise that indispensable necessary duty of *repentance*, in exercising whereof, I shall offer these few Christian advices; first, let us dig deep in this matter, and never rest till we come to the root, I mean original sin, and after we have dwelt by meditation upon the sadness thereof, let us, in the next place, take a view of all our actual transgressions flowing therefrom,—of our sins as well of omission as commission,—of our younger as of our riper age,—against the law as against the gospel,—these sins that thence cleave to us in our best performances,—not forgetting these sins called our own and the sins that do easily beset us, and all these, and many others, (which you may find out, by perusing great and reverend Mr. Durham upon the Commands,) not only as to ourselves every one of us for himself, but all of us for each other, and in a special manner be mindful of the public national sins, and that not only in the land, where you have your residence, but also all the world over; in sum, let every thing done to the dishonour of God, by whomsoever, be the object of your mourning before him. * * *

“The *second* duty I propose for the object of our sincere endea-

vours, is, *the fear and love of God*. I bring these in together, the rather, that they are seldom, if ever, separate, as it is also with all the other graces of the Spirit,—though some of them may be at some times both more or less felt by the party himself, and more or less visible to others; and for our help here, let us dwell much upon the consideration of that mystery of love vented towards lost mankind, in that transaction held by the holy Trinity before the world had a foundation, I say, let the serious thought of that fountain—love whereby God so loved us, *so loved us*,—that God the Father was pleased to want the refreshful presence of the Son, and God the Son not only to want the most amiable and desirable company of the Father, but also to take upon him our nature, and come down and dwell amongst us in the world, rendering himself, upon our account, liable to all the miseries of this life, (sin only excepted,)—even to death itself, and all for us:—and God the Holy Ghost, freely undertaking what was cut out to him for task by the Father and Son, in reference to the further manifestation of this mystery of love,—in applying the favour so freely bequeathed on poor lost mankind, and us amongst the rest: and sure I am, this, seriously dwelt upon and prayed over, can hardly miss to take effect, towards the warming of our hearts Godwards, and begetting in our souls a filial fear of doing any thing to the dishonour of that glorious God, who so loved us. * * *

“The *third* thing I offer for the object of our sincere and cordial endeavours, is, *the actual exercise of the grace*, the noble and fountain-grace of faith, as also of patience; these can also hardly be separated, since he that believes makes no haste. I doubt not to say it, that I hope there are not a few thousands in Britain and Ireland, who have these graces in the root and habit, who are too much strangers to the actual exercise thereof at this present time, and this is so much the sadder that there has no bit of the short and evil time, I have had in this world,—cried more loudly for the same. And do ye not think that our blessed, even our blessed Lord may very truly say to us, what he said to others before, in our case,—that he cannot do many mighty works amongst us, because of our unbelief? I doubt nothing but that there are many Christians in Britain and Ireland, and other places all the world over, that would willingly have our great Lord appearing in their behalf; why is it then that we look so like a people under a combination to bind his holy hand, (to speak so with holy reverence,) for though indeed our faith as it is our act, cannot merit at the hands of our blessed Lord that he should appear, yet it being a mean of his blessed appointment and a gift of his own giving, whereby in his holy Providence he disposes his people, and puts them in capacity to receive his favours, the least we are called to do is to importune the throne of grace, for the exercise thereof; and for our encouragement herein, let us not only read, but seriously consider that 11th chapter of the Hebrews, where we shall meet with a glorious company of believers, and of the special and great blessings attending their belief; and with this we have added patience, that by our impatient thirsting, even after that which may be the object of our faith, we do not mar the work with our own hands. * * *

“ In the *last* place, I come to propose for the object of our sincere and single endeavour, that we fall effectually about *the preparing of ourselves*, to meet our blessed Lord and Master, whether as to his coming for our delivery in time, or to judgment in that great day. For my own part, I am under a strong impression of our blessed Lord's being upon his way, and I am not a little persuaded, that his sword is already drawn, it is like I may have some differing from me here,—this I cannot help. There is another impression, I am now, and have been under for a considerable time, that his coming (considered complexly) shall be very terrible ; in this I expect I shall have very few godly differing from me ; I incline the rather to join this twofold preparation together, that the duties incumbent, in reference to both, are one.

“ The duty we would propose to ourselves herein in general, being to prepare to meet our God, of which these we hinted at before, being no small part,—we shall for our further clearness here, advise the laying aside of several things that may be impediments in this work. And, 1st, let us lay aside worldly mindedness. 2dly, Carnal fears. 3dly, Our own sins, and the sins that easily beset us. 4thly, Our mixing with the people of these abominations, a case very dangerous to be found in, whichever of the ways our blessed Lord come. 5thly, Let us lay aside the unchristian fires, Satan has kindled amongst us, whereby (forgetting that charity and brotherly love, so much inculcated by our blessed Lord and Master,) we are rendered mutually incapable of edifying one another, reproving and advising one another, as of doing many other Christian duties incumbent. That I be not mistaken here, the Lord is my witness, I intend not that any should harden another in a sinful course, or that any should do any thing, whereby he may become sharer with another in his sins ; and I know, I have witnesses not a few in these lands, that can bear me witness, I have guarded against this, in no small measure, in the Lord's strength, myself : and whatever challenges I have either had from within or from without on this matter, have been rather for too much keenness, than too much slackness; for which, in so far as it has been sinful, I refuse not satisfaction in time and place convenient. I say is it not sad, that Satan has gotten so much advantage in this matter, that there are very few in the land, in capacity to be assistant to one another : and all this, through slighting the method prescribed by our blessed Lord in his word, in reference to offences, have men forgotten altogether, that they are in the body themselves? Or have these persons who are clear for separation upon every account, reckoned, what to answer to our blessed Lord and Master, whose answer to that question, How oft shall I forgive my brother, till seven, times?—was, ‘ I say not unto you, seven times, *but seventy-times seven.*’ * * *

“ Now, let me again obtest you, dearest friends, to make conscience of these duties, as you have a respect to the glory of God, the good of his cause, the good of your own souls, the conviction, (and if not attainable,) the confounding of enemies : and beside, what of advantages this shall afford you at his coming, with deliverances in time, which shall neither be few nor small,—you shall undoubtedly find much consolation therefrom. at his great and last coming. * * * *

“And now must we halt here a little, till the elect be gathered together;—during which time let us vent our meditation of the difference that will be betwixt the elect and reprobate; the reprobate saying, ‘Oh alas! for ever,—yonder he is for the dishonour done to whom, we could never shed a tear;’ the elect saying, ‘Well’s me, yonder he is upon the account of the dishonour done to whom I have had many a sore heart, and have shed many a tear.’ The reprobate says, ‘Oh! he is yonder whom I could never either love or fear.’ Says the elect, ‘Blessed for ever be the sight, yonder he is who helped me both to love and fear him.’ The reprobate says, ‘Oh! for ever,—yonder he is whom I could never be persuaded either to believe, or patiently to wait for.’ Says the elect, ‘Rejoice, O my soul, for ever, yonder he is that helped me by his Spirit both to trust in and wait for him.’ The reprobate says, ‘Oh! and alas! yonder he is, towards the meeting of whom all the exhortations in time could never move me to make preparation.’ Says the elect, ‘Glory to his name for ever, he is there now, for meeting of whom he helped me many a day to be trimming my lamp.’ Says the reprobate, ‘Oh, and undone for ever, yonder he is whom in his members I not only persecuted but murdered many a time.’ Says the elect, ‘Endless blessings on his ever glorious face, for whose sake he helped me to suffer persecution,’ says one, ‘and to be hanged on a gibbet, beheaded, or drowned,’ say others, and so forth, of all the rest of the duties, the elect have been helped to perform, and against the performance whereof, the reprobate have been hardened, or rather have hardened themselves. Now, may we suppose the whole elect to be gathered together, and looking many a greedy look to be at him, then may we suppose our blessed Lord and Master by his omnipotent arm drawing them all up to him in the air: O glorious meeting! a meeting without a parting, a meeting for joy inexpressible; then shall they be set down on the right hand to receive their sentence, as the reprobate have done already in our paper, in the order of God’s appointment they shall be last, as you may see in that 25th chapter of Matthew, out of which we drew their sentence, and then shall the sentence of the elect be pronounced, as follows in the 34th verse of the said 25th chapter of Matthew: ‘Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, from the foundation of the world.’

“Now my dearest friends, to answering my former suits,—which, as they are both your mercies and duties, so are they attended with such unspeakable advantages, as we have a little hinted at: I shall desire you yet to add two more. The first is, that one and all of you may with me, with our whole souls, sing and say, and say and sing, ‘Bless, O my soul, the Lord thy God, and all that in me is, be stirred up, his holy name to magnify and bless.’ The second is, That all of us, with one soul, may cordially join in saying, ‘Even so, come, blessed Lord Jesus Christ, come quickly. Amen.’ Thus, with his whole soul, says

JOHN DICK.”

2. HIS LAST WORDS.

When he went upon the scaffold, he beckoned to the multitude, beginning at the north side thereof; and so turning himself round, with

a smiling countenance, and looking not only steadfastly but eagerly, and stretching forth his hands, he began thus :

“ The great confluence that are gathered together here, manifestly declares to me, that many, if not the great part of this multitude, expect and look for something more than ordinary, but ye may be disappointed. I nothing doubt but all of this multitude, at least the most part, know and have heard that I have had near six months’ respite, more than was allowed me by men ; which time was granted me in the goodness and mercy of God through my escape,—which mercy, I mean this time that I have had since my escape, I look upon it to have been given me for these two ends, and in both these that God may be glorified. And, first, That having so much more time, I might have the liberty and privilege more fully to exhibit, and give in, my judgment. Secondly, That having so much more time, I might the better make ready, and prepare myself for that great work I have now in hand,—I mean death and eternity ; neither of which is terrifying nor damping to me, for which and all his other favours and mercies which he in the abundance of his goodness and riches of his free grace, bestowed on me, even on me who, while in a natural state, was as evil and abominable in God’s sight as any here at this time,—I desire to bless, adore, admire, exalt, and praise the Lord, while in time ; for I know I shall shortly praise him without interruption or intermission. I say it again,—I bless him for all his mercies and favours conferred upon me, and not only this among the rest, but above all, next to that great one, that he made me his own by his purchase, and so became mine ; and although I have not kept all right as to him, yet he has kept all right as to me, and betwixt him and me all is right ; for besides his other mercies and favours he has condescended so much to dignify and honour me, as to crown all, in me, with martyrdom.

“ Now my dear friends in Christ, it is your assistance I crave in this exercise of praising, let me beseech you to join with me in singing to the praise of this, ‘ even my God and the God of my consolation and salvation, I say to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, let us sing praise from the beginning of the 2d Psalm ;’ So, having sung that Psalm through, which he sang with great cheerfulness, sometimes pointing with his hands to one airt, and sometimes to another, (especially, when he sang the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses, his countenance so shined, that it might easily appear, to judicious and pious spectators, that he was in an excellent frame, and in a special way to be helped, to sing praise to the Lord,) so having done with singing, he said, with a pleasant countenance, “ I nothing doubt but amongst this great confluence of people, there are many that are nearer and dearer to our exalted and glorified Lord Jesus Christ,—therefore I shall address myself to two sorts, and shall speak a short word to each of these, as providence and time shall allow me ; first I shall speak to friends, secondly, to enemies.

“ As to you that are friends, I mean all such as are resolved to follow our blessed Lord fully through good report and bad report (cost what it will,) I say according to the rule that he hath given in his word. I have three words of good news to tell you, as the words

of a dying man. And, first, it shall be well with the righteous, yea verily, it shall be well with the righteous. Now, in speaking to this, I would say two things, but do not mistake me, for I am neither a minister nor a preacher, for I am not going to preach, but only to give my last advice to those here,—which I shall do in a few words; for neither do I desire to weary you, nor to speak much more,—the body being shortly to be caught up above the clouds, pointing with his hand up to heaven, I mean my soul, which shall be immediately there. And, 1st, That you my friends may understand me,—the righteousness of none can make you righteous but that of Christ, and that imputed to you for righteousness: so, I say, ye must have a borrowed righteousness, even the righteousness of Jesus Christ imputed to you, and this is the way that ye must be righteous. I say, it shall be well with the righteous, the Spirit of God hath said it in his word, and that is better than an angel had spoken it from heaven, for we have a more sure word of prophecy, 2 Peter, I. ch. and 16th verse. But, 2dly, To be righteous, is not to sit down, nor rest satisfied, with what ye have attained, but to press forward to the prize, and so to walk answerably, to what ye have received, and to what ye profess,—not being satisfied with what ye are or may appear to be, in the eyes of men; but study by a holy and onward way, and walking in the sight of God, and all men, to shew that ye are the persons that have this righteousness imputed to you, and so labour to have your light so to shine before men, that ye may glorify your heavenly Father. Such as are thus righteous, I say, it shall be well with them.

“Then a second word of good news I have to tell you, my friends, is this, that Jesus Christ is sitting at the helm of affairs, and whatever he will, he doth it, and there is none that is able to stop him when he worketh, and whatsoever his pleasure is, cometh to pass. This man thinketh he is working one piece of work, and a second man thinketh he is working another piece of work, and a third man thinketh he is working *his* piece of work, and it may be all are working contrary one to another, as they think, and yet for all that, they are all working and carrying on His work, even when they think they are doing that which, at least some of them, would have done the quite contrary, so, I say, in all these, they are all working and carrying on Christ's work. Now, my friends, I exhort all of you, yea, I obtest you for Christ's sake, weary not of God, but wait on him and keep his way, I mean, the way appointed in his word, and trust him with his own work; for, all that has been done, or shall ever be done by the actions of men to the contrary, yet his work is still carried on thereby; so lippen to God and ye shall not be disappointed. But a third word of good news that I have to tell you is this, that notwithstanding all the dark clouds that have been, and now are, I can assure you, that there are glorious days coming to these covenanted lands, and I assure you, yea, I dare aver it, that they are nearer than you, at least a great part, even of the godly—do believe—I say it again, sirs, there are glorious days coming to these lands, and even to poor and filthy Scotland, and I am certain she is both poor and filthy enough;—you and she are very near to one another, therefore, I entre you, beware of unbelief and

impatience, and, as you would not keep back these days, beware of sin that may procure the rest.

“Now, my friends, I have these few advices to leave with you, and, *first*, I require you, to labour to make your foundation sure and right, I say, before you engage in profession. I entreat you, as a dying man,—and take it amongst my last words, lay a foundation sure, for without this ye will never be able to do or suffer aright for Christ, when it comes to this with it, either sin or suffer; I say, ye will never be able to suffer acceptably, if ye have not the foundation laid sure. Will ye know why it is, and from whence it flows, that so many have made shipwreck of God, Christ, and a good conscience, in a day of trial? and why so many have broken down that which once they builded, or, at least, seemed to be builders of, and are denying that which once they professed, and fighting against that which once they fought with and for, and so are fled from their ground? here is the reason, because they stood and built upon a sandy foundation; therefore lay the foundation sure and right, if ye will stand it out in a day of trial: and that this may be thereby considered, remember sirs, ye may meet with harder trials than this is, that I am meeting with, I mean in your eyes, for it is not sharp to me; yea, the thoughts and fearful apprehensions of what trials others may meet with that I have, make me so much the more to be satisfied, and to rejoice in my lot. But, I say it again, sirs, lay the foundation right, and ye that will not lay it, nor make it your study to have it laid right,—I say to you, wait with your perfection, and profess nothing but what you practise.

“My *second* advice to you is this, that having laid the foundation sure and right, ye would be still building and carrying on Christ’s work, until it be perfected;—I mean, till your conversation in all things be suitable to the gospel, and answerable to that foundation built up, and rooted in your most holy faith; and in all your building, let faith, patience, and all other of the graces, be lively in exercise, that so your building may go right on.

“My *third* advice to you, my friends, is this,—labour to love one another. I say, to all the people of God here and elsewhere, love one another, yea, labour to love one another more and more, and to bear with one another, and beware of needless and groundless sinful breaking and divisions, I do not say that ye will join with any in sin, and combine against God and his Christ in sinful ways and courses, but labour to bear with one another, and strengthen, edify, exhort, confirm, and comfort one another, and this is the way to gain one another, and I am persuaded, that the needless, groundless, and sinful division, and breakings, that have been in the land, have more wronged the cause, interest, work, and people of God, than all that devils and men could have done. And has not the devil had a special hand in the breakings and divisions of the Lord’s people, that thereby he might rout the same? therefore, in consideration and commemoration of these things, study unity and honesty in the Lord.

“My *fourth* advice is this, labour to be rightly exercised and affected with, and in the consideration of what has procured the

depriving of what sometimes ye possess, especially because thereby God was offended, Christ wounded, and the Spirit grieved, and God the Father in Christ affronted by you, in not receiving his Son's offers in the gospel, and not walking answerable to the mercies received, and that you enjoy, and, notwithstanding, I would have you think little of what you have, but rather, and so much the more, that ye did so ill improve it when ye had it, improve what ye now possess; I say it again, improve what mercies and privileges ye have, and labour to improve every opportunity, either of doing or getting good, remember that time is precious, and ye must give an account how ye spend and improve all other mercies that ye enjoy.

"My *fifth* advice to you is,—labour to be of a sympathizing spirit, and be more concerned with the glory of God, and with a suffering Christ in his members, and do not think you sympathize with *him* and yet be unconcerned in *them*,—I mean Christ's members; for, as sympathizing with them shall be looked upon with and by him as a concernedness with and in him, and what ye do for, or give to one of them it shall be rewarded by him,—as if ye had done it to or for him, if ye be in him, and so walk in this and all other duties suitable to your being in him. Now, my friends, my last advice to you is this, labour, O labour, to be at the height of sincerity in all these and other duties, and so ye shall have peace in your latter end; and now, my friends, that ye, and all the people of God, may be helped to this (let us pray to God, even my God,) yea, I say without vanity, he is my God, and so to him let us pray." Not being permitted to speak to the second sort, viz. the enemies,—he after having prayed, read the ninth chapter of Ezekiel. As he read he now and then looked up to the windows on both sides, but especially on the north side, where he espied many faces he knew,—making demonstrations with his hands and eyes, as he read, to the persons to whom these scriptures seemed most to be applied;—and he then sang a part of the thirty-seventh Psalm, from the 29th verse. In his prayer, there was one passage much remembered beyond the rest, which was this, "O Lord, since thou hast honoured me to come here, to lay down my life for thy cause and interest, I pray thee, even be pleased to go up this ladder with me, and to lead me through the dark valley of the shadow of death, that is unknown to all naturally, and I know that thou wilt keep my soul in the down-coming thereof."

"After that prayer, he calls for a drink of water, which was immediately brought to him, and he taking it in his hand, with a more pleasant countenance than he seemed to have before, says, "Make way, that I may win forward," pointing with his hand to the ladder. Then turning himself to Captain Graham, he said to him, "Sir, do me the favour to call in that gentleman," and also, "suffer him to come up to me, upon the scaffold," which was granted; so, desiring such as were not concerned might be put off the scaffold, he with a smiling countenance turned to the people, and bowed to them all,—as he did when he went first up the scaffold,—and then to his father, who was also upon the scaffold with him; and embracing him very cheerfully, he gave him several kisses rounded some

of his last advices to him, and so parted with him, saying, "Lord be with you my dear father." He then turned to his brother, who was also by him upon the scaffold, and after the same manner embraced him, and so parted with him in words to the same purpose as to his father, and with an exhortation, that he should amend his life, and forbear his idle company, but especially his ways with several others of that nature,—telling him the hazard thereof, and encouraging him if he would follow his last advices. Then he turned to two gentlemen, who were also with him, and after the same manner, embraced, saluted, and parted with them. He then made another bow to the whole multitude, and so went up the ladder, and turning his face to the north-east, he cried out, saying, "I am come here to-day, to lay down my life, which I do willingly and cheerfully, and am neither surprised nor terrified with death, or the manner of it: and here I do declare I would not exchange my lot with what the greatest king, prince, or emperor's enjoyments could afford me, and what I speak once, I say it again, I lay down my life willingly and cheerfully for Christ and his truth, blessing him that ever I had a life to lay down for him; yea, I am now no more troubled with or for death, than if I were to lie down in the finest bed that the earth could afford, with the most dear and intimate friend that the world could allow me, and here I do declare, that I do heartily and freely forgive all men, whatsoever they have done to, or against me, and pray that the Lord would forgive them. I forgive them that sentenced me to die here, first and last; and I forgive all that apprehended me, first and last, or was any way accessory thereto; and I forgive all that have brought me here, and are guarding me here; and I forgive this poor man, pointing with his hand behind him to the hangman, who is to be my executioner. Now, I desire you all, especially you who pretend to be righteous, study to be sincere in the way of God, and in working out your salvation; for, there are many who pretend to be godly, that know little of the life and power thereof; therefore, I entreat you,—labour to know what is the power and life of godliness; for there are many, if not the most part, who pretend to be righteous, that know least of it. I say,—be not satisfied with the shell, but labour for the kernel and marrow of religion. Now, my friends, remember, I tell you here upon the ladder, and as a dying man stepping out of time into eternity, that notwithstanding all the dark clouds that have been, and now are, yet there is a thicker and darker coming, and it is not far off, yea, it is at hand. But, I say, trust in God, trust in God, and he will not disappoint you, I say, trust in God whatever afflictions befall you, yet trust in God, and give him credit." At the hearing of these words, the bailie calls to beat the drums, and so they were beat a little, at which he looked down to the bailie, and said, "What, sir, do ye beat drums, because I desire the people to trust in God?" and so the drums were silenced. Then he cried out again, "Trust in God, and ye shall be borne through, if once ye get in him, and keep in him. He then said, "I will sing a part of the 25th Psalm, from the 16th verse to the close, for it has been many a time very sweet to me, and so I will sing it as my last song in time, I shall be immediately where my heart shall be so tuned, pointing

with his hand to his breast, that I shall never be able to stop the melody and harmony thereof." Then having sung these verses, he prayed, in which, among other things, he had this expression, "Lord, take a course with thine enemies, and those of them whom thou has a purpose of love to ; Lord bring them in, and let them see the evil of their ways ; and those that are thine incorrigible enemies make the wheels of thy chariots go over their backs : and now, Lord, leave me not, and leave not thine to the evil of the enemies, hasten and return to thine heritage that is now in reproach, turn to thy church and people, for thy glorious name's sake. Thou knowest I dare say before thee and in thy sight, that I preferred thy work and interest to my very life, which, as I am a rational creature, is as sweet to me as another man's is ; yet I durst not purchase at any rate, to the prejudice of thy truth, and so I lay it down freely and willingly." So, having called his father to him, " A word with you, sir ;" and so, having spoken what he had to say to him, he again took his leave of him, delivering him a book to be given to another, and so parted with him : and perceiving his brother, (who was on the ladder with him,) trembling, he said to him smiling, and clapping him on the cheek, " What, sir, are you trembling ? for what, sir, are you afraid ?" The executioner having now put a napkin upon his head, and it being tied, and his brother offering to pull it over his face, he, (putting away his hand,) said, " Let it alone, I will draw it down myself ;" so, he put his hands into his pocket, and took out the cover of his Bible, and putting the same therein he gave it to his brother, charging him, straitly to give it to his sister. Then he looked round about him, saying,—farewell all my friends in Christ,"—pointing with his hand to some that he knew, both in windows and on the street. To one, (fixing his eyes upon him,) he said, " My dear Billie, the Lord be with you, the Lord be with you ; and having fixed himself upon a step of the ladder he said,—“ I remember a passage of Abraham, who was commanded to sacrifice his son Isaac, he having, in obedience to the command, brought his son to offer him up a sacrifice, reared up an altar, and Isaac said to him, “ Here is the altar, and there is the wood, but where is the sacrifice ;” and then he said, (pointing to the gibbet,) “ here is the altar,” and then, pointing to the ladder on which he sat, “ here is the wood,” and then (laying his hands on his breast,) he said, “ and, blessed be God, here is a free-will offering, and I will give it willingly and cheerfully, yea, I can say it here, even upon the brink of eternity, that these several years I have preferred the glory of God, the welfare and prosperity of the work and interest of Christ, and his people, to my own private and particular interest ; and I might have shunned such a death as this, but, God knows, I durst not do it.

“ And now, I know, yea, I am firmly persuaded, that my dear Lord, even my exalted and glorified Lord Jesus Christ, will carry me safely through this dark valley and shadow of death, and will receive my soul immediately after I go off this ladder into glory,—where I shall ever be with him. Then he said again, (crying with a loud voice,) “ now, when I can hardly get speaking for the rope about my neck, farewell all friends and followers of Christ, and again, I say, fare-

well and adieu all earthly enjoyments;—and so (having specified to the hangman a sign when he would be ready,) he prayed a little within himself, and when he had done, gave the sign, and at the giving thereof drew the napkin over his face, and cried out, “Farewell all friends in Christ, and into thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my soul.” So he was turned over. And so ends the life of this faithful and now glorified martyr for Christ; and to God the Father, Son, and blessed Spirit, be eternal praise and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.*

XXXVI. JOHN MAIN.

[This was one of Five men who were tried, condemned, and executed at Glasgow. He belonged to the parish of Old, or as it is sometimes called, West Monkland; but besides this, we have scarcely another fact transmitted with regard to him. With his four companions in suffering, he was, on the 17th of March, 1684, sisted before a Special Commission appointed to conduct such processes in the West, and after a trial,—which though embracing the same grounds with those belonging to that period,—was certainly remarkable for the gross and flagrant injustice which it exhibited, and the total want of proof to support the indictment,—he was with the rest of them sentenced to suffer death at the cross of Glasgow, two days after, viz. on the 19th of said month. This sentence was executed accordingly, but as is well shown in the following testimony, perhaps a more unjust one was never passed.]

“It cannot be expected, every thing considered, that ye should have such a testimony under my hand, as ye have had from the hands of many that have gone before me: but seeing God in his infinite wisdom hath seen it fit to bring me upon the stage for truth, I thought myself bound and obliged in his sight, to testify before the world, my close adherence to his written word, and what is conform thereto. And Ist, I testify my adherence to the Bible, the Old and New Testament, as the only and alone rule of faith and obedience, I know, it stands not in need of my approbation; but to let the world know, I die not as a fool, I think it my duty to assert my adherence unto it, declaring, that I take it for my only rule, rejecting the traditions of men as not canonical. 2. I testify my adherence to the Confession of Faith, (saying nothing to that fourth article of the 23d chapter, but only that it is misconstrued, and made use of for another end than ever the honest and faithful ministers of Jesus Christ had before them, when they gave their approbation of the same,) and Catechisms Larger and Shorter, our Covenants National and Solemn League, Acknowledgment

* This article, as already stated, has been extracted from a quarto pamphlet, published so early as the year 1722. The testimony contained in it was thought much too long to be inserted as a whole into the present work. The above, however, seemed to be the most important and useful passages, and will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the general line of argument pursued in it.

of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Sum and Practical Use of Saving Knowledge. 3. To the work of reformation, as it was reformed from popery, prelacy, and malignancy; even to that work, as it is a direct opposition to every sin, and a motive to every duty; and particularly to the remonstrances, protestations, and testimonies against the malignant party and malignant actions,—they being found out to be inconsistent with, and contrary to the written word of God, and the sworn principles of the church of Scotland, and being found to be hurtful to Christian society, not only by the effects of them, but as to the nature and quality of them, even simply considered in themselves, besides the bad effects aggravating them in the sight of the truly godly, and rightly zealous ministers and professors of this church. 4. To the faithful preaching of the gospel, upon muirs and mountains, and high places of the fields, and particularly the preaching down the sins of the time, and up duty. 5. I leave my testimony to the lifting arms for personal defence, and for defence of the gospel: for seeing that other means were failed, and an occasion offering for that, the law both of God and nature does warrant and allow the same. I need not go to quote scripture for the probation of it, since the whole scope of it runs in this strain; and also ye may read several places of scripture, particularly and expressly allowing, yea, commanding the same, and many imitable scripture examples, where the people of God lifted arms against kings, as the people's resisting Saul. I testify to the lawfulness of that hostile defence at Pentland and Bothwell-bridge, and several field-meetings, where they were put to it by the violent and bloody assaults of their enemies. 6. In a word (for I study brevity, being necessitated) to all the faithful testimonies of the godly, given on scaffolds, and some other testimonies given in hostile manner, viz. The testimony given at Rutherglen, May 29th, 1679, and the declarations published at Lanark, in the years 1680, and 1682. I disown and testify against the declaration published at Hamilton, in the year 1679, particularly, because it takes in the interest of Charles Stuart; for though he was once a king, he is now a tyrant, by his cutting the neck of the noble government established in this land, and overturning the main and fundamental conditions, whereupon he was constituted; and it is notour to all in this kingdom, and I believe to part of our neighbour nations also, that he carries on a course contrary to the word of God, and light of nature, and destructive to all Christian and human society; yea, a course that very heathens would abhor, even the thing itself, abstract from its aggravations.

“ I come now in short, (desiring ye may pardon escapes) to let you know what I testify against. And 1. (not to go further back) I leave my testimony against many ministers, for their leaving their Master's work, at the simple command of usurpers, as if they had been only the servants of men; and I declare my disapprobation, yea, my testimony against the sinful silence of ministers, after they have left the vineyard where their Master had placed them to labour, and their not acknowledging publicly their unfaithfulness; for which (together with their other grievous failings) the Lord is this day contending with them. I know not what plagues are so sad as to be plagued by the hand of

God, by being laid aside from his work ; I say, their unfaithfulness, in not standing in the way of the people, when they were so generally drawn away to hear curates. Mistake me not, thinking that I look upon the people as innocent, when I speak of the sins of the ministers ; for I see it my duty to testify against both, and there will not one of them excuse another : but remember that the ministers must account for the people who perish through their default. 2. Against ministers' tampering with that woful and hell-hatched indulgence, and more particularly, their accepting thereof. I testify against the actual accepters of it, and against a woful connivance in the non-accepters of the same ; and whereas there ought to have been an open testifying and protecting against it. I shall study to say but little ; but I die in the faith of it, That God shall send a clear discovery of matters, and these that have betrayed their trust, and have not been as they should and ought to have been, shall see and be ashamed ; but Lord grant that many may see the evil of their doings in time, and may mourn for the same, or otherwise it will be sad for them ; but every one shall see first or last. But remember Esau, 'who found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.' 3. Against the ministers' woful yielding unto and joining with the malignant party and interest at Bothwell-bridge, and their woful yielding unto the usurpation made upon the prerogatives royal of our wronged Lord and Prince Jesus Christ, by their acceptance of liberty granted after Bothwell-bridge, and taking occasion to preach in houses according unto the liberty granted, refusing to preach without doors, notwithstanding the great necessity sometimes requiring the same, and many of them refusing to preach when any of the people stood without doors ; this was notourly known at the time, and I think it be not yet forgot, and however it may be forgot by us, yet I assure you, it is not forgot by a holy God. I testify against their sinful silence, and not jeopardizing their lives for their wronged Lord and provoked Master, especially at a time when Mr. R. C. and Mr. D. C. went to the fields. I testify against their condemning of these two worthies in discourse and preaching, and also in their practice. In short, against every thing in ministers and professors contrary unto, or inconsistent with the presbyterian principles of the church of Scotland. 4. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism, and every thing contrary to the word of God, and particularly against quakerism, anabaptism, independency, and all sectarians, and whatsoever is not warranted by the Holy Scriptures. 5. Against the imposing of that cursed cess ; not that I call cess-lifting in itself unlawful ; but I call that cess unlawful, which was imposed by a corrupt convention of estates who met at Edinburgh, in the year 1673. For some things that are in themselves lawful, are sometimes so circumstanced, as that they become unlawful ; as sometimes the end of an action makes the action unlawful : I may give the cess for an instance of this : for the end of imposing it (as themselves declare) was mainly to bear down field meetings, and other innocent associations of the people of God, disdainfully and wickedly called by them, rendezvouses of rebellion—which meetings all Scotland was bound to maintain ; but they ought

to have been in the places constituted for worship, and would have been there, had bonds and engagements been conscientiously minded by all that were under them. O let not this perfidious generation think that they are loosed from the ties of these covenants; for as sure as God is in the heavens he will make them know another thing, even that it was not in their power to rescind these covenants, and by going about so to do, they have brought much wrath upon themselves and their posterity after them, if they repent not. But oh! do they not look like a generation of his wrath? and, not to pass the bounds of charity, I fear they will be the objects of his wrath; and it will be a dreadful day,—see it who will—when the wicked shall be as stubble and tow, and the wrath and vengeance of God shall seize upon them as fire, and burn them up, for they will not escape. And 6. Against the payers of the cess; for it was a sad thing in a people, that should have opposed all courses of that kind, instead of opposing, to contribute to the carrying on of that very course, that they ought to have opposed. O! that they would consider, and lay it to heart, and set themselves to redeem time, misspent and abused time! 7. And against locality and fines paying, seeing that it contributes to the strengthening of the adversaries' hands; as for the locality, we may easily see it to be sinful, since they (the enemies) have imposed it for the maintenance of a party raised and kept up for no other use (as their daily practice declares) but to harass, rob, and spoil the poor people of God, for their close (O that it were closer) adhering to their sworn principles, and to kill them for not denying these principles. And as for the paying of fines, it should be considered, that these fines are imposed upon people for their duty; and fines imposed by right and justice, ought always to be for transgression; neither can a fine be imposed by right, but for a transgression: so that by paying of these fines so imposed, we must be said either to yield active obedience to an unjust course, which we ought always to oppose, or we may be said to make ourselves transgressors, and these duties (in which we ought to venture life and fortune) to be transgressions. I say, one of these will consequently follow, if not both: but alas! those things that are grievously sinful many ways, are become so habitual, that they are never noticed nor thought any thing of, nor will be, till God come in his power and great glory, to disclose the secrets of all hearts. 8. I leave my testimony against the people hearing curates,—basely leaving the way of truth, and following a course dishonouring to God, and destructive to themselves. Also, against the joining with the indulged and unfaithful ministers, vindicating themselves thus, 'That it is good to hear the word;' not considering, that these ministers have so far gone out of the way of God, in the free accepting of that indulgence, as that they ought to be testified against, and when they go on obstinately in that crooked way, ought to be withdrawn from. It may be, some will say, That this is ignorantly reasoned; but I fear, if they would search things narrowly by the Spirit of God, they would find, that God is not countenancing them in it. And also, that they ought to have given far other sort of testimony against that course, than to have joined and gone alongst with it, as far as their station would have

required; but now the obstinacy of this generation is so great (and we have many sad evidences of this) that I fear, there will nothing convince them but the judgments of God, which has made me the less careful to write any thing although I could, that might, being from the hand of a dying man, be any way convincing to them.

“ But as becomes one laying down his life for his royal and princely Master, Jesus Christ,—I leave my testimony against joining with them; yea, against that which they call simple hearing, and this I have done to exonerate my conscience in the sight of a holy and jealous God; and do declare, that if mercy in Christ prevent not (which will not be found but in mercy's gate, which is believing and repentance) they shall smart under the heavy wrath of God for their complying with such crooked and God-provoking courses. And I as a man laying down my life for the interest of my sweet Lord, do warn all and every one of them, who have joined with these evil courses, to fly from the wrath to come, which will be on this generation inevitable; yea, I obtest you to flee from it, as ye tender the glory of God, and the good of your own souls. O flee from it by speedy repentance, and lay hold upon the blood and righteousness of Jesus Christ to that effect, and study to have your names scraped out of the black catalogue of these soul-destroying despisers of that precious blood and righteousness, purchased for that end,—to take away the sins of all that will come, and by faith lay hold upon it, and to reconcile them to a provoked God. God's wrath is burning against the children of disobedience, and he has said, ‘ That such as turn aside to crooked ways, he will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity; ’ and in another place he says, ‘ If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.’ 9. I leave my testimony against the taking of that cursed Test, and the takers thereof, and I declare it to be a horrid wickedness, a God disowning, and a God-daring course. 10. Against compearing before their courts, and I declare it to be a thing inconsistent with a faithful testimony for truth at this time; it being (1.) An owning of that authority, founded upon that usurped supremacy over the prerogative royal of our Lord, which thing ought to be so far testified against, as not to own or answer to any court fenced in the name of Charles Stuart, because he hath quite forfeited his right to rule as king. (2.) It is a clear condemning of such as have suffered the loss of means upon that account, and these who have laid down their lives against the owning of that authority; and let none think me foolish in adjoining my testimony to the testimonies of these, nor in my disowning of that authority. 11. Against the lifting of militia, and the paying of militia-money. 12. I testify against the proceedings of that abominable wretch John Gib, and these testimonies wrote by him in the name of others, as being a thing prejudicial to the interests of our Lord.

“ And now as to the articles of my indictment, they are all of them such things as cannot be made criminal. As to the first, viz. My making my escape out of the tolbooth,—I was doing it most innocently, doing hurt to no person, neither did I ever hear that it was criminal. As to the second, viz. That I had confessed that I was at Bothwell-bridge, I cannot see how that can be made criminal, if I got but the

lash of their own law, (if it be not abuse of language to call it law) and no further; for all that were onlookers that day, could not be said to be in the action. As to the third, viz. My conversing with Gavin Wotherspoon* since Bothwell, whom they call a notorious rebel, but cannot prove him so; neither can they show me *that* law founded on the word of God, which makes conversing with him criminal: and since they cannot upon sufficient grounds call him a rebel, what they say and do without ground, I do not see myself obliged to answer it; for that rebellion that the law strikes against, is that which can be proved rebellion against powers acting for God, and so consequently rebellion against God. And sure I am, while a man followeth his duty (for it is merely for following his duty that they call him a rebel) he can never be said to be in rebellion against God. As to the fourth article, that I refused to call Bothwell-bridge rebellion, I would see the law that makes a man's silence, when interrogated, criminal. And also, as to the thing itself, who knows not, that it was mere defence? And who can make it out to be rebellion against powers acting for God? For as is before said, this, and no other, is the rebellion that the law of God, and the law of our nation, strikes against. And the fifth, viz. That I said, the owning of the covenants were lawful. Who knows not that these covenants were once approved of as lawful, and solemnly sworn by the whole nation, and the Confession of Faith taken, and sworn unto as fundamentals of our religion? And I deny (although by an act of a pretended parliament, they may pretend to rescind the same) that it was in their power to rescind or overturn such a constitution, until they had made the unsoundness of it appear; and made it appear wherein another was better, and till they had been in case to set up a better in the room thereof. So that their so doing, was not a walking according to the will of God, but according to their own will contrary to the will of God, for the satisfaction of their own base lusts, and no ways showing themselves to be studying either the glory of God, or the good of his people; so that these covenants remain binding to this day, and, I hope, shall be when they are gone, who so wickedly set themselves against them. As to the sixth article, That I would not answer if it was lawful, yea or not, to obey Charles Stuart? It is only silence, which no law nor reason can make criminal. And as to my disowning his authority, as they say, they had only my silence also, which can never in law take away a man's life. As to my not asserting that the death of the late king was murder, I find they would have every one saying and attesting what they say and assert, whether they know it to be so or not. I leave my testimony, as a dying man, against all such implicit walking; and especially I testify against any laying hold implicitly upon the bare assertions or dictates of the enemies of God. And as to the prelate's death, I declare, as a dying man, that I think none can certainly judge that

* This was a very eminent and zealous sufferer, who being forfeited of his land and possession, for adherence to the truth, suffered many hardships of persecution: but was brought through without compliance, being stedfast in the way of the Lord till his death, which was about two years since.

action, if it was murder, or not murder. And who sees not what these enemies to God, and his Son Jesus Christ are driving at, when they would compel men to assert things only for their pleasures, that no human understanding can judge of,—themselves who were the actors only excepted. And now it is notour to all persons of any capacity, and who will but use the light of nature, that there is no manner of just sentence past against, or put in execution upon us; but that we were murdered only for the satisfaction of men, who are worse than heathens.

“ And now this my testimony I seal with my blood, dying in the faith of the protestant religion, adhering to the presbyterian government of the church of Scotland, and witnessing against every thing that tends to the hurt thereof; exhorting every one who desires to be found of God in love, to settle and fix here. And let none fear to venture upon the cross of Christ: for I can say from experience, (glory be to him for it) that he has borne the cross and me both, or otherwise I could never have undergone it with so small difficulty. And the great reason of many fainting under the cross, is their laying so little weight on Jesus Christ, and so much upon themselves, and upon any bit of attainment they think themselves to have. O let every one study that holy art of independency upon all things besides him, and depend only upon himself. And now, I bid farewell to the poor remnant of the church of Scotland, and I leave them to God, and his good hand; I bid farewell to friends and acquaintances; I bid farewell to my mother, and commit her to God, who only can provide for her, things necessary both for soul and body; I bid farewell to my two sisters, and commit them to God, who can be instead of all things to them, and can soon make up the want of a brother to them,—which want I think may be easily borne as the time now goes; farewell praying and believing, reading and meditating: I bid farewell to all temporal things, mercies and crosses. Welcome gallows for the interest of my sweet Lord; welcome heaven and everlasting glory; welcome spirits of just men made perfect: welcome angels; welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

Sic Sub.—JOHN MAIN.”

XXXVII. JOHN RICHMOND.

[This was another of the Five persons who were executed at Glasgow, on the 19th of March, 1684.—His case was peculiarly severe. In conformity with the lawless mode of procedure then adopted, he was seized by the military on mere suspicion of his being a covenanter, while quietly walking along the streets of Glasgow, and upon his endeavouring to escape, he was pursued, overtaken, and most cruelly treated—though as yet they knew not even who he was. He was immediately carried to the Guard-house, his hands and feet bound together, and left for some hours lying upon the ground, bleeding of his wounds. Next day, he was committed to

prison, where, with the other four, he continued till served with an Indictment. He was accused of having been at Airmoss; but in proof of this, only one witness alleged that he saw him there; and when cross-questioned, that witness acknowledged he was half-a-mile distant. Yet this, contrary to common sense, as well as law, was held as evidence!—verifying the statement of Wodrow, that he and his companions were condemned “on as slender a probation as ever was sustained in any case.”—He left behind him the following testimony.]

“Now I am brought here this day to lay down my life, for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and the hope of Israel, which hope I am not ashamed of; and for owning that Christ is king, and head of his own church, for which I do this day willingly lay down my life, and not by constraint; for if I would have acknowledged a mortal man to be supreme, I might have redeemed my life, viz. Charles Stewart—to be supreme over all causes civil and ecclesiastical, which belongs to no mortal man upon earth, but to our blessed Lord and Saviour, who is given of the Father, to be Head and King of his own church, which I prove by his own word, Col. i. and 18th verse; ‘And he is the Head of the body of the church;’ Ephes. i. and 22d verse; ‘And he put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head of all things to the church;’ and also the 2d Psalm.

“Now, I say, it is for the hope of Israel and as a witness of Jesus Christ, of whom I am not ashamed, but desire with heart and soul to praise him, (and my soul shall praise him throughout the ages of eternity,) and desire to invite all the creation to praise him, for he has taken me as a brand plucked from the fire, who was an heir of hell and wrath, and who also confirmed that heirship to myself by my actual transgressions; but now, my sweet and lovely Lord and Redeemer, through his blood and sufferings, has redeemed me from the devil, the world, and the flesh, and has sealed to me by his Spirit bearing witness with my spirit, and confirming me by his precious word—which word is truth and the true word of God—that he has redeemed me; and I shall be clothed with his righteousness, which is spotless and clean, and will make my soul as clean as if I had never sinned.

“Now, I shall give you a short hint as the Lord shall assist me, of my principles;—what I am to adhere to, and also what I am clear to disown and testify against—as a dying witness of Christ.

“1st, I sweetly set to my seal to the covenant of free grace, made betwixt the Father and the Son, before the foundation of the world; for the redemption of poor lost mankind;—I say, of these who are elected, called, and chosen, sanctified and justified:—for which my soul blesses the Lord, that ever I heard tell of the same, and of a Redeemer. 2dly, I leave my testimony to the sacred word of God, viz. the Old and New Testaments, that they are the true word of God, and that there is life everlasting to be had in perusing thereof, with the whole desire of the soul through a Redeemer:—and without perusing and sincerely endeavouring to make it your rule, life, and manners, there is no life; for our blessed Lord says, he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. 3dly, I leave my testimony to the work of reforma-

tion in all the several steps thereof, as it was reformed from popery, prelacy, Erastianism, and all other errors, not agreeable to the word of God. 4thly, I leave my testimony to the Confession of Faith, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, the Catechism Larger and Shorter. 5thly, I leave my testimony to the Covenants, National and Solemn League and Covenant—that these lands were engaged to the Lord, (for which, Scotland may bless the Lord—that he brought them in covenant with himself;) I say, to you that desire to own the same—I mean the poor wrestling remnant—make it your ground to plead with the Lord, that he may come back to these lands again; and also my testimony to the Acknowledgment of Sin, and the Engagement to Duty, and the Causes of God's Wrath. 6thly, I leave my testimony to the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, faithfully preached by the faithful ambassadors called and commissioned from himself, in all faithfulness and boldness—in showing Jacob his transgressions, and Israel his sin—both before Bothwell, and since; but few are found faithful since: it may be said of the most part from that time forth, that many went backward and walked no more with him. Their names may be written in very little bounds, that were found faithful;—only these two, I desire to record, Mr. Donald Cargill, and Mr. Richard Cameron, and I desire to set to my seal, to the faithfulness of these two men's doctrine, and all their procedure in the work they were called in, and my soul blesses the Lord that ever I heard them preach. 7thly, I leave my testimony to all appearances in arms for the defence of the gospel, both before Bothwell and since, and also my testimony to the carrying of arms, for self-defence, and the defence of my brethren. 8thly, I leave my testimony to the Excommunication at the Torwood, drawn out by Mr. Donald Cargill. 9thly, I leave my testimony to the testimony given at Rutherglen, upon the 29th day of May, in the year 1679. 10thly, I leave my testimony to the declaration given at Sanquhar in the year ——. 11thly, I leave my testimony to the Testimony given at Lanark, on the 11th of January, 1682—by a party who were stirred up by the Lord, to witness faithfully for him against the bloody acts and laws of men, and especially the dreadful snare, land-destroying, soul-ruining thing, called the Test. 12thly, I leave my testimony against that declaration drawn at Hamilton, by a party of men, who loved the praise of men and the interest of men, more than the interest of our Lord and King—who will not give his glory and honour to no mortal man upon earth; because it took in the tyrants' interest, and was carried on by them, over the belly of a poor faithful remnant that was amongst them;—but if God be God serve him, and if Baal be God serve him. 13thly, I leave my testimony to the eight articles, called the New Covenant, drawn by Mr. Donald Cargill, and taken of worthy Henry Hall, at the Queen's Ferry. 14thly, I leave my testimony to the fellowship and meetings of the Lord's people, for reading and singing of Psalms, and praying to the Lord, and wrestling for the poor church, and other duties incumbent on them in their place and station, and to all their proceedings for the keeping up the remembrance of Israel: go on and slack not your hands, seeing it is so warrantably, by your Master's royal word, viz. Mal. iii. and many more; for

my soul blesses the Lord, that ever he counted me worthy in the fellowship meeting of his people, I say, slack not your hands, for the Lord has accepted of your endeavours in keeping up the remembrance of Israel—making way to the poor young infants brought within his visible church, which the Lord made me sharer of, and is offering of himself to poor treacherous Scotland, if they will embrace. 15thly, I heartily with all my heart and soul leave my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the faithful Cloud of Witnesses, that have been martyred for Christ and his truths. Now I desire before I quit the list of these that I have owned here—through grace to lay down my life;—and the list of them is of more value than many lives.

Now I shall give a short hint as the Lord shall assist of what I disown, that is done of men against the Majesty of heaven. 1st, I leave my testimony against popery and prelacy, and Erastian supremacy, and all that hierarchy. 2dly, I leave my testimony against quakerism, independency, anabaptism, and all other erroneous sects that are contrary to the word of God. 3dly, I leave my testimony against that tyrant upon the throne of Britain, and his present authority, for his breach of the covenants—the covenants being the coronation oath, that he got the crown upon; and for his overturning the whole work of God, in the land, by taking upon him to be supreme over Christ's Church, and to rule the law, and not the law to rule him;—and for burning these covenants, and for putting the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ out of the land, and for killing and plundering the Lord's people in fields, on scaffolds, drowning in the sea, banishing, plundering, oppressing, both in body and conscience. 4thly, I leave my testimony against all the upholders of that tyrant, directly by aiding, assisting, or pleading for him or for his interest—for he has openly and avowedly set himself against King Christ; and these that plead for him who have taken the crown off our blessed Lord's head—I say *they* will be found pleading against Christ, Psal. l. 18. 'When thou sawest a thief then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with the adulterers.' 5thly, I leave my testimony against the oath of supremacy. 6thly, I leave my testimony against that bond that was taken in the Grayfriars' churchyard. 7thly, I leave my testimony against that bond called the Bond of Regulation, and against that bond and engagement to keep the Kirk, as they call it; which is a binding to keep a place, put in it what they like, and it were even popery the next day, and I warn you of it, that you shall have it ere long, except the Lord wonderfully prevent it, I say, it is a binding to the kirk and not a following of our Lord Jesus Christ—for where is the house ye build to me, saith the Lord? 8thly, I leave my testimony against that bond, pressed by the Highland host on the west country. 9thly, I leave my testimony against that dreadful abominable thing called the Test. 10thly, I leave my testimony against all coming out of prison upon bond and caution, being a shifting of the cross of Christ and making themselves the prisoners of men, and not the prisoners of Christ, and yielding unto men while we are called to another thing, as it is said in the vi. ch. of the Rom. 16 ver.—'To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are.' 11thly, I leave my testimony against all compearances at their courts, because

they are unjust judges, and have forfeited their right; and their judgment and sentence is contrary to the word of God, and is stated for the ruin of the church of God, and for oppressing the consciences of men, to sin against God. 12thly, I leave my testimony against all cess and locality, for the maintaining of the enemies of God, to kill and murder God's people, and bear down the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, Isaiah lxx. 11. 'But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and a drink-offering to that number.' 13thly, I leave my testimony against hearing of curates, because they are the ministers of men, yea I may say rather of Satan, for the flourishing of his kingdom, for they are thieves and robbers, and not the true ministers of Christ, for they are not entered by him, and are set there for the maintaining of damnable heresies, viz. they preach another head of the Church, than our blessed Lord Jesus Christ. 14thly, I leave my testimony against all indulgences first and last, because they have rent the bowels of Christ's Church, by exercising their power and liberty, under that supremacy, yea and exercising the very function of their ministry by the directions of men, by receiving their instructions from men, and so are no more the ministers of God, but the ministers of men; and there is this black effect that has followed and been the fruit of their ministry and preaching, that never one according to my knowledge that was indulged in their judgment got the length of a scaffold for the cause of Christ, but did yield and go on with the abominations of the times. 15thly, I leave my testimony against these ministers who once appeared fair and went a good length in bearing up the standard and banner of our blessed Lord, but when the persecution rose somewhat hot then abiding by Christ, and declaring of his message, became out of season to them;—they quit the Lord's commission and precept, by Paul, to preach the word in season, and out of season, and so soon as ever they saw the wolf coming, they ran and hid themselves, and suffered the poor sheep of Christ to be scattered, torn and destroyed, both in body and conscience: this I dare assert, they cannot say with Paul, They are free from the blood of all men, and have declared the whole counsel of God.

'Now as I said before, I am to lay down my life this day for the defence of the gospel at Drumclog, and for the defence of the gospel at Hamilton, and for hearing of Mr. John King preach upon the Greenhill end, being the east end of Galston Muir, and for being in company with John Nisbet, and of all the four articles I am not ashamed this day; these being counted criminal by the enemies of my Lord, whose gospel standard I desire to defend, with life and fortune. I say, these being counted criminal—witnesses being led proved the same, and witnessed me to death. If these had been enemies I could have borne it, but it was mine acquaintance, mine equal, my guide, and we took sweet counsel together, and went into the house of God together, Psal. lv. 12, 13. So it was they that went a good length, and were also deeply engaged as I was—yea to defend my life, and not to have witnessed me to death; for what they have witnessed I am not ashamed of: but this I leave behind me my testimony against them,

and my blood will be charged home upon them, and without repentance prevent it, both upon them and their posterity, and I set down their names that they may stand on record, and their names be known to aftercoming generations—their names being these; John Loudon in Mill of Newmills, John Paterson in Slacks, John Frame in Tonslen, James Connel in Bankhead. I set them down here, that their names may be a stench and ill savour to aftercoming generations, as apostate from the way of God, Demas-like, having forsaken the way of God, and chosen a present world, and now have not holden themselves there, but have become followers of the people of God to the death, by their engagement and oaths to the enemies—taking that hell-hatched thing called the Test. Now, as I leave my testimony to the truth of God in part, so I have left my testimony against some of the prevailing sins of the time, and as I this day desire with heart and soul to adhere to all the truths of God, named, and not named, and I also desire with my whole soul to disown, detest, abhor, and loath all manner of sin, and defection, public and private, and I also leave my testimony against and disown all profanation, and loose living, and vain speeches, that are not for the use of edifying, and also against lukewarmness and lying-by as at ease in Sion, when she is in trouble—now when she is tossed upon the turbulent sea of affliction; but O! you that desire to have your portion and stock in that ship, I desire to leave this word of comfort, ‘That the Master shall awake and rebuke the storm, and make it calm, that such a calmness has not been yet.’ Look Isaiah xlv. from the beginning to the 9th verse;—and assure yourselves that his faithfulness will not fail, nor his promise come to nought, for this day I set to my seal to the faithfulness of his promises to poor me, and what concerned my salvation; and oh! how much more shall he not own his own inheritance and his poor church, which is given him of the Father, to be king thereof; and will he give that, that he hath purchased by his own blood and sufferings, into the hands of men? No, ‘Heaven and earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall not pass, till all be fulfilled.’ Although that men be this day employing their power and strength for the down-bearing of the Church of God, yet all that burthen themselves with her shall be dashed in pieces, and the snares and gins they have laid for the poor people of God—they shall be taken therein themselves; and although the whole generality, yea all except a poor and contemptible and afflicted remnant be joined hand in hand, to uphold the tyrannical power of a man—yet they and all that are against King Christ, shall be brought to ruin, Prov. xi. 21. ‘Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not pass unpunished.’ And, as for that abominable race and family, I mean the tyrant upon the throne of Britain, that race and that family shall fall under that command given from the Lord to Jer. xxii. chap. beginning at the 25th verse to the close, but especially the last verse,—‘Thus saith the Lord, write this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days, for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Israel.’

“And now, my dear friends, I mean the poor wrestling remnant, or any who shall follow the footsteps of them hereafter, scare not at the

cross of Christ, though that the afflictions and bondage of his poor people shall be lengthened out, for I say, yet again the Lord shall come, and shall not tarry, to make good his promise, for the relief of his poor Church, for the Lord is not slack concerning his promises, as some men count slackness, but is long-suffering, waiting for the outcoming of his people, and their separating themselves from the people of these abominations; and not only public abominations, but his people must be separate from every heart-idol, and every private sin—walking as in the sight of a holy God, in all holy conversation, as the sons and daughters of the living God:—and also be encouraged to wait upon him, till he finish his own work; look that of the vii. of Mic. 8th ver. ‘Rejoice not against me, O my enemy, though I fall I shall arise, when I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me,’ and in the 9th verse, ‘I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me, and he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness.’ So the poor church comforts herself under all the indignation and correction she was under, that the Lord would plead her cause, and execute judgment for her; and then in the 13th verse,—‘Notwithstanding, the land shall be desolate for the fruit of their doings, therefore my dear friends wait upon the Lord, and weary not until he work his own work, for it is very likely that this land must be laid desolate, before he comfort his people, and restore his church to her wonted privileges:’ yea, and I say as a dying witness of Christ, that God’s judgment shall be poured out upon Scotland, till it be laid desolate.

“Now I shall say no more upon this head; my dear friends, hold fast till he come and be upon your watch-tower, and have oil in your lamps, that your light may be shining and your lamps burning, for the Bridegroom will come in an hour, when ye are not aware, and in a way that ye are not looking for. Now I leave my testimony against those called our Judges, and against those Assizers, both those that sat upon my brethren, and upon myself;—my blood and my brethren’s blood shall be required at their hands; and my blood shall be charged upon John Balfour, who took me, for he declared to me, that he knew me by my garb that I was one of the persecuted men, and so it was the ground he apprehended me upon—because I was a sufferer for the name of Christ. Now, as I am of myself I can freely forgive them and all others for what they have done to me, and do freely forgive them, but as they have done it against the image of God in me, and in spite against his work, cause and interest, of Jesus Christ, *that* is not mine to forgive; I leave *that* to himself. And now, dear friends, I have little time—my sentence being passed upon the 17th day of March, at eight o’clock at night—to die the 19th day of the same, at two in the afternoon. And now this day I am to suffer martyrdom, and my head to be struck off, and to be fixed upon the Tolbooth, for the name of Jesus. Now scare not at the cross of Christ, for O! if ye knew what I have met with since I came to prison—what love, what matchless love, from my sweet and lovely Lord—ye would long to be with him, and ye would count it nought to go through a sea of blood for him: O! I invite you.

dear friends, to stick by the truths of God, and abide by him—that the name of Israel may not be rooted out; but this I desire, to live and to die in the faith of it—that the blood shed and spilt in Scotland, shall have a glorious crop and vintage. And now as for the generality of this generation, or these backslidden and backsliding professors—I know not what to say of them;—but this is the language to me of their way, and I leave it as a dying witness for Christ—that these let, and will let, till they be taken out of the way. Now I leave my wife and my baby unto him who gave them unto me, I fully quit with them and leave them to my Lord and Master—who can make us meet above the clouds. Now, I take my farewell of you and all created comforts, and I am also willing, and more willing ten thousand times to lay them down at his call, than ever I was to enjoy them. Now farewell all friends in Christ, farewell all relations, farewell days and nights, farewell sun and moon, and stars, farewell suffering, farewell irons on feet and hands, farewell holy and sweet Scripture, which was the savour of life unto life, to me. And welcome heaven and eternal life, welcome the company and souls of just men made perfect, through the blood of the Lamb! Welcome, welcome, and never enough welcom'd my lovely Lord, my Father and my Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my Spirit, for it is thine.

Sic Sub.—JOHN RICHMOND.*

XXXVIII. JAMES JOHNSTON.

[This was another of the Five individuals who were tried, found guilty, and condemned by the special commission at Glasgow. He belonged to the parish of Cadder, or, according to a different account, to that of Old Monkland. Little else is known with respect to him. He appears from his Testimony to have been condemned on the usual charges of having been at Bothwell, refusing to call it rebellion, disowning the King's authority, and denying the Archbishop's death to be murder. With his companions in suffering, he died in much peace and comfort, on the 19th of March, 1684.]

"I BEING called by the good providence of God, to lay down my life for the trampled on interest, have thought it my duty to leave this short word of Testimony behind me, desiring that all persons forbear to accuse or reproach me, by saying that I die as a fool; for I die not as a fool (for which I bless God), for I should never have ventured upon the cross, especially upon death itself, if he had not kept me to it. And I assert, it is a thing provoking to God to reproach any of his suffering people in such a manner, and let every one remember that God will avenge the wrongs of his poor people. 'And will not God avenge the wrongs of his elect, who cry to him day and night?' Yes he will do it; for they cry unto him day and night. Sometimes

* This Testimony has been copied from a Pamphlet published in 1722, entitled "The Last Testimony of John Richmond," &c.

when they sleep their cry goes near before him. Bloodshed, oppression, and cruelty, done to them, cry to him in their behalf, as if it were the cry of their own mouth.

“ Now I leave my testimony for the pure word of God contained in the Old and New Testaments. Also I feel it my duty to leave my testimony to the Confession of Faith, the Shorter and Larger Catechisms, and the Sum of Saving Knowledge. I leave my testimony to the Solemn League and Covenant, and National Covenant, the Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties. I leave my testimony to the work of Reformation, as being a reformation from popery, and from every thing contrary to sound doctrine. I leave my testimony for the faithful preaching of the word in houses and in fields. I leave my testimony to preaching against the sins of the time, the present course, and particularly the needless evil. I leave my testimony to Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Richard Cameron, and to their preaching in the fields, when the rest had forsaken their work. I leave my testimony to the people of God appearing in arms at Pentland and Bothwell-bridge. I leave my testimony to the people of God in Scotland, while disowning the testimonies written by Gib, in name of others. I leave my testimony to the remonstrance of the protestors, when testifying against the malignant party, who seek only their own things, and not the things of God. I leave my testimony to the lifting of arms *as lawful*, if called for; it behoves all men to distinguish when it is lawful, and when not; and all the distinction I shall give of it, is only that the close adherence made at Pentland and Bothwell bridge was both lawful and necessary.

“ In the second place, I come to show you what I witness against, at my death. I leave my testimony against popery, prelacy, and Erastianism of every kind, as contrary to the sound doctrine of the word of God, and the sworn-to testimony of the Church of Scotland. I leave my testimony against the indulgence first and last, and against ministers who approved of that liberty at Bothwell-bridge. I leave my testimony against the divisions which they thus created, by treating with the malignant party, and joining their interest. I leave my testimony against the people for hardening them in their unlawful measures, by joining with and approving them. I leave my testimony against the people for hearing curates, and joining with the indulged,—declaring the indulgence to be disapproved by a holy God, and implying apostasy from God. I testify my adherence to the testimony given publicly and in an hostile manner, at Rutherglen, Sanquhar, and Lanark. I testify to the people of God bearing arms in self-defence, and defence of the gospel at several field-meetings, when they were assaulted by their enemies. I leave my testimony against the declaration published at Hamilton, mainly for taking in the interest of Charles Stewart, who is a declared enemy to God, to his Son, and to the interest and kingdom of his Son. I leave my testimony against the owning of that authority (so called) founded upon the supremacy. I know this matter is dark to some folk, but I know also that for several ends many folks have brought such matters to be debated, and so have brought themselves into the dark about many things, and these God will not own to be sins of ignorance, but sins against the clearest light.

“ With regard to the articles of my judgment, they are as follows, viz.—Being interrogated if I was at Bothwell-bridge, I answered, only with a good design, which thing was never found criminal by law; and as to my witnessing, I got not justice. I declare to the world that they spoke not according to equity, neither was there any one sentence passed according to it. They witnessed against truth as will be made out at the great day of judgment, though it should never come to light till then. As to the second thing against me, my refusing to own the king’s authority—What authority should I own but an authority according to the word of God? Moreover, I said nothing of it. I disowned Charles Stewart to be lawful king, but I assert that I owned *that* authority which was according to the word of God. Now this is clearly evident that I am murdered for not giving my assent to the owning of an authority not consistent with, nor according to the word of God; notwithstanding all that they said against me; for it is only opinion, which in law cannot be made use of, for taking away a man’s life. Moreover, the thing itself is so far debated that when they themselves essayed to debate what I assert, they never were able to debate as to the king. I refused to call the late king’s death *murder*. If I had answered any thing to it I would have been implicated in it, for I know not the nature of the action. Moreover, who knows not that kings are subject to the laws, and not the laws subject to the king? As to the fifth point, that I refused to call Bothwell-bridge *rebellion*, I was only silent also. And it is known to all, who will not shut their eyes and ears to the truth, that it was only the defence of religion, and the glory of God. As to the sixth, that I asserted the Covenants to be lawful,—it is of verity, and well known, that these covenants are national laws not yet rescinded, and such, as I, (for the satisfaction of my conscience,) and not only I, but the whole nation, are bound to assert. As to the seventh point, that I refused to say that the late bishop of St. Andrews’ death was murder, I know not how any can judge of that action, nor do I know how you can make it criminal,—I only being silent, and refusing to assert either one thing or another. With respect to all the other questions I remained silent, except the last, viz. that I asserted that it was lawful for me to defend myself against the king. Now suppose a king fall upon a person with a set of soldiers to kill him, would it be the duty of that person to let himself be murdered; or may a king do what he will, without control? I refused these heads of my judgment according to the law of the nation founded upon the word of God, and I am sure every one will say that I am falsely murdered on account of them; and for other grievous sins God will shortly be avenged upon them. As for any thing that they have done to me, I freely forgive them, from the highest to the lowest. But as to what is done against a holy God, I leave it to himself to judge in his own due time. But nevertheless, let it be considered that my blood lies at many of their doors. It lies at the door of all that are conformed to the present government, and particularly it lies at Charles Stewart’s door, and the prelates and the members of the court called the Justiciary—at their door. Now, I bid you farewell, sweet cross, for Christ; farewell my dear wife and children, farewell relations and acquaintance, farewell

praying, reading, and believing, farewell all toil and trouble, and external exercise; farewell all created comforts, farewell sun, moon, and stars, welcome heaven, with all its glorious companions, welcome Father Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

Sic Sub.—JAMES JOHNSTON.*

XXXIX. ARCHIBALD STEWART.

[This young man, another of the Five who were executed at Glasgow, on the 16th of March, 1684, (of whom we have already given some account,) was scarcely nineteen years of age, when called to lay down his life for the covenanting interest. It appears he belonged to Lesmahagoe, a district which yielded, as we have seen, several victims to the intolerance and tyranny of the period in question. His Christian magnanimity when on the scaffold was observed by many. Among other moving expressions, he said, "I die not by constraint but willingly; and, this I can say, I am more willing to die for my lovely Lord Jesus Christ, and his work and truths, than ever I was to live." "In short, all of them," says Wodrow, "died in a forgiving temper, praying earnestly for pardon to their persecutors, and yet warning them of their hazard, if they continued in those courses without repentance. The Five lie buried with other sufferers, in the High church-yard, Glasgow."—The testimony of Archibald Stewart is imbodyed in the following letter to his Christian friends.]

"My dear and loving friends and acquaintances,—You and I must take good night of one another for a while; but I hope it shall not be long; for you know that the time that we have on earth lasts but for a moment; and we are but as a flower that grows up in the night, and is cut down in the morning; like the shadow that flees away, and is no more seen upon earth again; even like Jonah's gourd, that grew up in a night, and perished in a night. Now you and I must part, and take good night, you of me, and I of you, as willingly, and with as great satisfaction, contentment, and submission to the will of our God, as if we were going to our sweet and comfortable fellowship-meetings, where our souls many times have been refreshed, with the fresh gales of the Spirit of our God, which indeed was the life of our meetings; for had it not been the love that we bare to God and his ways, he would never have made our meetings so sweet to us; so that the longer we continued, and the oftener we met, the Lord made more of himself known to us, in giving us new confirmations of his love, and

* This Testimony has not, so far as the Editor is aware, been published before. He copied it, with some difficulty, from an Old Manuscript, communicated to him by a descendant of one of the Four who died along with Johnston. He has no doubt of its authenticity and genuineness but he fears, from its mutilated state that in some instances he may have copied it incorrectly as to language, though he thinks that, in general, he has expressed the meaning.

tokens of his kindness. Now, my loving friends, I am going to my Father's house, to reap the fruit of all these waking nights that you and I had together, when none knew of it but ourselves and our heavenly Father; and I die in the hope, that, we shall come 'to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God,' John xx. 17. to your Redeemer and my Redeemer, to reap the fruit of all these meetings we had together. O! but that will be a joyful harvest-time; I am now going to reap the fruit of all my reading, praying, singing, conversing, and meditating, and the fruits of all my trouble, toil, and labour. Instead of bitterness, I will enjoy sweetness, instead of trouble, rest, instead of sorrow and grief, joy and gladness; 'For sighing and sorrow shall fly away.' I am going to reap the fruit of my wounds, and all the reproaches that they have cast upon me; I am going to reap the fruit of all my sighs and groans, especially these since I came to prison, where I have had very many of them. I am going to reap the fruit of my fetters, irons, and imprisonment, for my lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ; and I am going to reap the fruit of my unjust indictment and unjust sentence. O! but the fruits of these forementioned things will be a weighty crown of glory within a little time upon my head, up at my Father's throne, 'when I shall go no more out, and come no more in, having the name of my God written upon my forehead, and the song of Moses and the Lamb put in my mouth' to sing through all the ages of eternity!

"Now, dear friends, I cannot get him praised, for the riches of his free grace, freely bestowed on me. O! I cannot get him praised for bringing my soul out of the pit of destruction, and for reclaiming my soul from the gates of hell. O my soul and heart, all that is within me, praise the Lord for his wonderful love to me! and also, my soul invites all the works of creation to praise him for what he hath done to my soul; for now I can say with David, from my own experience, 'Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul.' And, likewise, I can say with David, Psalm xvi. 6. 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.' And more than all, he hath said to my soul, that he will quarrel no more with me for sin, for my God hath said to me, Isa. xliii. 1, 2. 'But now, thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel, fear not; for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.' And Matth. ix. 2. 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.' Now, all is sure and well with me, I am brought near unto God, through the blood of his Son Jesus Christ; and I have no more to do, but to lay down this life of mine that he hath given me, and take up house and habitation with my lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who purchased life and salvation to me by the price of his own blood and sufferings: O! but I have got an easy cast of it; O! but I am come well and easy to my purpose, of redemption, peace, and happiness. But, O! I cannot get him glorified; and I will never get him

enough glorified, as long as my soul liveth, and I shall live as long as he liveth, and that is life without end.

“Now my dear and loving friends, it is but little advice that I can leave to you, how to order your life and conversation; yet I shall leave you my last advice, as the Lord shall help me. As God hath once made you to accept of him, upon his own terms and way, hold fast by him, and claim a right to him, from his own promises and former loving-kindness, wherein he hath manifested himself to you. And although you be made many times to think, that he hath left you, when you are cast down, and under desertion, yet claim a right to him; though you have destroyed yourself, threap kindness upon him; and resolve with Job, that ‘though he should slay you, yet will ye trust in him:’ for you must not want your down-castings and desertions; for all these things are given you for the trial of your faith. And you may know something of this from experience, that we cannot guide our Lord’s presence, when we get it;—we are so lifted up, that he must cast us down again; for our old bottles cannot bear with the new wine of heaven, none of us can be free of desertion; for as long as we live in this earth, we are often under an Egyptian cloud of darkness. Spend much of your time in prayer and meditation, for I think, that in these is the life of religion; and spend time in Christian converse with any of your own judgment; and private prayer, as you and I did when we were together: and if you can get none, do your own part, and the Lord will make up all your loss, for he hath engaged to make up all your wants. Now, double your diligence, and make ready for the trial, for you will not get it shifted, if ye continue faithful to the end. I am not saying that the trial will take away your life: but I am persuaded, you will come through difficulties, if the Lord see fit to spare you, to see the glorious days that shall be seen in Scotland again, and to reap of the fruit of it. This will be a high honour, for they will be a happy people, that will be the remnant of the church.

“Now, dear friends, hold fast, and let no man take your crown; for it is ready at the end of your race; run and never halt nor look back, till you obtain the prize. I have gotten the first start of you a little; but, I hope, you will follow me, before it be long, and we shall meet again, and O! what a joyful meeting shall it be? Study deniedness to your life, and die daily, that death may not surprise you.

“But I must forbear, my time is so short, that I cannot get all said here, that I have to say; but what is wanting, himself make it up to you. Now I take my leave of you for a little time, hoping to meet again up above in our Father’s house. I pray, that God’s eternal blessing may rest upon you; and wish you even as my own soul. Farewell in the Lord. Your dear and loving Christian friend, brother, and soul’s wellwisher,

ARCHIBALD STEWART.*

Glasgow Tolbooth, March 15th, 1684.

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 316—319.

XL. JOHN PATON.

[The name of Captain Paton of Meadowhead, in Ayrshire, is familiar to every one who is at all interested in the history of his times. He was a small proprietor in the parish of Fenwick, and having spent his youth in the profession of arms, was naturally regarded as a fit person to hold a command both at Pentland and Bothwell. Many anecdotes are told of his prowess, both on these occasions and elsewhere. He was for long regarded by government as a notorious rebel; and being at length taken in April 1684, a reward of Twenty Pounds Sterling was ordered by the council to the officer who apprehended him.—He was forthwith indicted for treason, found guilty on his own confession, and sentenced to be executed on the 23d of April, 1684. He was afterwards reprieved till the 9th of May, “when he died most cheerfully, forgiving all his persecutors, whatever they had done to him.” His testimony is as follows.]

“DEAR friends and spectators,—You are come here to look upon me a dying man, and you need not expect that I shall say much, for I was never a great orator or eloquent of tongue, though I may say as much to the commendation of God in Christ Jesus, as ever any poor sinner had to say. I have been as great a sinner as ever lived; strong corruptions, strong lusts, strong passions, a strong body of death, have prevailed against me; yea, I have been chief of sinners. I may say, on every back-look of my way, (though the world cannot charge me with any gross transgression this day, for which I bless the Lord,) O! what omissions and commissions, what formality and hypocrisy, that even my duties have been my grief and fear, lest thou, a holy God, had made them my ditties, and mayest do: my misimproved time may be heavy upon my head, and a cause of desertion; and especially my supplicating the council, who have, I think, laid their snares the closer to take away my life, though contrary to their own professed law. I desire to mourn for my giving ear to the counsels of flesh and blood, when I should have been consulting heaven, and to reflect upon myself, though it lays my blood the closer to their door, and I think, the blood of my wife and bairns. I think, their supreme magistrate is not ignorant of many of their actings, but these prelates will not be found free when our God makes an inquisition for blood. And now I am come here, desired of some indeed who thirst for my life, though by others not desired. I bless the Lord, I am not come here as a thief or a murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men, but hate bloodshed directly, or indirectly. And now I am a poor sinner, and could never merit any thing but wrath, and have no righteousness of my own; all is Jesus Christ’s, and his alone, and I have laid claim to his righteousness and his sufferings by faith in Jesus Christ. Through imputation they are mine, for I have accepted of his offer on his own terms, and sworn away myself to him to be at his disposal, both privately and publicly, many times; and now I have put it upon him

to ratify in heaven all that I have essayed to do on earth, and to do away all my imperfections and failings, and to stay my heart on him. I seek mercy for all my sins, and believe to get all my challenges and sins sunk in the blood and sufferings of Jesus and his righteousness, and that he shall see of the travail of his soul on me, and the Father's pleasure shall prosper in his hand. I bless the Lord, that ever he led me out to behold any part of his power in the gospel, in kirks, or fields, or any of his actings for his people in their straits. 'The Lord is with his people while they be with him:' we may set to our seal to this, and while they be united; and O for a day of his power in cementing this distempered age! It is sad to see his people falling out by the way, and of such a fiery spirit,—that look to be at one lodging at night, especially those who profess to keep by our glorious work of reformation and solemn engagements to God, and to hold off the sins of these times. O hold off extremities on both hands, and follow the example of our blessed Lord and the Cloud of Witnesses in the 11th of the Hebrews. And let your way be the good old path, the word of God and best times of the church, for if it be not according to his word, it is because there is no truth in it.

"Now, as to my interrogations, I was not clear to deny Pentland or Bothwell. They asked me, How long I was at them? I said, Eight days: and the assize had no more to sentence upon, for the advocate said, he would not pursue for Pentland, by reason of an indemnity, before the privy council. The council asked me, If I acknowledged authority? I said, All authority according to the word of God. They charged me with many things, as if I had been a rebel since the year 1640, and at Montrose's taking at Mauchline Muir. Lord forgive them, they know not what they do.

"I adhere to the sweet Scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testament, and preached gospel by a faithful sent ministry,—whereby He many times communicated himself to the souls of his people, and to me in particular, both in the kirks, and since on the fields, and in the private meetings of his people for prayer and supplication to him. I adhere to our solemn Covenants National and Solemn League, Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, which became National. I adhere to our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Causes of Wrath, and to all the Testimonies given by his people formerly, and of late, either on fields or scaffolds, these years bygone,—in so far as they are agreeable to his word, and the practice of our worthy reformers, and holy true zeal, according to his rule. I adhere to all our glorious work of reformation. Now, I leave my testimony, as a dying man, against the horrid usurpation of our Lord's prerogative and crown-right,—I mean that supremacy, established by law in these lands, which is a manifest usurpation of his crown, for he is given by the Father to be head of the Church, Col. i. 18, 19. 'And he is the head of the body, the church;—who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it pleased the Father, that in him all fulness should dwell.' And against all popery, prelacy, and Erastianism, and all that depends upon that hierarchy, which is a yoke that neither we nor our fathers were able to

bear, which the poor remnant is groaning under this day, by that horrid cruelty rending their consciences by tests and bonds, taking away their substance and livelihoods by fines and illegal exactions, plunderings, and quarterings, and compelling them to sin, by hearing, joining, and complying, with these malicious curates. Matth. xxiii. 13. 'Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men ; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.' I leave my testimony against the Indulgence, first and last, for I ever looked on it as a snare, and so I never looked upon them as a part of the hopeful remnant of the church ; and now it is sad to see how some of them have joined by their deeds in the persecution of the poor remnant, and almost all, in tongue persecution.

"Now, I would speak a short word or two, to three sorts of folk, but I think, if one would rise from the dead, he would not be heard by this generation, who are mad upon idols and this world. First, Those who have joined deliberately with the persecutors, in all their robberies and haling innocent souls to prison, death, and banishment. The Lord will not hold them guiltless ; they may read what the Spirit of God hath recorded of them in Jude, 11th verse, and downward, and Obadiah's prophecy. A second sort is, those who seem to be more sober and knowing, yet through a timorousness and fear, have joined with them in all their corrupt courses for ease and their own things ; do not think that these fig-leaves will cover you in the cool of the day ; it is a hazard to be mingled with the heathen, lest we learn of them their way. O, sirs, be zealous and repent ; seek repentance from Christ, he purchased it with his blood ; and do your first works, if ever there was any saving work on your souls ; for he will come quickly, 'and who may abide the day of his coming.' O, sirs, the noble grace of repentance grows not in every field ; many could not get it, though they sought it carefully with tears. O work while it is to-day, the night draweth on, and it may be very dark. The third sort is, those who have been most tender ; and, O, who of us can say, that we have out of love to his glory singly followed him : upon examination we fear we find it not so, but that we have come far short. We fear we find not him such as we would, nor he us such as he would. O we may say, 'From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is no place clean.' None can cast a stone at another ; we are all wounds, bruises, and defilements. We must put this work upon him who is the fountain to wash foul souls, who 'breaks not the bruised reed, nor quenches the smoking flax.' Give him much ado, for we have much ado for him. O that there was no rest in our bones because of our sin. It is the Father's pleasure that he should see his seed, and the pleasure of the Lord prosper in his hand. O that he would make every one of us understand our errors, and seek after the good old path, followed in the most pure times of our church, and get in to our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith in his righteousness, by imputation and virtue of his sufferings for sinners, and keep by him. There is no safety but at his back ; and I beseech you, improve time, it is precious when rightly improved ; 'For ye know not when the Master

calleth, at midnight, or at cock crowing.' Dear friends, the work of the day is great, and calls for more than ordinary. O be oft at the throne, and give him no rest to make sure your soul's interest. Seek pardon freely, and then he will come with peace; seek all the graces of his Spirit, the grace of love, the grace of holy fear and humility. O! but there is much need of this and the promised Spirit.

"Now, I desire to salute you, dear friends in the Lord Jesus Christ, both prisoned, banished, widow and fatherless, or wandering and cast out for Christ's sake and the gospel's, even the blessings of Christ's sufferings be with you all, strengthen, establish, support and settle you, and the blessing of him who was in the bush, which while it burnt, was not consumed, and my poor blessing, be with you all. Now, as to my persecutors, I forgive all of them; instigators, reproachers, soldiers, privy council, justiciaries, apprehenders, in what they have done to me; but what they have done in despite against the image of God's name in me,—who am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to forgive them; but I wish they would seek forgiveness of him who hath it to give, and would do no more wickedness.

"Now I leave my poor sympathising wife and six small children upon the Almighty Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who hath promised to be 'a Father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and the orphan's stay;' be thou all in all unto them, O Lord. Now, the blessing of God, and my poor blessing, be with them. And my suit to thee is, that thou wouldst give them thy salvation. And now farewell wife and children; farewell all friends and relations; farewell all worldly enjoyments; farewell sweet Scriptures, preaching, praying, reading, singing, and all other duties. And welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I desire to commit my soul to thee in well-doing. Lord receive my spirit.

Sic sub.—JOHN PATON.*

XLI. JAMES NISBET.

[This martyr, in common with another of the same name and family, whose testimony goes before, belonged to the parish of Loudon in Ayrshire. Having come to Glasgow to attend the funeral of the Five individuals who were executed on the 19th of March, he was recognized as a covenanter, and apprehended by a cousin of his own, an officer in the army, "so much," as Wodrow observes, "does a bitter persecuting spirit break all the bonds of nature itself, and get over the nearest blood relations." He was forthwith examined and sent to prison, and having owned the lawfulness of the attempt at Drumclog and Bothwell, and refused to renounce the covenant, or to own the king's authority, he was found guilty of treason. After being condemned, he was offered his life upon condition of his acknowledging the king's supremacy over the church; but as might be expected, he unhesitatingly refused. He was

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 319—324.

thereafter very harshly treated, and so closely watched, that he with difficulty got liberty to write his testimony. He was executed at the Howgate-head of Glasgow, on the 5th of June 1684, and died in much peace and assurance.]

“ Now, I am brought hither this day, to lay down my life for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and for asserting him to be the Head and King in his own house, and for no matter of fact, that they have against me. Wherefore, dear friends, and all true lovers of Zion’s cause, if I could either speak or write any thing to the praise and commendation of my lovely Lord and princely Master, Jesus Christ, King and Head over his own church and people; although the most part of the men of this generation is counting it death to call him so, yet I, as a dying man, live and die in the faith of it, that he shall appear to their confusion, and for his own glory now trampled upon, and lying so low; for he has said in Isa. xlii. 8. ‘ I am the Lord, *that* is my name; and my glory, I will not give it to another,’ &c. Now, I am to lay down my life, and indeed I do it willingly, and not by constraint; and I bless him, that ever he carved out my lot such, as to be a sufferer for him, who am such a poor unworthy thing: for if I would have acknowledged a mortal man to be supreme, I might have redeemed my life, viz. Charles Stuart to be supreme over all causes civil and ecclesiastic, as they have now set him up;—which belongs to no mortal man upon earth,—and to have prayed for him. And shall I pray for that man in his person and government, who hath broken down the work of the Lord, ‘ and has laid waste the sanctuary of our Lord,’ who was given of the Father, as it is said, Eph. i. 22. ‘ And hath put all things under his feet, and given him to be head over all things to the church;’ and in the second psalm. Now, I say, it is for the hope of Israel, and a witness for the name of Jesus Christ, of which hope I am not ashamed. Now, I invite all who love his name, and the welfare of Zion, to praise him, for I may set to my seal to it, that he is a good Master to all who will come to him; for I may say, he hath been good to me, who has let me see a sight of my sins, and a sight of the remedy that he has purchased by his blood, and through his death to me, who was born an heir of hell and wrath by nature; but glory be to his great name, who has made me free from my sin, and made me as if I had never sinned. O glory and praise be to himself. But what shall I say? for heart cannot conceive, hand cannot write, tongue cannot express! for surely, if I could say any thing to the praise and commendation of my lovely Lord Jesus Christ, I have many things for which to do it. 1st, For that, That he has not let me deny his truths and cause, and his persecuted work; for there is nothing in me, as I am of myself, but I might have been amongst those that have displayed a banner against God, and have made the blood of his people to run in the streets, and have dyed their garments with their blood. And, 2dly, That he has carved out my lot to be in a land where he hath set up his pure ordinances, both in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; for indeed he might have trusted it to have been among those that are worshipping antichrist, that where

of Rome, whose sentence may be read, Rev. xix. 12. And if Charles Stuart has not overturned his work, and corrupted the whole land, by overturning the whole fundamental laws, both civil and ecclesiastic, I leave it to any judicious person, that is not biassed and drawn away, by that woful Erastian supremacy, which is like to overspread the whole land. 3dly, That he hath given his word for a rule to walk by, which word is truth, and the true word of God. He has made me to walk by it, and it to be my rule; and by his word and Spirit bearing witness with my spirit, making me spotless and clean, and I shall be clothed with those robes of his righteousness, which are spotless and clean.

“ Now I shall only give a short account of my principles, as the Lord shall assist; and the Lord help me to get it done in truth and sincerity; for there are many eyes looking on me; the eyes of an all-seeing God, ‘who is of purer eyes than that he can behold iniquity,’ and the eyes of men who are thirsting for my blood. 1st, I adhere, and sweetly set to my testimony, to the covenant of redemption, betwixt the Father and the Son, made before the foundation of the world, for the redemption of poor lost mankind, I mean, of those who are elected, called, justified, and sanctified; for which my soul shall bless the Lord that ever I heard tell of the same, and that ever I heard tell, ‘that he came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.’ 2dly, To the sacred Scriptures, that they are the true word of God; and that there is life everlasting to be had in them, if ye will apply your hearts to search diligently, and pursue after them with a sincere and diligent seeking, with all the soul and heart; and without sincere endeavouring to make it your rule, there is no life; for says our blessed Lord, ‘I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.’ 3dly, To the work of reformation as it was reformed in all the several steps thereof, from under popery, prelacy, and Erastianism, and all other errors whatsoever, not agreeable to the Scriptures, the written word of God. 4thly, To the Confession of Faith, the Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship and Discipline, and to our Catechisms Larger and Shorter. 5thly, To the Covenants National and Solemn League, whereby these lands were engaged unto the Lord; and Scotland may bless the Lord, that ever he engaged her in a covenant with himself. I say, to you that desire to own the same, make it your ground to plead with the Lord, till he come back again to these lands. 6thly, To the preaching of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it was faithfully preached by faithful ministers, called and commissioned, and sent by himself; and also my testimony to the Acknowledgment of Sins, and Engagement to Duties, and the Causes of the Lord’s Wrath, against this land this day: but, alas! it may be said, many have gone backward, and not forward; the most part of this generation have refused to walk any more with him, ever since Bothwell, only these two, viz. Mr. Donald Cargill, and Mr. Richard Cameron, which I desire to set my seal to the faithfulness of these two men’s doctrines, for my soul has been refreshed by them. And I set to my seal to all their proceedings and actings in the work they were called to, and my soul blesseth the Lord, that ever I heard them preach. 7thly, To all the appearings in arms in defence of the gospel, and

self-defence, both before Bothwell, and since. 8thly, To the excommunication at the Torwood, by Mr. Donald Cargill, as it is just and lawful, and will stand in force and record, ay, till repentance make it null,—of which there is little appearance. 9thly, To the Testimony given at Rutherglen, May 29th, 1679, the Declaration given at Lanark, June 11th, 1682, by a party whom the Lord raised and stirred up by his Spirit, and owned them in that work, to give a public testimony against that soul-destroying, and land-ruining thing, called the Test, although many in this generation be pleading for the lawfulness of it, and disowning the covenant which we are all bound to. O ! my heart trembles to think, what will come on this generation, for their dreadful apostasy and departing from the way of the Lord. 10thly, To all the fellowship meetings of the Lord's people, for reading, praying, and singing of psalms, and all the other duties proper for, and incumbent upon them. I mean these that desire to wrestle and hold up the cause of his ruined work, and his poor suffering remnant. 11thly, To the eight articles, called the New Covenant, taken at the Queensferry off worthy Henry Hall.

“ Now, as I have left my testimony in short to the truths of God : so I desire to leave my testimony against the defections of the time, as the Lord shall help and assist. Therefore, I, as a dying witness, leave my testimony, 1st, Against popery and prelacy, which is so much countenanced and set up in Scotland this day, especially by those who seemed to be most eminent, as it is in Gal. i. 6. ‘ I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel,’ &c. 2dly, Against quakerism, independency, and all other errors, which are not according to the word of God, and our solemn covenants and confession of faith. 3dly, Against the tyrant upon the throne of Britain and Ireland, for his tyranny, oppression, and bloodshed, and for overturning the laws, both civil and ecclesiastic, and not making the law his rule to be ruled by, but he ruling the law and not the law him ; which is not according to the word, as it is in 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. ‘ He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God,’ &c. Even against that tyrant, and all the upholders, aiders, assisters, and maintainers, of him. O what will become of this generation for their apostasy and departing away from God ? 4thly, Against the oath of supremacy, for the setting up of persons as supreme, and following and making them their rule, and not taking the word of God to be their rule. 5thly, Against that bond taken in the Grayfriars’ kirk-yard, although there be many that denied it, until the Lord in his own due time made it appear, when the trial came to a greater length ; for he has said in his word, that ‘ there is nothing done in secret, but he will have it manifested in the light.’ 6thly, Against the bond called the bond of regulation, for their binding to walk according to the will of men, and not according to the will of God. Surely it is not according to the practice of the apostles, Acts iv. 19. ‘ But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you men, than unto God, judge ye.’ 7thly, Against the bond pressed by the

Highland host in the west country. O! what may be said of this generation? It may be said, Ye have gone away backward from my ordinances, and ye have forsaken me the living God, and have hewed you out broken cisterns that can hold no water. 8thly, Against that land-ruining and soul-destroying thing called the Test. 9thly, Against all coming out of prison upon bond and caution; whatever men may say of it, it is a complying with the avowed enemies, and a binding themselves to be the prisoners of men, and not the prisoners of Jesus Christ. 10thly, Against all compearing at courts and paying of fines; for it implies, that we have done a fault against them, and also it approves of those as just judges, that are imposing these things; but ye may see what they are,—for there is no sober man will get leave to plead an action there. And can these be called judges, and owned as judges, who are grassators and land judgments? 11thly, Against all cess and locality, which is imposed for the down-bearing of the gospel, and for maintaining bloody and avowed enemies to banish Christ and his gospel out of the land, and to hunt, plunder, rob, spoil, and persecute the poor people of God; for in the very narrative of the act, it is set down for that end, and declared to the world; see what is said against it. Isa. lxx. 11. ‘But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink-offering unto that number. Therefore I will number you to the sword,’ &c. 12thly, Against hearing of curates, because they are wolves and boars, thrust in upon the Lord’s people to kill and destroy; and against the indulgence, first and last; and against the hearing of them, and joining with them, or pleading for them; because they are not entered in by the right door, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men; therefore they are, in so far, not the ministers of Jesus Christ, but the ministers of men, as it is said John x. 1. ‘Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.’ And against all ministers and professors, who are now lying at ease, when Zion is in trouble, and are shifting their duty for fear of hazard, and are sheltering themselves under the shadow of these avowed enemies, pleading in their favour, and have broken the poor people of God, and rent the bowels of the church;—and especially these who appeared once in the fields, to hold up a banner for our lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ, I shall be a witness against them, if repentance prevent it not.

“Now, ye that are the poor wrestling remnant, weary not of the cross of Christ, for he is a good Master, and he sends none a warfare on their own charges, for he will own them in all that he carves out for them. O double your diligence, and give him no rest till he come back again, as in Isa. lxii. 7. ‘And give him no rest till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.’ O! what will come of poor Scotland, for the horrid iniquities and abominations, perjury and bloodshed, and covenant-breaking? O! Scotland’s punishment will be sad; but my eyes shall be closed, and I shall not see it, and I am well content, seeing I get my soul for a prey. Now I am afraid God will not know many of this generation that have gone such a dreadful

length in defection and backsliding. But, O, what shall I say ! I leave it to himself to do as he may most glorify himself, in preserving a seed and remnant to serve him. Now I die in the faith of it, that he has a seed whom he *will* have preserved when he sends forth instruments with slaughter weapons, that he has a party that he will set a mark on, as it is said, Ezek. ix. 4. ‘ And the Lord said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark on the foreheads of the men that sigh and cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.’ Now, I say, Weary not of the cross of Christ, although ye should suffer persecution, for he has said, ‘ In the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me ye shall have peace.’ And, O, but he taketh exact notice what is done to his people. Obad. ver. 13. ‘ Thou shouldst not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity ; yea, thou shouldst not have looked on their affliction in the day of their calamity ; nor have laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity.’ O but that is a sweet word, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. ‘ It is a faithful saying, for if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him : if we suffer, we shall also reign with him : if we deny him, he will also deny us.’ O, sirs ! lose not heaven for mammon, and your own souls for what ye can suffer here. It is true, none can merit heaven by their sufferings, but it is as true, that he has said, ‘ He that will not forsake all, and take up his cross and follow me, he cannot be my disciple.’ Now, I know there will many brand me with self-murder, because I have got many an offer to go to Carolina, upon such easy terms. But as to that, I answer, self-preservation must stoop to truth’s preservation. There are indeed many of this generation who pretend to keep their present ease, and to be followers of Christ ; but I defy any, if they be called to a public testimony, but they shall either lose their present possession, or else that which is of more worth, even their immortal souls and everlasting salvation.

“ Now, as to the heads of my indictment whereon they have sentenced me to die, they are mainly these. 1st, My approving of Drumclog and Bothwell, and my being at Glasgow,—to be lawful and in defence of the gospel, and in self-defence, which both the law of God and nature allow. And, 2dly, For adhering to the National and Solemn League and Covenant ; and they declared before my face, that both their king and council had disowned the covenant, and had taken it away by their acts of parliament ; and said, that they were both unjust and unlawful : and shall such be owned and adhered to, who have declared themselves against King Christ, and have broken his laws, and have seated themselves in the room of Jesus Christ, which belongs to no mortal man upon earth, and much less to him who is an usurper and a tyrant, I mean Charles Stuart ? And here I, as a dying witness, leave my testimony against that monstrous beast, for our Saviour calls Herod a fox, and says, ‘ Go tell that fox, I work to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.’ 3dly, and mainly, my sentence was, That I disowned their authority : for since they had rejected the covenant, I was the more clear to disown them to be my judges, or governors over the land ; and they asserted it

treasonable, because I said, none of the people of God would say otherwise. And in plain terms, and direct words, I deny them to have any power to rule either in civil or ecclesiastic matters. Also these avowed enemies who are thirsting for my blood, charged me with going up and down the country, plundering, and murdering, and so by their law made liable to punishment, even to the loss of my life; but I declare, who am within a little to appear before the righteous Judge, that I never intended to wrong any man. And so it is evident they take away my life upon the account of adhering to truth, and I bless the Lord, that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him, and that ever he counted me worthy to lay down my life for his persecuted truth. O matchless free grace, that is making choice of the like of me, and poor weak things to confound the strong, and the poor foolish things to confound the wise.

“Now, there are three sorts of folk that I would speak a word to. The first is, these that have begun in the way of the Lord, and seemingly have gone a good length, and when the storm of persecution arose, for fear of the rough sea of trouble, have drawn back. O mind that word in Heb. x. 38. ‘But if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.’ And Rom. viii. 35. ‘Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword,’ &c. and many more places of Scripture. A second sort, are these who are going on in rebellion against God openly and avowedly; as ye may see in Psal. ii. ‘Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? he that sitteth in heaven shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision, then shall he speak to them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.’ O poor Scotland, that was once married to the Lord, but now has provoked him to depart and leave it, and give a bill of divorcement, as it were! O Scotland has sinned dreadfully,—what by covenant-breaking, bloodshed, lying, and swearing. Now a third sort are these who desire to keep their garments clean and undefiled, with the abounding sins of this generation. Go on in the way of the Lord, and fear not what man can do, for he has said, ‘Fear not them that kill the body, and after that can do more: but fear him who after he hath killed the body, hath power to cast into hell,’ &c. I can set to my seal to it, that Christ is a good Master, and well worthy the suffering for. And now I can freely and heartily forgive all men what they have done to me, as I desire to be forgiven of my Father who is in heaven; but what they have done against a holy God, and his image in me, that is not mine to forgive them, but I leave that to him to dispose on as he sees fit, and as he may most glorify himself. Now I am to take my leave of all created comforts here; and I bid farewell to the sweet Scriptures; farewell reading and praying; farewell sinning and suffering; farewell sighing and sorrowing, mourning and weeping; and farewell all Christian friends, and relations; farewell brethren, and sisters, and all things in time. And welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; welcome heaven, and everlasting joy and praise, and innumerable company of angels and spirits

of just men made perfect. Now into thy hands I commit my spirit, for it is thine.

Sic sub.—JAMES NISBET."

"This martyr was so inhumanly treated, and constantly watched, that it was with much difficulty he got any thing written, and that only now and then a line, and hence some few repetitions which were in the manuscript were left out, which it is hoped will be liable to no misinterpretation."

C. W.

XLII. ARTHUR TACQUET.

[The case of this martyr was, to a certain degree, peculiar. He was by profession, a tailor, in the town of Hamilton, and having joined the insurgents at Bothwell, with difficulty escaped from the disastrous result of that unfortunate enterprise, and with many others was proscribed for the share he had taken in it. He was apprehended about the 18th of July, 1684, on his way from hearing a sermon by the famous Mr. Renwick. Having refused to tell who it was that preached on the occasion, and who were present hearing, he was ordained to be examined by the torture of the boot, and was with difficulty saved from it by a strong representation on the part of the surgeon in attendance, as to his inability to bear it without danger to his life. The thumbkins were then resorted to, and this species of torture he bore without making any discovery. He was condemned in terms of the sentence formerly passed against him, to be executed at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, on the 30th of July 1684, and suffered accordingly. "He died," says Wodrow, "most Christianly, forgiving his enemies, and owning all magistrates superior and inferior, in as far as they are conform to the word of God, and the covenants; and are a terror to them that do evil, and a praise to them that do well." His testimony follows.]

"BEING appointed to die in the Grassmarket, I thought it was a duty lying upon my conscience before the Lord, to leave this short word of testimony behind me, in testification of my close adherence to all these controverted truths, as they are all agreeable and conform to the written word of God. And now I desire to bless his name with my whole heart and soul for this, that ever he made choice of the like of me, such a poor, weak, feckless, insignificant thing as I am, in counting me worthy to suffer for his noble cause and controverted truths, his name, interest and covenant, now controverted and brought in debate by this God-daring, Christ-dethroning, and God-contemning, adulterous and bloody generation, wherein my lot is fallen. And this I can say, through his grace, I am well satisfied and heartily content with my lot, that God in his infinite wisdom has seen fit to carve out

unto me: and through his grace I am well helped to great quietness, calmness and serenity of mind before the Lord, and a holy submission to what is his will towards me in this; that if every hair in my head, and every drop of my blood were a life, I would willingly lay them down for my lovely Lord and Master Jesus Christ. Some will possibly say, that this is an untruth, and so cannot be believed by them, notwithstanding of all this. But whether it be believed or not, it is true: for I am not dying by constraint and unwillingness; for this I dare say in his sight (my conscience bearing me witness) that I am a thousand times more willing to die this day for my lovely Lord and Master's noble cause, and controverted truths, than ever I was to live: and the truths of God that are so much controverted, are become more precious and clearer unto me at death, than ever they were heretofore in my life; as David says, Psal. xxiii. 4. 'Though I walk through the valley and shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.' This I have been made really sensible of by my experience in all that I have met with,—that the cross of Christ has been all paved over with love, that it has been made to become like unto a bed of roses unto me; and all that ever I have met with, first and last, has been made sweet and easy unto me, and no trouble in the least; and that he has been a loving and a kind Lord unto me, and he has been as good as his word. This I can say to his commendation, and to the commendation of the cross of Christ, that he has borne always the heavy end of the cross himself, that to me it was no trouble in the least. O praise, praise to the riches of his free grace, for his matchless and unexpressible love that I have met with since I was brought to prison, and when I was sorest put at, and threatened with torture by these cruel and bloody tyrants, the more of his love and kindness I did meet with. This I have been made really sensible of, when I was hardest dealt with, as David says, Psal. xxviii. 6. 'Blessed be the Lord, because he hath heard the voice of my supplications.' Ver. 7. 'The Lord is my strength and my shield; my heart trusted in him, and I am helped; therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth;' for I have been well helped and owned of the Lord, and that in a very singular manner, that his presence has made my soul to sing and rejoice, through the greatest of difficulties and trials that ever I was trysted with; and this is a sweet promise and noble encouragement for me, in Isa. xli. 10. 'Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee, yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness,' Ver. 11. 'Behold, all they that are incensed against thee, shall be ashamed, and confounded: they shall be as nothing, and they that strive with thee shall perish.' Ver. 12. 'Thou shalt seek them, and shalt not find them, even them that contend with thee: and they that war against thee shall be as nothing, and as a thing of nought.' Ver. 13. 'For I the Lord thy God will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not, I will help thee.' Which has been well made out unto me in all things that I have met with. For since I was brought to prison I have been well helped of the Lord, that the fear of hell, death and the grave, and the fear of all

things is taken away fully from me, that I am not afraid to venture upon a gibbet for my lovely Lord and Master's noble cause, and for his controverted truths; and this I am really persuaded of, that the truths of God were never so much controverted as now. But I am sure of it, that the truths of God, when they are most controverted, ought to be most zealously owned by his people. I may well acquiesce and assent unto Psal. lxxiii. 23—25. 'Nevertheless I am continually with thee: thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.' This I dare say, as in his sight, (my conscience bearing me witness) that there is nothing in heaven or in earth so desirable unto my soul as precious Christ: for I am confident and persuaded, that this is his language to me, 'Arise and depart, for this is not your rest, because it is polluted:' As Paul says, 2 Cor. v. 1. 'For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands,' &c. And as Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 50. 'Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.' I can clearly say by experience, that through Jesus Christ, whom I desire to take for my King, Priest, and Prophet, and my only Lord and Lawgiver, I have been made more than a conqueror over death, hell and the grave, and all things in this life.

"Now, to come to show you the only head that my sentence of death is founded upon by men, it is mainly for my being in arms at Bothwell; which was merely in defence of ourselves, and in defence of the gospel preached, and standing to the defence of the covenant of God, which the whole of the land was solemnly sworn and engaged to, with hands lifted up to the Most High God, and so bound to stand to the defence thereof; for which I am unjustly sentenced to death by men, of which sentence I am not ashamed this day, but counts it my only glory, honour, and dignity, whilst he passed by such tall cedars, which is a matter of wonder and admiration to me. But as he has said in his word, 'In nothing be ye terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition; but to you of salvation, and that of God; for it is not only given you to believe, but also to suffer for his sake;' so suffering is a gift not given to every one; and I desire to bless his name, with my whole heart and soul, that he has counted such a poor thing as I am worthy of the gift of suffering.

"Now, this is to let you all know, worthy and dear Christian friends, that are desiring to keep the way of the Lord, that there was not one word, of all they interrogate me upon, in the sentence of death that these bloody tyrants past against me, but only for being in arms at Bothwell-bridge. And let none think that I am sentenced to death upon the head, for which I was so cruelly threatened with torture by these bloody tyrants, which was, for being at the Blackloch,—and because I would not declare who was the minister, and what persons I knew. And though men have, by a permissive and limited power, passed a

sentence of death against me, to take away my natural life, this I know, and am persuaded of, that there is a Judge above, who has passed a sentence of life in heaven unto my soul this day, which shall never be recalled or reversed again, which is my only encouragement; and this he has promised to as many as believe in him, to 'give them everlasting life: these that suffer with him, shall reign with him; and these that be dead with him, shall live with him also:' as Paul says, in Rom. x. 9. 'If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.' ver. 10. 'For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' For the scripture saith, 'Whosoever believeth in him shall not be ashamed;' which is my only comfort, and a noble sweet encouragement for me. And this he hath promised in his word, that 'he shall feed his flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs in his arms, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.' I have found by my experience, that the Lord my God has sweetly and gently led me through the greatest difficulties that I have been trysted with since he made choice of me to suffer for his noble cause. O if ye knew what of his love I have met with, and what sweet ingredients of the Lord's matchless love has been intermixed and put in my cup, ye would not be afraid to venture upon the sweet cross of Christ, which has been made sweet and easy unto me.*

XLIII. THOMAS HARKNESS AND OTHERS.

[Thomas Harkness was one of three individuals who were executed together on the 15th of August, 1684. Being a resident of Lockerbane, in Dumfriesshire; he with his two companions, Andrew Clark from the parish of Crawford, and Samuel M'Ewen, from Glencairn, belonged to a district of Scotland which has yielded many martyrs to the Scaffold. They were apprehended by Claverhouse and his party, in the parish of Closeburn, when sleeping in the fields, a few

* Because the heads of truth this martyr gives his testimony to, and the defections he witnessed against, are much the same with the preceding testimonies; therefore to avoid all impertinent repetition they are omitted. He is both full and accurate, passing by nothing of the heads of sin and duty, which at that time were controverted: particularly (which hath not been met with in any of the former) he gives his hearty testimony to that faithful and called minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. James Renwick, for his holding up the fallen down banner of our Lord, and jeoparding his life in the open fields; although some are pleased to say, that he is not lawfully called and ordained to the ministry, but that he was admitted by the Erastian ministers of Holland; such as Cocceians and Labadeans: but it is faithfully witnessed, that he was admitted without them, and by the purest of the ministers of the church of Holland, according to the church of Scotland's discipline and government, Covenants and Confession of Faith. And he dies with a spirit of meekness, declaring that he forgives his enemies all the wrongs they had done him, personally considered; though witnessing against the indignities which they had done to Christ, and him as a member of that body whereof Christ is the head. And whereas he was branded with disowning magistrates, he declares before God and the world, that he owns and allows of all magistrates, superior or inferior, as they are conform to the written word of God, and our solemn covenants, and as they are 'a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.'—C. W.

days after the rescue of the prisoners, at Enterkin-path, in which affair they were suspected of having a hand. Great severities were practised upon them. Being wounded when taken, by the shot of the soldiers, they were not permitted to have their wounds dressed. In this state they were conveyed first to Lanark, and then to Edinburgh. When brought before the counsel, they firmly denied having been at the rescue of prisoners, above mentioned, but upon three of the soldiers, deponing that they had seen them, on that occasion and that the wounds they had upon them had been then received,—a statement which must have been obviously false—they were forthwith remitted to the justiciary court, condemned and executed, on the very day on which they arrived in Edinburgh. The following short but interesting paper was left behind them, as their joint Testimony; and there is added to it a letter addressed by one of them to a Friend, immediately after receiving sentence.]

1. THEIR JOINT TESTIMONY.

“DEAR friends and relations whatsoever,—We think it fit to acquaint you, that we bless the Lord, that ever we were ordained to give such a public testimony, who are so great sinners. Blessed be he that ever we were born to bear witness for him. And blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ, that ordained the gospel and the truths of it, which he sealed with his own blood, and many a worthy Christian gone before us have sealed them. We were questioned for not owning the king’s authority: We answered, That we owned all authority that is allowed by the written word of God, sealed by Christ’s blood. Now, our dear friends, we entreat you to stand to the truth, and especially all ye that are our own relations, and all that love and wait for the coming of Christ. He will come and will not tarry, and reward every one according to their deeds in the body.

“We bless the Lord, we are not a whit discouraged, but content to lay down our lives with cheerfulness, and boldness, and courage; and if we had a hundred lives, we would willingly quit with them all for the truth of Christ. Good news! Christ is no worse than he promised.

“Now we take our leave of all friends and acquaintances, and declare, we are heartily content with our lot, and that he hath brought us hither to witness for him and his truth. We leave our testimony against Popery, and all other false doctrine, that is not according to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which is the only word of God.

“Dear friends, be valiant for God, for he is as good as his promise, ³ He that overcometh, he will make a pillar in his temple.’ Our time is short, and we have little to spare; having got our sentence at one of the clock this afternoon, and are to die at five this day. And so we say no more; but farewell all friends and relations. Welcome heaven and Christ, and the cross for Christ’s sake.

“T. HARKNESS, A. CLARK, S. M’EWEN.”

2. A LETTER FROM S. M’EWEN TO A FRIEND.

“MY dear friend,—I am this day to lay down my life, for adhering to the truth of God, and I bless his holy name that ever he honoured

me, a poor country lad, having neither father nor mother to witness for him. And now I can set to my seal to all the truths in the Bible, Confession of Faith, Catechisms larger and shorter, National and Solemn League and Covenants, and all the protestations and declarations given by the poor remnant, agreeable to the same word of God. Though in much weakness, yet I love all that is for his glory, and desire you not to be discouraged, for I bless the Lord, I am heartily content with my lot. It was my desire, though most unworthy, to die a martyr; and I bless the Lord, who has granted me my desire. Now, this is the most joyful day ever I saw with my eyes. Farewell all earthly enjoyments, and friends in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ; and farewell Glencairn, my native parish. Welcome my sweet Saviour, into thy hands I commit my spirit, 'for thou art he, O Jehovah, God of truth. who hast redeemed me.'

SAMUEL M'EWEN."

XLIV. JAMES NICHOL.

[This was a very bold and zealous man, by profession a merchant, and belonging to the town of Peebles. Being in Edinburgh on business, he attended at the trial of the three preceding witnesses, on the 15th of August, 1684; and was deeply affected by the result. Thus excited he was, in the act of taking his horse, to proceed home, when they were brought into the Grassmarket for execution. He waited and beheld their sufferings, unto death; and upon leaving the bloody scene, exclaimed, in the bitterness of his spirit, within hearing of those around him—"These kine of Bashan have pushed these three good men to death, at one push, contrary to their own base laws, in a most inhuman manner." Upon this he was immediately seized and carried to prison; and being, a day or two after, brought before the Council, and examined, was on the 27th of said month, remitted to the Justiciary. His own confession was the only proof of the crimes laid to his charge—namely, that he was at Bothwell, and acknowledged the Sanquhar Declaration, and that published at Rutherglen; and the Assize having found him guilty of treason, he was forthwith condemned, and on the same day executed, between two and four o'clock. His Testimony is as follows:*)]

* Along with Mr. Nichol, there seems to have been tried, condemned and executed, a person of the name of William Young belonging to Evandale. The circumstances of whose case, as they are somewhat peculiar and interesting we quote from Wodrow as follows: "He was brought in prisoner from Evandale, to Hamilton, and met with great severity when carried from thence to Edinburgh, from the soldiers, who took from him his wig; and he rode most of the way with his bare shaven head, and his foot tied beneath the horse's belly. This good man, was distempered, and much crazed in his judgment, for five years before he was taken, through a sharp and severe exercise of spirit, he had been under. However, when upon any serious conversation, or at reading or prayer, his distemper was scarce any way observable, but when out of these exercises, he was perfectly restless, wrote letters and threw them out at the windows, and cast them to the keepers, so that all in the prison observed it. His fellow prisoners cautioned him as much as possibly they could, when he was called before the Council. When there his answers were not out of the road; and when he came back from the Council and Justiciary, he was very sensible of the Lord's goodness to him, and said to his fellows, it had

1. HIS INTERROGATIONS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

"FIRST, I was interrogated by two in a room privately thus. Q. Was you at Bothwell-bridge? A. I am not bound to be my own accuser. I am not (said one of them) to desire you, but only say, upon your honest word, that you were not there. A. I am not bound to satisfy you, but prove what you have to say against me, and especially you, till I come before my accusers. Well, said he, I am one of them. Then I answered, I was there. Q. How came you to rise in arms against the king? A. Because he has broken the Covenant of the Lord my God. Q. Was the prelate's death murder? A. No, it was not murder. Q. Was Hackstoun's death murder? A. That it was indeed. Q. How dare ye own the Covenant, seeing the king gave orders to burn it by the hands of the hangman? A. Yes, I dare own it; for although ye should escape the hand of men for so doing, yet ye shall all pay for it ere all be done, and that to purpose: as for me I would not do it for the whole earth. Then I was interrogated by other two, who asked some frivolous questions, which I baffled to silence. Then I was brought in before the bloody crew. What now, Sir, said they, do ye own the king's authority? A. I own all things that the precious word of God owns in less or more, and all faithful magistrates. Q. But do you not own king Charles also? A. I dare not for a world, because it is perjury, for he has unkinged himself in a high degree, and that in doing all things contrary to the word of God and Confession of Faith, and Catechisms Larger and Shorter. Q. Know ye to whom ye are speaking? A. I know I am before men. But (said one of them) ye are speaking to the chancellor and members of council, Sir. But, said I, I have told you already that he has unkinged himself, and so have ye degraded yourselves from being princes. Q. If the king were here, what would you say, Sir? A. I know how I ought to speak to the king, if he were king; Sir, is ordinarily said to him: and so to let you know that I am no Quaker, or erroneous in any thing, but a pure Presbyterian, and of a gospel apostolic spirit, I call you Sirs, because ye are noblemen by birth, but not because ye are my judges. Q. Will ye not say, God bless the king's majesty? A. I dare not bless them whom God hath rejected: 'If any man bring another doctrine than ye have received, bid him not God speed, nor receive him into your house,' 2 John 10. and Psal. xvi. near the beginning, says David, 'Their drink-offerings will I not offer, nor take up their names in my lips,' viz. them that hasten after other gods, and therefore I dare not pray for him. Q. And will ye not pray for him? A. If he belong to

been given to him in that hour, who was a poor foolish creature, who had much lost the use of his reason. He was one of them who escaped out of the Cannon-gate Tolbooth, and would not have been known, if he had not himself told to the soldiers who were ranging up and down, that he had broken the Tolbooth. He was most barbarously used when sent back to prison, and his arms were tied, and his whole body miserably racked. This he bore with great patience. He said that extreme pain would be intolerable, if eternal, but he was now near the Crown, and rejoiced in the full assurance of it.

"Next day he was carried before the Justiciary, and sentenced and straight executed, with James Nichol. I have been the larger on this man's circumstances, because much of the power of God and rage of man, must be observed about him." Wodrow, Vol. II. pp. 337—8.

the election of grace, he hath a part of my prayers: and also if he were a king that had kept covenant with God, I would give him a double share, and make mention of his name, but he is an apostate. (So, my friends, they looked still one to another at every question and answer). Q. How old are you, Sir? A. I am fifty-one years. Q. How dare you own the Covenants, seeing we have burnt them by the hand of the hangman? A. Sir, I dare own them upon all perils whatsoever, to the utmost of my power, all the days of my life. And with that they smiled, and laughed one to another, and to me, and said, my days were near an end. I said, I am now in your power, but if ye take my blood, ye shall take innocent blood upon yourselves; as in Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. 'As for me, behold, I am in your hand; do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.' And as for me, if ye take my blood, it is as innocent blood as ever ye did take; for I did never wrong any man to this day. Q. Do ye go to the church? A. I went ay to the church, where I could get any faithful minister to go to: but for your prelate's kirks, and Baal's priests, I never heard any of them, and I never intend to do, if I were to live an hundred years. But, said they, ye shall not live long now, Sir. Q. How do you prove by the Scripture what ye say against the prelates? A. By many Scriptures; 'The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them, are called benefactors; but it shall not be so among you; but he that is greatest among you, shall be the servant of all:' not like your glutton, Epicurean, belly-god prelates, who are riding in coaches, in great pomp. But they would not suffer me to speak more, nor cite more places, but asked several questions, which I have not good memory of: only this word I said concerning the tyrant. He was brought home by Mr. Livingston and others, and put into a nobler estate than any king in the whole world, crowned a covenanted king with the eternal God, to be for him, and to carry on his work and cause, he and his people; which if he had continued in, he would have been the greatest king in all lands and nations in the world, and would have been a terror to all the kings in Europe; but now he hath made himself base, and a reproach to all the nations, so have all of you. And another reason why I dare not own him, or you either, is, because he and you have robbed Christ of his crown, although it be not in your power to do it. They bade the guard take me away to the iron house, and put the irons on me, which they did on both my hands, so that I could write none till I got a mean to put them off the one hand.

"Then on Tuesday they called me before them again, being the 19th day of this instant. Q. What say ye the day, do you adhere to all you said yesterday? A. I adhere to all and hail upon all perils whatsoever. Q. Do you approve of Bothwell-bridge? A. Yes I do. Q. Do you go to the kirk at Peebles? A. No, and I never intend to go there, nor any place else which pertains to the perjured prelates. Q. Do you own the covenants? A. I adhere to every point of them. because they are, in short, an obligation to the whole sum of the

Scripture ; and as the sum of the law is, ‘To love the Lord our God with all our soul, and heart, and mind, and with our whole strength, and our neighbour as ourselves :’—so it is the whole duty, which the Lord requires of me and all men. Q. And how do you reject the king, seeing the scripture commands you to obey him? A. Because the coronation sermon, and the coronation itself, does openly declare, that the people makes a king, and not the king a people, and that he was received home, and crowned for no other end, but to maintain that interest to the utmost of his power ; and no longer to be owned as king, than he did own that wherefore he was crowned ; so that we were freely loosed from him, as soon as he played his base pranks, in taking the malignants by the hand, and murdering a prince and a prophet, viz. Argyle, who set the crown upon his head, and Mr. Guthrie, who was a godly reformer in our land. Next I said, what thought ye of Mr. Douglas, who preached and gave him all his injunctions at Scoon? They said to me, he should have been hanged for his pains : but I said, God would be about with them all for rejecting the word of the Lord in these directions. Q. How do ye disown him, seeing the most part, both of ministers and professors, do pray for him? A. Because the general assembly at the West-kirk disowned him altogether, till he made a declaration of humiliation for his own sins, and his father’s : and the parliament being then sitting at Edinburgh, did ratify the assembly’s act, and disowned him till he should do that, which accordingly he did, and so we are loosed freely. Q. Do you own Airmoss, Sanquhar, Rutherglen, and Lanark declarations? A. Yes, I do, because they are agreeable to the covenants, and work of reformation. And many more questions they asked, which I cannot now particularly remember. But I told them in general, that I was against Popery, Prelacy, malignancy and profanity, and all that is against sound doctrine, discipline, worship, and government ; and all errors whatsoever, which are contrary to sound Presbyterian doctrine, be what they will ; for there is none other right, but erroneous, how fair a face soever they have, which shall be found not agreeable to the apostle’s doctrine. And then they read something of what I had said, and questioned, if I would subscribe what I had said. I answered, No. Q. Can you write? A. Yes, I can write. Then do it, said they. But I said I would not do it at all. Now, my friends, I say, these are a part of my interrogations.

“ Again, I was brought before the justiciary (as they call themselves) on the 19th of this instant, and interrogated thus : Q. What now, Sir, what think ye of yourself the day? A. I praise my God I am the same I was. Q. What think you of what you said yesterday before the chancellor and the council? I hold all and decline nothing ; no not one ace. Q. Were you at Bothwell-bridge? A. Yes, that I was. Q. Had ye arms? Yes, that I had. One of them said, God help you : and I said, I wot not if you can pray for yourself. But, said he, I wish you better nor you do yourself. But, I said, No ; for ye would have me disown my great Lord, the King of Zion, and obey men,—yea, base men, ‘whose breath is in their nostrils,’ who give out laws and commandments contrary to his. Q. How dare ye rise in arms against

the king? A. It is better to obey God than man, and he is an enemy to God. Q. Would you rise yet in arms for the covenants against the king's laws, if ye had the occasion? A. Yes, that I would, say the contrary who will, upon all peril. Q. What think you of yourself in spoiling the country of horse and arms, Sir? A. Sir, I had not the worth of a spur whang of any man's, but was mounted with horse and arms of my own. Q. Where have you been all this time? A. Sometimes here and there, in England and Scotland. Q. Whom have ye conversed with? A. I was about my business, being a merchant. They said, Ye have been about another business; for ye are found to be a fugitive and a vagabond. A. I have been a merchant from my youth. Q. But where had you your chamber in this town? A. I had none these several years. Q. Where quarter you in this town? A. I have not been much in it these seven or eight years. Q. But where was you the night and the last night before the execution? A. I was not in town, I came but in at the port just when the first was cast over. Then they looked one to another, and whispered together: but they would fain have had me wronging my landlords in all the parts of the country, and in all burghs; but glory to my Lord, I have wronged none yet, nor yet hopes to do; for it was ay my care, and prayer to God earnestly, that I might wrong no man, and that I had rather suffer before any were wronged by me, which he has kepted me from to this day. Then they read what I had said. Q. Will you subscribe what you have said? A. No, no. Q. Can you write, Sir? A. Yes, that I can. Well, said they, write down, that he can, but will not. They told me five or six times, that my time should not be long; and said to me, Will you have a minister? A. I will have none of your Baal's priests; if I could have gotten leave, I should have made them abominable to them, and also at every question, I would have made them ashamed."*

2. HIS TESTIMONY.

"Now, my dear friends, I think all that I have written is confused because I could hardly get leave to write two lines, but was either put from it by the keepers, or called from it by one confusion or other, therefore ye must excuse me; but although it be not accurately, written, yet there is no error in it: it is what I lay down my life for, and adhere to as the testimony of a dying man, who must very shortly appear before my Lord, and give an account of all that I have done and written. However, my friends, mistake me not, although it be confused, and ye find some things twice over, for there is no more fear on me now, than the quietest time that ever I had, as to what man can do to me; although I be sad as to matters betwixt God and me, betwixt my glorious Lord and me, as good cause I have, who knew it as I do; but I hope, I shall get a glorious outgate, (when his time comes, which I have always waited upon and not mine,) for which I bless him this day."

What further this martyr wrote in prison, cannot be published as it stands, in regard that he being perpetually interrupted by the keepers,

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 336—346.

and having the irons on his hands (as himself testifies), could not get it written with that composure which he would. Wherefore take some of the more remarkable heads of it, mostly in his own words, as follows: 1st, He declares his cheerfulness to lay down his life for the cause of Christ, and faith once delivered to the saints. Admiring the riches of the free grace of God, in Christ's laying down his life for poor sinners, and blessing them with such a noble, precious, and excellent blessing, as to be called the sons of God, which the angels cannot take up, although they have been a long time prying into it; and invites others to the same exercise of admiring and praising God's love, in making, through the blood of Christ, rebels and enemies, friends and servants. 2dly, He rejoices in his lot of suffering thus: "O but it is an excellent thing to be called of the Lord, to lay down my life for him and his glorious interest! to me it is more than all the world: I cannot prize it. It has been my desire these twenty-four years, to die a martyr for my Lord, and to witness for him, if it be his will, and not else; I bless my Lord for it, I have subscribed a blank, and put it in his hand, to do with me, whatsoever is the determinate counsel of his will and decree, and not to call myself." 3dly, He blesses God, that though he would have got his life for doing what others, whom he calls better than himself, have done; yet the Lord had made it his glory, honour, and crown, to 'hold fast till the Lord come,' which he hoped would be quickly to himself, and also to the land. 4thly, He testifies his assurance of God's love to him, and his children, whom he heartily and cheerfully gives away to God, as he had oft devoted them to him in covenant; he exhorts them, in the words of a dying father, to be for God, in their generation, to live in love and unity, leaving them to the protection and provision of his God, charging them not to be moved for his sufferings, which he protests he would not exchange for the whole world. 5thly, He charges them all to beware of wronging themselves by reproaching him anent the manner of his being apprehended, showing what a hand of divine providence there was in it, and blessing God for it, and for the sweet peace he had in suffering. 6thly, He owns himself to have been the greatest sinner upon the earth, and hence takes occasion to magnify the redeeming love of Christ, in calling him effectually, and keeping him in the right way, and from the national sins and corruptions of the age. 7thly, He refers to a list of papers written by him, declarative of his judgment concerning the duty of the day, as a reason among others, why he wrote no formal testimony in the prison, save only that he testifies, First, Generally, against all things contrary to any point of truth in the Old and New Testament, or contradictory to the covenants and work of reformation; and more particularly, against the sinful silence of ministers in Britain and Ireland, at the command of a bloody, vile, adulterous, perjured tyrant, and his underlings; against the indulgences and indemnities; against compounding and conforming either with a perjured tyrannical crew of statesmen, or with base, vile, filthy prelatists, their blind guides, and Baal's priests; against backslidden ministers and professors, (who condemned a poor young generation for adhering to truth,) for slaying Christ in

his members, for pleasing men, and displeasing a never-enough exalted and glorious Lord. And, finally, disowns all that is contrary to a gospel and apostolic spirit. Sthly, He proceeds to warn and exhort all sorts of persons, and more especially the young generation, to repentance and amendment of life, enforcing his exhortation with the consideration of judgments, and strokes to come upon the land, upon which head he is exceeding large, founding his assertions upon the threatenings pronounced in the word against these sins, whereof he demonstrates Scotland, England, and Ireland, to have been eminently guilty. Interposing withal sweet and ravishing considerations of God's love to him, and his other suffering witnesses, which after large and pathetic ejaculations of praises to God, for his redeeming love, protesting, that he expects salvation not by any merit, but of free grace, saying, "I have been beginning to pray and praise these thirty-six years, weakly as I could; but yet I am just to begin this night, both to praise and pray: for I lay no more stress upon all that I have said and done, believed and suffered, than on a straw,—God is my witness; so that I must have salvation upon Wednesday at three or four of the clock, as freely as the thief on the cross." He winds up, in imitation of David, with these words, "And what can poor silly James Nicol say more?" resuming again the consideration of God's wrath against the land, to stir up all ranks to repentance.

After he had concluded his speech with the usual formality of bidding farewell to his suffering brethren, and all sublunary things, embracing and welcoming the heavenly joys, and eternal enjoyment of God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose hands he commits his spirit: he adds by way of postscript:

"Now, dear friends, my testimony being finished, and I being near the borders of eternity, having forgot that which I see a great necessity to leave my testimony against; I think it a most concerning and necessary duty to leave my testimony against James Russel and Mr. John Flint, because James Russel, and these in fellowship with him, have separated themselves from the persecuted suffering remnant of the church of Scotland, and Mr. John Flint has taken upon him, with their consent, to officiate the work of a minister, contrary to the word of God; he has run, although not sent of God, nor called, nor ordained of lawful church members: and now he and they have risen up in opposition to God, his cause, and persecuted remnant in the church of Scotland, calling them all perjured, that are suffering unto death, imprisonment, and banishment, for precious Christ. And, therefore, I as a dying witness for him, even my Lord Jesus, my only Saviour, who converted me thirty-six years since, and has these twenty-four years helped me to pray to him, to enable me to witness against all error and defection, and has kept me right and straight to this day of my longed-for desire, do leave my testimony against Mr. John Flint and James Russel, and all that adhere to them.

Sic sub.—J. NICHOL.*

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 346—350.

XLV. JOHN NISBET.

[John Nisbet of Hardhill, in the parish of Loudon, suffered for the cause, in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, Dec. 4, 1685. About the year 1664, he having received the sacrament of baptism to his child, from one of the outed ministers, came to be troubled by the enemies on that account; and the curate declared out of the pulpit, his purpose to excommunicate him the next Lord's day, but was prevented by sudden death. When that handful of the Lord's people renewed the covenant at Lanark, and appeared in arms at Pentland hills, he engaged in the covenant with them, and was sore wounded in the fight, insomuch that he was left for dead: but by God's goodness he recovered. And all along testified against the abominations of prelacy, supremacy, arbitrary government, and indulgence, till the rising in arms at Bothwell, where he did good service, being not only a zealous Christian, but a courageous soldier. After this the enemies seized all his goods, expelled his wife and four small children from house and hold; offered a large sum of money for himself, but the Lord preserved him, while he had work for him.

He was a close follower of the gospel, faithfully preached in the fields, was kept stedfast in the truth from extremes on right or left hand; and was assistant in publishing the declarations for truth, emitted during that time. At length, in November, 1685, being in a poor man's house in the parish of Fenwick, with other three, after being sore wounded, he was taken by Lieutenant Nisbet's party, the other three being shot dead on the spot. The lieutenant, having caused to tie him, asked, what he thought of himself now? He answered, I think as much of Christ and his cause, for which I suffer, as ever; but I judge myself at a loss, being in time, and my dear brethren in eternity, whom you have unjustly murdered. The bloody wretch swore, that he had reserved him for further judgment. He answered, if the Lord stand by me, and help me to be faithful to the death, I care not what piece of suffering I be put to endure. He was carried first to Kilmarnock, from thence to Ayr next morning; and being brought back to Kilmarnock again, was thence transported to Edinburgh; where, being brought before the council by the foregoing lieutenant Nisbet, who demanded his money for him. They interrogate him to this effect. Q. Was you at that conventicle? (naming time and place.) A. Yes. Q. How many men and arms were there? A. I went there to hear the gospel preached, and not to take an account of what men and arms were there. Q. Which way went ye when the preaching was done? A. Which way we could best think of to escape your cruelty. Q. Where keep you your general meetings, and what do ye at them? While he was about to answer, one of the counsellors interrupted him, telling, in his fashion, what was done at such general meetings, and that there was one of them kept at Edinburgh; and asked the prisoner, if he was there? Who answered, No. Then they said to

him, we hope you are so much of a Christian, as to pray for the king. He answered, prayer being an holy ordinance of God, we ought to pray for kings, as well as others; but not when every profligate bids us. Q. Do you own the king as sole sovereign? A. He being Popish, and that from his youth, and I a Protestant, of the Presbyterian covenanted persuasion, I neither can nor will own him, while he remains such. Whereupon incontinent, without further process they passed sentence upon him; which he received, not only with Christian submission, but with much thankfulness; blessing and praising God, who had counted him worthy to suffer for his name. And during the time of his imprisonment he was wonderfully assisted, and graciously supported of the Lord under his cross; having both the assurance of the pardon of all his sins, and his peace with God, and also a firm persuasion of the justness of the cause and work to which he adhered, and for which he was put to such sufferings. Besides the seven wounds which he received when he was apprehended, he had a merciless weight of irons upon him during the whole time of his imprisonment.

The following is his last and dying Testimony, which he delivered to a friend in the iron-house, before he was taken out to the scaffold in the Grassmarket.]

HIS TESTIMONY.

"I HAVE always thought, that to live for Christ, and die for Christ, is a sufficient testimony for truth; yet now when I am within a few hours of eternity, to prevent mistakes, to satisfy my dear friends, and let them know how it is with me, and to let the world know what I die witnessing for, and testifying against, I judge it proper to leave a few lines behind me.

"As for myself, it hath pleased the Lord Jehovah, of his superabundant goodness, and infinite mercy, powerfully to determine my heart to close with, and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, as he is made offer of in the everlasting gospel, for my King, Priest, and Prophet. And that conquest captivating of me to his obedience, who was an heir of wrath, and a mass of sin and sinful corruption, is the fruit of electing love, according as it is manifested in the covenant of free, free, free grace, will evidently appear from these Scriptures following; which he, by the power and concurrence of his Holy Spirit, hath made effectual to the convincing, converting, strengthening, and enabling of me to be his, and to be for him through well and through woe, through good report, and through bad report; and they are so many sweet cordials to my soul, when stepping out of time into eternity.

"Psal. cx. 3. 'Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power.' Rom. ix. 11. 'For the children being not yet born; neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth.' Ver. 15. 'For he saith to Moses, (see Exod. xxxiii. 19.) I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy; and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.' Ver. 16. 'So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him

that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.' 2 Thes. ii. 13. 'God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth.' Prov. viii. 30. 'Then was I by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him. Rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth, and my delights were with the sons of men. Now therefore,' &c. to verse 36. Rom. viii. 29. 'For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren. Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.' Ver. 35. 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?' Ver. 37. 'Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us.' Eph. i. 13. 'In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise,' ver. 14. 'Which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.' 2 Tim. i. 9. 'Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling: not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus, before the world began.' Tit. iii. 5. 'Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.' Ver. 6. 'Which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.' 1 Cor. i. 9. 'God is faithful, by whom ye were called into the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.' Rom. iii. 24. 'Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. Whom he hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.' And chap. iv. 6. 'Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works.' Heb. ix. 14. 'How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.' 2 Cor. v. 19. 'To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' Eph. iii. 17. 'That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye being rooted and grounded in love,' &c. Gal. ii. 16. 'Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; even we have believed in Jesus, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified. Rom. v. 17. 'For by one man's offence, death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ.' John vi. 37. 'All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.' Ver. 39. 'And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should

lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day.' Rom. xiv. 17. 'For the kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' Chap. viii. 1. 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.' 1 John v. 13. 'These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God.' Eph. iv. 23. 'And be renewed in the spirit of your mind.' Philip. iii. 9. 'And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.' Ver. 10. 'That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death.' Rom. vi. 4. 'Therefore we are buried with him by baptism unto death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father: even so we also should walk in newness of life.' Prov. iv. 18. 'But the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' Philip. i. 6. 'Be confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.' Psalm lxxxix. 33. 'Nevertheless, my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.' Rom. v. 'Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God.' 1 Pet. i. 5. 'Who are kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time.' Rom. viii. 17. 'And if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer with him, that we also may be glorified together.' Chap. i. 16. 'For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.' Col. i. 29. 'To whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory.' Matth. xi. 29. 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls.' Psalm lv. 22. 'Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee; he will never suffer the righteous to be moved.' 2 Cor. x. 4. 'For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds.' Psalm lvii. 2. 'I will cry unto God most high; unto God that performed all things for me.' Prov. xxvii. 13. 'He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy.' Psalm lix. 16. 'But I will sing of thy power; yea, I will sing aloud of thy mercy in the morning; for thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble. Unto thee, O my strength, will I sing: for God is my defence and the God of my mercy.' Psalm lxviii. 18. 'Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men; yea, for the rebel-

lions also, that the Lord God might dwell among them.' Ver. 19. 'Blessed be the Lord who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. Selah.' Ver. 20. 'He that is our God, is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death.' 2 Cor. v. 1. 'For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' Heb. xii. 23. 'To the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator,' &c. Psalm xlv. 1, to 9. John i. 1, to 15. and chap. xviii. throughout. Isa. liii. to the end, with many more.

"Let none reflect upon me for citing so much; for the Scripture hath been to me from my youth the living oracles of his divine and sacred lips. When I was crying, 'what shall I do to be saved?' and when I was saying, 'how shall I know the way of the Lord that I may walk therein?' then his word was 'a light to my feet, and a lamp to my path,' exhorting me as it is in Isa. lv. 'Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters: and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk, without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend your money for that which is not bread, and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good; and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear and come unto me, hear and your soul shall live: and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people. Behold thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee. Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.' John vi. 35. 'And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.' Rev. iii. 20. 'Behold I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me.' Jer. iii. 'Only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the Lord thy God, and hast scattered thy ways to the strangers under every green tree, and ye have not obeyed my voice, saith the Lord. Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am married unto you: and I will take you, one of a city, and two of a family; and I will bring you to Zion.' Ver. 22. 'Return ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings: behold, we come unto thee, for thou art the Lord our God. Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains; truly in the Lord our God is the salvation of Israel.' Hosea xiv. 1. 'O Israel, return unto the

Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and turn unto the Lord, say unto him, take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously, so we will render the calves of our lips.' Jer. xxxi. 18. 'I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus, Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: Turn thou me, and I shall be turned; for thou art the Lord my God.' John xiv. 6. 'Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me.' Rev. xxii. 17. 'And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth, say Come. And let him that is athirst, Come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.'

"When I was grappling with sin, Satan and the world, and my own wicked and deceitful heart, the enemies of my salvation, his words were as props and pillars to me: so that though I got my wounds, and was oft sorely beat; yet at the last I came off victorious, by the help of him who is God all sufficient to all who, through grace, lay hold on him for help. It is by him, that I have fought the good fight, that I have finished my course, and that I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day. It is by him shining in his word, that I know all my manifold sins and transgressions are freely pardoned, and that I have a just right and title to what is expressed, 1 Cor. i. 30. So that now the guilt and condemning power of sin being fully pardoned by a judicial act of God's free and sovereign grace, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, especially applied and witnessed unto by the Holy Spirit, upon, and to my spirit, there is no room left me to doubt any more of my being freely justified by him, of my being in union with him, and in a state of grace; or the power, dominion, and filth of sin, original and actual, being subdued, taken off, and washed away by the virtue of the spirit of sanctification, being created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, and being sanctified throughout in soul, body, and spirit, and made meet to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light by him who loved me, and gave himself to the death for me, and redeemed me by power and price.

"Now, being in such a case of communion with him, I am pained till I be freed of the remains of a body of sin and death, till I be freed of the world and all things therein, and also of this natural life, and be possessed of himself, and with himself in his eternal inheritance, which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away; a place which he hath provided for all whom he hath chosen, for all whom he hath called, for all whom he hath justified, for all whom he hath sanctified: O to be there, where I shall sin no more, where I shall be tempted no more, neither feel any more of the withdrawals of his Spirit's presence, and light of his glorious countenance; but shall be ever with him, see him as he is, and serve him for ever and ever.

"Now, my dear friends in Christ, I have always, since the public resolutioners were for bringing in the malignants and their interest, thought it my duty to join with the Lord's people, in witnessing against these sinful courses; and now we see clearly that it has ended in

nothing less than making captains that we may return to Egypt, by the open doors, that are made wide to bring in Popery, and set up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land, to defile it, and thereby to provoke him to pour down fierce wrath upon it, and the inhabitants thereof. Wherefore it is the unquestionable and indispensable duty of all who have any love to God, to his Son the Lord Jesus Christ, to the thriving of his kingdom, to their own soul's salvation, and to the following generation, to act a close, constant, and needy dependance on the Lord Jehovah's all-sufficiency, for light, for counsel, for direction, for strength and ability, to make conscience in bearing testimony for him, for his persecuted truth, work, and interest in these lands, which was sworn to with uplifted hands to God the searcher of hearts: and O that herein all could act a faithful part for him who hath done so much for poor wretched us! when we were lying, dying, and rotting in our blood-red sins, when passing by us with his love and life-giving visit, saying unto us, Live, live. And on the other hand, to witness faithfully, constantly, and conscientiously against all that the enemies have done, or are doing, to the overthrow of the glorious work of reformation; and banishing Christ out of these lands, by robbing him of his crown-rights, (for he, and he alone, is head of his own church,) and by burning the covenants, which are the marriage bond betwixt him and these lands; and by persecuting his gospel-ministers and members, who are labouring to keep their garments clean, and their hands free of all the corruptions and compliances in these evil times: and however it be, that many, both ministers and professors, are turning their backs upon Christ and his cross, reproaching and casting dirt upon you and the testimony of the day; yet let not this weaken your hands, stumble or discourage you from going on in the strength of the Lord your God, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and witness a good confession for him and his cause, resisting unto blood, striving against sin; and herein let your souls possess themselves with patience; for I assure you, it will not be long to the fourth watch; and then he will come with garments dyed in blood, to raise up saviours upon the mount of Zion, to judge the mount of Esau; and then the house of Jacob and Joseph shall be for fire, and the malignants, Prelates and Papists, shall be stubble, the flame whereof shall be great.

"But my generation work being done with my time, I go to him who loved me, and washed me from all my sins; to him who has counted me worthy to suffer for his name: and O that I had many lives to lay down for him, and much blood to seal his noble and honourable cause with, even he who graciously pitied, and hath now given me the full assurance of being a member of his church triumphant, which is the new Jerusalem, and the city of the living God!

"I die adhering to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the undoubted word of God, an unerring rule of faith and manners, and a firm foundation for principle and practice in the ways of godliness and true holiness. 2 Tim. iii. 16. 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God: and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. And the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, as agreeable thereunto, and safely founded

thereupon. 2 Tim. i. 13. 'Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. Heb. vi. 1. 'Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God.' The Sum of Saving Knowledge, the Directory for Church Government, in her doctrine, worship, and discipline. I own all the attained unto pieces of reformation in the church of Scotland, particularly betwixt the years 1638, and 1649. The Covenants National and Solemn League; the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties. I own the protestation given by the remonstrators against the Public Resolutions, the Apologetical Declaration, and all the declarations hitherto emitted at Rutherglen, Sanquhar, and Lanark; with all dying speeches and testimonies of these who have sealed the truth with their blood, so far as they agree with God's holy word.

"I own all the appearances in arms that have been at Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, Airmoss, and elsewhere, against God's stated enemies, and the enemies of the gospel, as it hath been preached by all Christ's faithful ambassadors in Scotland, since the reformation; and now by that faithful servant of Christ, Mr. James Renwick; and the testimony of the day, as it is stated and carried on by him and his adherents at home and abroad; and kingly government, as appointed and emitted in the word of God, and entering covenant ways, and with covenant qualifications. But I am persuaded, Scotland's covenanted God will cut off the name of the Stuarts, because they have stated themselves against religion, reformation, and the thriving of Christ's kingdom and kingly government in these lands. And although men idolize them much now, yet ere long there shall none of them be to tyrannize in covenanted Britian any more.

"On the other hand I die protesting against, and disowning Popery in all its superstitious bigotry and bloody cruelty; and Prelacy the mother of Popery; and all that depends upon that hierarchy; and the unhinging and overthrowing of the glorious work of reformation, by their woful Act Rescissory: burning the Covenant, turning out gospel-ministers, filling their rooms with profane, erroneous curates, and setting up Charles Stuart to be head of the church; and so robbing Christ of his royal and incommunicable prerogatives, by their cursed act of supremacy.

"I protest against the putting malignants in places of power and trust in church, state, and armies; and all declarations* any where published tending thereunto; and against all paying of stent, cess, and locality, to strengthen the enemies' hands to persecute Christ's people in fields, prisons, or any other ways; and robbing, plundering, or spoiling them of their goods; and all raising of the hue and cry after them: and all sinful oaths, such as the oath of supremacy, the bond of peace, the test, the oath of conformity, the abjuration oath, and the oath *super inquirendis*.

"I die testifying against the woful indulgences, the fruits and consequences of which have so much strengthened the enemy, increased

* See the short relation before this testimony.

our divisions, widened our breaches, deadened the spirits, and cooled the zeal of the Lord's people, stumbled and offended the weak, and in a great measure retarded the carrying on of a testimony for truth, by condemning the things contended for, and reproaching these that contend for truth.

“Wherefore I leave my testimony against all the accepters thereof, and all ministers and professors, who are any way guilty of any of the woful defections, and sinful compliances with the enemies of truth, or any way guilty of condemning, reproaching, and ridiculing Mr. James Renwick, and his correspondents, or the testimony which they are carrying on. And let all such ministers and professors know, that this their practice at the best is a denying of Christ, and a shifting of his cross; therefore let them take warning, and ponder these scriptures. Matth. x. 32. ‘Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven.’ Ver. 33. ‘But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is heaven.’ (See Luke xii. 8, 9.) Ver. 37. ‘He that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me.’ Ver. 38. ‘And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.’ Matth. xvi. 24. ‘Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.’ (See Mark viii. 34.) Mark viii. 35. ‘For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life, for my sake and the gospel’s, the same shall save it.’ (See Matth. x. 49. also chap. xvi. 25.) Matth. xvi. 26. ‘For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?’ (See Mark viii. 36, 37.) Mark viii. 38. ‘Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and my words, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels.’ Isa. viii. 11. ‘For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me, that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid.’ Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary: but for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them shall stumble and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken, (as it is expressed ver. 9, 10.) Prov. 1. 10. ‘My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not. If they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause. Let us swallow them up alive as the grave, and whole as those that go down into the pit. We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil. Cast in thy lot among us, let us all have one purse. My son, walk not thou in the way with them, refrain thy foot from their path. For their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood.’ Isa. v. 20. ‘Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet

for bitter.' Ver. 21. 'Wo unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight.' Ver. 23. 'Which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him.' Ver. 24. 'Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff; so their root shall be rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as dust, because they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the holy One of Israel.' Prov. xvii. 15. 'He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord.' Amos v. 10. 'They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly.' Gal. ii. 18. 'For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.' Psalm l. 16. 'But unto the wicked, God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?' Ver. 17. 'Seeing thou hatest instruction, and casteth my words behind thee.' Ver. 18. 'When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.' Ver. 19. 'Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit.' Ver. 20. 'Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother, thou slanderest thy own mother's son.' Ver. 21. 'These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes.' The prophecy of Obadiah throughout, the first and last chapters of Isaiah to the end, with many more.

"Now, it is my last request and soul's desire that all who have made Moses's choice, 'to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;' and are true lovers of Zion's righteous cause; that you set much time apart, and mourn, and afflict your souls, for your original sin, heart-plagues, sins of persons and families, sins of kings and kingdoms; and for all the dreadful apostasies, hateful compliances, and sinful sidings of ministers and people, with the enemies of God and godliness, and mourn that there is not more faithfulness and zeal for the cause of God amongst his people. Read Psalm l. Ezra ix. Neh. ix. Jer. ix. Lam. iii. and Ezek. ix. to the end.

"My dear friends, forbear your contentions and censuring one of another; sympathize with and love one another, for this is his commandment; keep up your sweet fellowship meetings, and desirable general meetings, with which my soul has been often refreshed; and what is agitated in them, for carrying on of a testimony for truth, and against defections, let it be managed with scripture light for direction, and with zeal temperate with knowledge, and with the spirit of meekness accompanied with patience and humility. Be always ready to give a reason of your faith, and be much denied to the world, to yourselves, and to your natural life; and when God in his providence calls you to lay it down for him, do it cheerfully, and embrace the cross of your sweet Lord Jesus with open arms; for he will not send any a warfare on their own charges.

"Take for your rule and encouragement these Scriptures, with others, that I leave to your own search. Gal. v. 19. 'Now the works

of the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness. Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies. Envy, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like, of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith. Meekness, temperance; against such there is no law. And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another.' Chap. vi. ver. 7. 'Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' Ver. 8. 'For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.' Ver. 9. 'And let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.' Ver. 10. 'As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith.' Mal. iii. 16. 'Then they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.' Ver. 17. 'And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels, and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him.' Ver. 18. 'Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not.' Isaiah iii. 10. 'Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings.' Ver. 11. 'Wo unto the wicked, it shall be ill with him; for the reward of his hands shall be given him.' Ver. 9. 'The show of their countenance doth witness against them, and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not: Wo unto their soul, for they have rewarded evil unto themselves.' And chap. viii. ver. 20. 'To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no truth in them.' Mal. iv. 2. 'But unto you that fear my name, shall the Son of righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth and grow up as calves of the stall.' Isa. viii. 17. 'And I will wait upon the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him.' Phil. i. 27. 'Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ, that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving for the faith of the gospel.' Ver. 28. 'And in nothing terrified by your adversaries; which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God.' Ver. 29. 'For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.' Rev. x. 11. 'And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.' Heb. x. from the 11th verse to the end; and chap. xii. 11. 'Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the

peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby.' Ver. 12. 'Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees.' Ver. 13. 'And make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, but let it rather be healed.' Ver. 14. 'Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.' Ver. 15. 'Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God; lest any root of bitterness springing up, trouble you, and thereby many be defiled.' Rev. xiv. 1. 'And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.' Ver. 2. 'And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of great thunder; and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps.' Ver. 3. 'And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders, and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.' Ver. 4. 'These were they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins; these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, these were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God, and unto the Lamb.' Ver. 5. 'And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.' Jude ver. 3. 'Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation; it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints.' Eph. vi. 10. 'Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.' Ver. 11. 'Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.' Ver. 12. 'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness. And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.'

"And scare not at his sweet, lovely, and desirable cross; for although I have not been able, because of my wounds, (that I received at my taking) to lift up or lay down my head, but as I was helped, yet I was never in better case all my life; he has not given me one challenge since I came to prison, for any thing less or more; but on the contrary, he has so wonderfully shined on me with the sense of his redeeming, strengthening, assisting, supporting, through-bearing, pardoning, and reconciling love, grace and mercy, that my soul doth long to be freed of bodily infirmities and earthly organs, so that I may flee to his royal palace, even the heavenly habitation of my God, where I am sure of a crown put on my head, and a palm put in my hand, and a new song put in my mouth, even the song of Moses and the Lamb,

that so I may bless, praise, magnify, and extol him for what he hath done to me, and for me. Wherefore I bid farewell to all my dear fellow-sufferers, for the testimony of Jesus, who are wandering in dens and caves. Farewell my children, study holiness in all your ways, and praise the Lord for what he hath done for me, and tell all my Christian friends to praise him on that account. Farewell sweet Bible, and wanderings and contendings for truth. Welcome death; welcome the city of my God, where I shall see him, and be enabled to serve him eternally with full freedom; welcome blessed company, and angels, and spirits of just men made perfect. But above all, Welcome, welcome, welcome our glorious and alone God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou art worthy. Amen.

Sic sub.—JOHN NISBET.*

XLVI. JAMES RENWICK.

[This eminent martyr was the last who suffered publicly at this trying period of the history of the church. And it has been generally admitted, that the sacrificing of this worthy, was one great mean in the hand of providence, of bringing to a close the barbarous deeds of the times, and checking the bloodthirsty dispositions of those who swayed the sceptre of power. From the very commencement of his public career, he was persecuted and hunted from place to place, with all the rigour and hellish fury that malice could suggest—and it was only from his anxiety to do good to the cause that long before the time he suffered he did not lay down his life, which was rendered sufficiently miserable by the persecutions of his enemies. After about four years of one continued series of privations, he was discovered in Edinburgh, by a tide-waiter who overheard the pious man at his devotions, and suspecting it to be Renwick gave the alarm, and had him seized. He was then hurried to prison, and henceforth tried and executed, in the Grassmarket, 17th February, 1688. The first of the following testimonies he drew up in the name of “some persecuted ministers of the gospel,” but having been very soon thereafter seized, he admitted it his own composition, and as it bore out his sentiments more fully than could be expected for him, to prepare after he was imprisoned, he left it as one of his own testimonies.]

1. HIS TESTIMONY, WRITTEN BEFORE HIS IMPRISONMENT.

“It was ever reckoned the renown of the church of Scotland, though now brought very low, and like to be lost as a prey in the dragon’s mouth, that Christ’s conquest of that land which the Roman legions while heathenish could not subdue, among the first-fruits of the Gentiles. And when overcome, and long over-run by Roman locusts when antichristian, his glorious outstretched arm did emancipate and redeem his inheritance from the bondage of Antichrist, unto such a

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 381--399.

pitch of reformation in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, that it became a pattern to other churches, and had this prerogative above them all, that at once and from the beginning, nothing was left unremoved or unreformed, that ever flowed from the man of sin : and every part of the reformation was regulated by the measuring line of the sanctuary, the word of God : and not only established by righteous and laudable laws ratifying the same, with the sanction of the penal statutes against the enemies thereof ; but confirmed with the strictest engagements to preserve and promote it, in the national and solemn league and covenant, whereby Scotland became the inheritance of the prince of the kings of the earth, by manifold and undoubted rights, by his Father's grant, by his own purchase, and by our own solemn surrender and dedication by covenant ; whereof ever since he took infestment, he hath continued his possession, and maintained his title by the testimonies of his witnesses against all invasions thereupon, through all the periods of this church, which also hath ever been reputed the glory of this reformed and covenanted church, that nothing was ever attempted against any part of her reformation, but was faithfully witnessed against by ministers and professors, from time to time : especially from its first establishment, and abolition of popery, no essay could ever be made to introduce, or procure the toleration of any of its superstitious fopperies, but the zeal of the Lord's witnesses was found to flame against it, with a peculiarity of fervour.

“ It was never known in Scotland, before this last fatal degeneration, that ever a favour could be obtained to papists to practise their idolatries, without a resolute protestation against it ; much less was it ever heard, that the open profession of it, should not only be allowed without control, but applauded in the congratulatory addresses of some called Protestants and Presbyterians, for a toleration declaredly designed to introduce it. The addresses of Protestants on such an occasion, used to run in another strain. There is one dated May 27th, 1561, presented to the council, ‘ Showing that honesty craved them, and conscience moved them to make the secrets of their hearts patent ; which was, that before ever these tyrants and dumb dogs empire over them, they were fully determined to hazard life, and whatsoever they had received of God in temporal things : and that these enemies of God might assure themselves, that if the council put not order to them, they should shortly take such order, that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet live upon the sweet of the brows of such as are no debtors to them.’ Nor were ever wanting in their warnings and witnessings against the least remissness in zeal against Papists, or any tendency towards favouring them : as when the mischievous Mary, returning from France, set up the mass but in her own family, the godly at that time gave plain signification that they could not abide, that the land which God by his power had purged from idolatry should in their eyes be polluted again, and that idol be suffered again to take place in this realm. And a proclamation being then emitted to protect the queen's domestic servants that were Papists, there was not wanting a peremptory protestation against it. That if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, say mass, participate therewith, or take the defence

thereof, in that case this proclamation should not be extended to them, nor be a safeguard to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit murder; but that it may be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word against idolaters, wherever they might be apprehended without favour. Mr. Knox had such an impression of the danger of such a toleration, that he counted it a joining hands with idolatry. And declared that one mass was more fearful to him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed of purpose to suppress the whole religion, for, said he, in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him; but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt, but both God's amiable presence, and comfortable defence will leave us, and what shall then become of us? Therefore in the reign of king James VI. upon the discovery of the plots of the popish lords conspiring with the king of Spain, who yet favoured by the king's indulgence, it was resolutely declared by Mr. Davidson, that it savoured much of defection in those days, that such notorious rebels to God, and the country, should be so treated with; and that a door should not be opened to God's enemies. And when a convention in Falkland was consulting to call home these conspiring traitors, Mr. Andrew Melvin thought it his duty to go thither uncalled, and when rebuked by the king for his boldness, took the confidence to charge him and the estates in the name of Christ and his church, not to favour Christ's enemies whom he hateth, nor go about to make citizens of these who have traitorously sought to betray their city and native country, with the overthrow of Christ's kingdom. And to challenge them with treason against Christ, his church, and the country, in that purpose they were about. Afterwards when the covenanted reformation was upon the ascendant, and meeting with multifarious assaults from all hands, how impartial and uniform the witness of the faithful was against the toleration of pernicious errors, the warnings and testimonies of the general assemblies do evidence beyond contradiction. And after the invasion of the sectaries, the testimony of sundry ministers of the gospel in the provinces of Perth and Fife against their vast toleration is yet in the hands, and recent in the hearts of these that desire to retain former principles: besides the many writings of truth's champions against it, which are yet on record. This hath been the constant tenor of the testimonies of the witnesses of Christ, ever before this woful and wretched catastrophe, which casts an indelible infamy on the shameful security, and stupidity of the present generation—that having received such an excellent testimony, deposited and transmitted to us through a continued tract of witnessings and wrestlings of our worthy ancestors, now to let it slip and slide through our feeble fingers. Whereby as we have forfeited the honour of being esteemed the offspring of such heroes, (while we not only suffer and consent to, but congratulate and applaud the introduction and establishment, at least do embrace and close with that which is introductive of idolatry and tyranny, popery and the slavery, they built with so great expense) so we may fear the curse of posterity for interrupting the propagation of so excellent a testimony to succeeding generations. When they shall read the flattering and fawning

addresses of this age to, and of their so hasty and hungry embraces of, ensnaring and destructive favours, from an antichristian tyrant, so palpably designed for, and so properly and natively tending towards the undermining and overturning of the reformation, they will disdain and disown such for their fathers, with indignation at their memory, for such disorderly and dastardly yieldings. 'O! let it not be told in Gath, nor published in the streets of Askelon,' that the ministers are so far degenerate. Alas! all that hear of them will hiss at them for this, that as they had been silent and omitted a seasonable testimony against abjured prelacy, and blasphemous supremacy, when these were introduced; so now also even when this mystery and conspiracy of popery and tyranny twisted together in the present design of antichrist, had made so great a progress, and was evidently brought above board: so except what was endeavoured in a protestation emitted at Sanquhar, May 28th, 1685, (which here we homologate) the generality were left to forego this opportunity of a testimony also, to the reproach of the sometimes renowned church of Scotland. Yea, the very rabble may arise in judgment against them in that they testified their detestation of the first erection of the idolatrous mass; and some of the soldiery, and such as had no profession of religion, suffered unto death for speaking against popery, and the design of the king, while the ministers were silent: and some of the curates, and members of the late parliament, made some stickling against Papists, while the Presbyterians, from whom might have been expected greater opposition, were sleeping in a profound submission. Wherefore, though we be very insignificant nothings, and therefore both incapable and unworthy to aim at supplying this vacancy of a testimony, and dare not aspire unto the presumption of thinking to fulfil it, with any proportion to the moment and merit of the matter of this case of confession; yet considering the weight and worth, profit and price of those truths, now committed to us to testify and suffer for; our indisputable duty as ministers and members of this church; the indispensable obligation of our holy covenants; the imminent dangers, imminent on the land, apparently inevitable, if not prevented by giving and taking timely warning: we cannot, must not, dare not forbear to offer our mite of a testimony, for the present precious word of our Lord's patience, and the covenanted reformation of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; and against all the injuries, insolent indignities, and audacious encroachments, done unto, and made upon the same, by which God is highly dishonoured, the throne of his glory affronted, the kingdom of his Son undermined, and many souls dreadfully involved in the guilt of this confederacy against him. And so much the more confidence we have, and necessity we find, to prompt to this undertaking, that both this duty is abandoned by others, and imposed upon us by reason of the still continuing and growing persecution incessantly pursuing us, without relenting, notwithstanding others are flattered with pretences of clemency, and tenderness to conscience, which is both encouraging and engaging to us to maintain this testimony for which we suffer, and being so sequestered from others, and separate (we say not from the

benefit, but from the snare and curse of this toleration by the late proclamations against us, we take the more boldness, and have the more advantage to speak our minds, that what we say, as it is not by communication with others, so it cannot endanger any but ourselves. And for what danger we may be exposed to upon this so honourable account, we are not careful in this matter: our God is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and if not, we think it rather a matter to be ambitious of, than of shame or fear, to be endangered thereupon.

“The present invader of the regal power, in his proclamation of the 20th of February last past, 1687, hath by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which he requires all his subjects to obey without reserve, granted a toleration to papists, to quakers, and to moderate presbyterians, under certain restrictions and limitations. In which proclamation the moderate presbyterians are tolerate only to meet in their private houses, and only to hear such ministers who accept of this indulgence, and none other (whereby all adhering to old presbyterian principles and protestations against such a vast toleration are excluded, and such admitted to be heard who have receded from them) who are thereby obliged to say or do nothing contrary to the peace of his reign, seditious, or treasonable, under the highest pains these crimes will import,—and consequently must not declare that part of the counsel of God, which concerns his antichristian enemies, but consent that faithfulness to Christ be reputed a crime. Nor are they to presume to build meeting-houses, or to use out-houses or barns, but content themselves with the confinements whereunto they are restricted in preaching the gospel. In the meantime, all preachers, assisters, and connivers at field-meetings are to be persecuted according to the utmost severity of the laws made against them. Nevertheless, all laws or acts of parliament, customs or constitutions, made or executed against any of the popish way, are suspended, stopped, and disabled, and consequently all the legal establishments of the protestant religion are unhinged so that they shall be in all respects as free as any protestants whatsoever, not only to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices, &c. which he shall think fit to bestow upon them in all time coming whereby he may put in any popish priest, in any parish church, when he pleases. Wherein also he claims a power of vacuating and annulling heritable rights and by that same power may invade men's heritable properties, when he is pleased so to exert his absoluteness and of casting and discharging all former oaths: and in place of all, substituting a new one, wherein he requires all his subjects, or such of them as he or his council shall please, to swear that they acknowledge him to be rightful king and supreme governor of the three realms, and over all persons therein. Not over all causes, for the ecclesiastical supremacy is restored to antichrist from whom it was borrowed, and for which there is no use at present, absolute power may do the turn as well as this, that they hold it unlawful for subjects on any pretence, or for any cause whatsoever, even though he should command his popish Janizaries to massacre all protestants, which is the tender mercy and

burning fervent charity of papists, to rise in arms against him, and that they shall never practice, or assist the practisers of the same. Also, that they shall never resist his power, nor oppose his authority to his person, which is the compend of all the former oaths, and further comprehends an engagement to justify all his personal administrations, though never so outrageous, as acts of lawful authority; but upon the other hand shall to the utmost of their power, defend and maintain him, his heirs and successors, in the exercise of their absolute power and authority, against all deadly. Where they are to engage not only to own his power, paramount and transcendant to all law divine and human, and to mancipate their religion and reason with all their religious and civil liberties, to the lustful rage, and unbridled will of a tyrant; but if he should erect the formal and direct worship of devils, and bring all their necks under the bow-string, they must neither resist it, nor contradict it, but upon the other hand actively concur with him, in doing all his will to the greatest excess of riot; and must become executioners of their fathers, mothers, wives, and children, if it shall please him to put forth his absolute power in that exercise: for herein he claims, and hereby is given a power to command what he will, and obliging subjects to obey whatsoever he will command, to obey absolutely, without reserve of conscience, religion, honour, honesty, or reason: which proclaims him in whose name the proclamation is emitted, the greatest tyrant that ever lived in the world, far surmounting all the lust, impudence, and insolence of any Roman, Sicilian, Turkish, Tartarian, or Indian tyrant, that ever trampled upon the liberties of mankind.

“ But he found this proclamation was not well approven, because of the palpable odiousness of this oath; therefore, to mend the matter, in a letter to the council (dated March 31st, 1687, the supreme law at present) he granted to all that should desire on these terms, the benefit of the said indulgence, without being obliged to take the oath, during his pleasure only, or so long as the council should find them behave themselves regularly and peaceably, without giving cause of offence to him, or any in authority or trust under him. By which none of the former restrictions are taken away (the oath only excepted) but further explained, that they shall not only say or do nothing contrary to the peace of his reign, seditious or treasonable, but that they behave themselves regularly and peaceably, without giving any cause of offence to him, which comprehends lesser offences than sedition or treason, even every thing that will displease a tyrant, and a papist, that is all faithfulness in seasonable duties or testimonies. But taking to his consideration that some may easily put such interpretations upon his fore-said proclamation as may discover his drift and design; and lest his different procedure in this project with England and Scotland should make his pretences to conscience be suspected of treachery; therefore he hath fallen on a more plausible way, and given forth a more smooth proclamation, of the date the 28th of June the same year, superstructed upon the former, in which are further explications but not taking off of former restrictions (except the oath) seeing he further declares, that by the same sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power,

he suspends, stops, and disables all penal laws. And to the end that by the liberty thereby granted, the peace and security of his government, in the practice thereof, may not be endangered—that his tyranny may be secured in the peaceable possession of all his encroachments upon our religion, laws, and liberties, in the practice of this toleration—he gives his subjects leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner (every way which is their own, and according to their model, if it be not in Christ's way) in private houses, chapels, or hired places, so that they take care that nothing be preached or taught, which may any way tend to alienate the hearts of the people from him or his government, and consequently no faithful warning must be given of the sins, duties, or dangers of these times, or testimony against the wickedness of this toleration, or the wickedness of the tolerator, by any that accept it, for these would be interpreted to have a tendency to alienate from the government. And that their meetings be held suitably to this commenced confederacy with antichrist, who here requires of all who take the benefit of the present truce with him, and binding to the good behaviour and publicly all persons freely admitted to them, which is for the informing trade, that Jesuits may have access to observe and delate how the instructions are kept. And that they signify to some of the next privy counsellors, sheriffs, &c. what places are set apart for the uses, with the names of the preachers (whereby they are restricted to the terms of a formal bargain, and must have their lease and license for every place of preaching, and no persons are admitted, but such as give up their names, excluding hereby all that for any measure of faithfulness in duty are obnoxious to their wicked laws) in the meantime field meetings are strictly prohibited, and all laws and acts of parliament are left in full force and vigour against them; for which now he says after this favour, surpassing the hopes, and equalling the very wishes of the most zealously concerned, there is no shadow of excuse left: which may hold too true of some, who by this acceptance discover their hopes and wishes, and zeal to be bent upon peace rather than truth, ease rather than duty, and their own things rather than the things of Christ; but as for us, it some way answers our fears, and corresponds with our jealousies; and therefore while others are jealousing under the shadow of such a bramble, we think it matter of mourning, not because we are excluded from the benefit of it, but that so many are included in the guilt of it, and exposed to the curse of it; and do look upon it as a seasonable and necessary testimony for the cause of Christ, and the interest of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the country, all overturned and subverted by this toleration, to keep our meetings as in former times in the open fields, whither his tyranny hath driven us.

But these who are carrying on wicked designs know not what course to take as most effectual for gaining their ends, and do change their methods so oft as they change their thoughts about the means most apparently successful: so he hath again thought fit to give out another proclamation of the date the fifth day of October, the foresaid year, declaring not only that all persons, preachers, and hearers that are

present at any meeting in the open fields (which are their greatest eyesore, because the rights of the crown and kingdom of Christ are there pleaded, asserted, and vindicated) but also all dissenting ministers who shall take upon them to preach in houses, without observing the foresaid directions, as are prescribed by the late proclamation, shall be also prosecuted with the utmost rigour and severity that their laws will allow. Which directions are that nothing be preached or taught among them, which may any way tend to alienate the hearts of the people from this absolute and incontrollable monarch or his government, and that their meetings be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them; and that they do signify and make known to some one or more of his privy counsellors, sheriffs, stewards, bailies, justices of peace, or magistrates of royal boroughs, what place or places they set apart for these uses, with the names of the preachers. And to make all sure, he requireth every one of his foresaid officers, to whom such intimation shall be made, to send to the clerks of the privy council, once every month, the names and surnames of the preachers, and the times and places of their meetings. In all this unexpected clemency (as he terms it) not satisfying himself with what he hath delivered against field meetings, in the foresaid proclamations concerning them, he giveth out yet another of the date the 18th of October last, against such meetings, calling such assemblies for the worship of God rendezvouses of rebellion, authorizing all officers, civil and military, to apprehend, secure in firmance the persons of some ministers, and for encouragement, ensures them the sum of £100 sterling for each of these ministers: a goodly price, wherewith not only they, but their master and message are prized, and put upon some, who ever since the first of these proclamations have been so unhappy as to be innocent of these things laid to their charge, being out of the kingdom, and so out of capacity to concur in that duty of carrying and following Christ's standard in the preached gospel, indispensably required of all his confessors that are in it. Which as it proclaims the manifest impudence of those lies, wherewith the proclamation is stuffed; so it may provoke all who are touched with zeal against the indignities done to Christ, and would be accounted among his faithful witnesses, against the present antichristian design, to an ambition of exposing themselves to the reproach of such lying mouths, the greatest honour of the servants of Christ.

“ Having now in this delineation of the foresaid proclamations, already discovered somewhat of the obvious iniquity of the present design against the covenanted reformation, we shall now proceed to offer our testimony for the same against the present attempts to ruin and raze it. And therefore in the first place, testify against the toleration; and next for the obligation of our covenants, and the necessity and expediency of keeping our meetings in the fields, the suppression of which being one of the wicked designs of the toleration, that suspends other laws, but leaves all in force and vigour against these.

“ But ere we begin with the first of these, that we may clear the matter, prevent mistakes, and preoccupy objections, we must premit: 1. That lawful magistrates are placed in the commonwealth by God, the supreme governor of the whole world, to be a terror to evil-doers, and

a praise to them that do well ; so they rule not for men, but for God, with whom is no iniquity : but as tyrants and usurpers have no more interest in this than robbers have in the authorization of rightful proprieties ; so where magistrates are lawful, and acting lawfully, they will find it their duty to be a terror to these evil doers who are now tolerated, and a praise to them who are now persecuted. 2. We cheerfully subscribe to that article of our Confession of Faith, chap. 23. § 4. That infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from the due obedience to him : but we think it no way inconsistent therewith to say with Naphtali p. 26. prior edit. Let the words be considered, and we are confident, that no sober man will think the acknowledgment of just and legal authority, and due obedience, a rational ground to infer that tyranny is thereby either allowed or privileged. Further, we grant all that is in the Confession, viz. *Dominium non fundari in gratia* ; yet this we assert, that a prince, who not only is of another religion, but an avowed enemy to, and overturner of the religion established by law, and intending and endeavouring to introduce a heretical, false, blasphemous, and idolatrous religion, can claim no just and legal authority ; but in this case, the people may very lawfully decline his pretended, usurped authority. For though infidelity or difference of religion, does not make void authority where it is lawfully invested with consent of the people, and without encroachment on their religious and legal liberties ; yet it may incapacitate a person, and lawfully exclude him from authority over a Christian people, having the reformed religion established by law, and confirmed by solemn and national covenants, both according to the laws of the land, which do incapacitate a papist of all authority, supreme or subordinate ; and by the oath of coronation, which obliges all kings at the reception of their princely authority, to make their faithful promise to maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus (by which ever since the framing of that oath, was meant only the protestant religion) and shall abolish and gainstand all false religions, &c. And consequently must not so much as tolerate popery, which no papists can engage, or be admitted to swear, according to the word of God, which forbids expressly to set a stranger over us, who is not our brother, Deut. xvii. 15. : Which includes as well a stranger of a strange religion, as one of a strange country. This is not our notion only ; it is asserted by Dr. Guild in his exposition 2 Sam. v. 1, 2. Observe 5. p. 104. We infer the general rule of the election of magistrates, as well in regard of his qualities and form of election, as of the end wherefore he is to be elected. As for his qualities, 1. He must not be a stranger in birth, much less in religion, but must be of a conjunction natural and spiritual with them whom he governeth, otherwise there can be no sympathy nor symbolizing between them. 2. He must be able to govern, which is called here to lead out and in. Next, the form of his election should be by common and voluntary consent, according to the constitution of the state, and oath or obligation of right administration, the rule whereof should be the law of God, and positive constitutions of the realm, and last, the end should be to feed the people, caring that they

be spiritually fed with the food of life, and temporally, that they be not spoiled or bereft of their means of the life corporal; to be their guider, protector, father, patron, and to have a regard to all necessities, as the good pastor hath to his sheep, and the father to his family. And before him, it is affirmed by famous Mr. Knox, whose four propositions as they are to be read in the account of his life, before his history in quarto, and prosecuted in his second blast, we shall here insert. 1. It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign over a people professing Christ Jesus, and his eternal verity, but in his election, the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferior judges must be observed. 2. No manifest idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any public regiment, honour, or dignity in any realm, province or city, that hath subjected themselves to Christ Jesus and his blessed evangel. 3. Neither can oath or promise bind any such people to obey and maintain tyrants against God, and his truth known. 4. But if rashly they have promoted any manifest wicked person, or yet ignorantly have chosen such an one, as after declareth himself unworthy of regiment above the people of God (and such be all idolaters and cruel persecutors) most justly may the same men depose and punish him, that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint, and elect. And besides we are to remember, the practice of these venerable divines, that penned that excellent Confession, how avowedly they professed, and prosecuted, and animated, and encouraged, the parliament to an opposition to the then king, abusing his authority to the detriment of religion and liberty, and to the obstruction of reformation: and the declared principle of the general assembly of this church, when they refused to concur in that unlawful engagement, for restoring of Charles the I. till security were had by solemn oath under his hand and seal, that he should for himself and successors give his assent to all acts and bills, for enjoining presbyterian government, and never make opposition to it, nor endeavour any change thereof, July ult. 1648. sess. 21. And when they refused to admit Charles the II. to the exercise of his power, except he should take the covenant, as it is to be seen in their seasonable and necessary warning, July 27th, sess. 27th, 1649. And in the Act of the West Kirk, August 13th, 1650, wherein they declare that they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the covenant. By all these it is evident, that our renowned reformers, were not men of such a principle, as that people were bound to own, obey, and maintain a tyrant against God and his truth: and that neither the authors of our Confession of Faith in England, nor owners thereof in Scotland, did ever understand that article so, as that a malignant enemy to our covenanted reformation, let be an idolatrous heretical enemy to the Christian religion, could be capable of bearing rule, or owned to be a ruler over the Lord's people in Britain and Ireland: and that could ground the entire loyalty superstructed upon it by the citizens and inhabitants of Edinburgh and Canongate, that give out themselves to be of the pres-

byterian persuasion, and professed by them in their address to the person and government of such an one as the Duke of York. 3. It is the right and duty of magistrates to use an imperative, coercive, and cumulative power about church matters, in commanding ministers to do their ministerial duties, prescribed unto them, by their only Head and Master Christ; in restraining idolatry, superstition, error, and profaneness; in giving to the ambassadors of Christ their protections, and add their civil sanction to just and lawful ecclesiastical decrees. And it is the duty of ministers to grant unto the magistrate all the foresaid power, and to be thankful to God, and grateful to them, for the benefit of the right exercise of it: and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. But for usurpers to assume to themselves a sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, to reverse their constitutions, tolerate idolatry, and allow meetings for gospel ordinances only with restrictions to persons who may preach, places where they may preach, and matter what they shall preach, cannot be allowed by any, who dare not have a hand in betraying the church, and yielding to all such encroachments on her liberties: and to pray for the prosperity of tyrants, that we may be enslaved in our religion and liberty is a wicked thing. 4. It is indeed the honour of kings, and happiness of people, to have true, humane, and Christian liberty established in the commonwealth; that is, liberty of persons from slavery, liberty of privileges from tyranny, and liberty of conscience from all impositions of men, consisting in a freedom from the doctrines, traditions, or the commandments of men, against or beside the word of God, in the free enjoyment of gospel ordinances in purity and power, and in the free observance and establishment of all his institutions of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, in subordination to the only rule of conscience, the revealed will of its only lawgiver Jesus Christ. When this is ratified as a right, by the sanction of approved authority, and countenanced and encouraged as religion by the confirmation of laws, approving whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, to be done for the house of the God of heaven (which is the full amount of all magistrates' authority) then we are obliged to accept of it with all thankful acceptation: but such a liberty as overturns our rights, our privileges, our religion, and tolerates it only under the notion of a crime, and indemnifies it under the notion of a fault to be pardoned, and allows the exercise thereof only in part, so and so modified, cannot be accepted by any to whom the reproach thereof is a burden, and to whom the reproaches of Christ are in esteem, in such a day, when even the hoofs of Christ's interest, buried in bondage, are to be contended for. What liberty this may be to some consciences, it is none to the tender, according to the rule of conscience. 5. It is certain a magistrate ought to restore what right or liberty he hath robbed from the church, if it be the same liberty restored that was taken away. Yea, we concede, if a magistrate shall grant a simple permission and liberty to the ministers of the church, to exercise all the parts of their office, without any encroachment upon any kind of power seated in churches judicatories, and having no sinful tendency, ministers may

lawfully improve it for the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ: but this is so far from being the same that was taken away, that no part of it is restored as it was robbed, but so defaced and depraved with antichristian and tyrannical modifications, that none that adhere to Scotland's reformation, can receive it, as a part of that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free. 6. As it is ministers' duty, by virtue of their commission and charge from Christ to exercise all the parts of their office fully and freely, whether magistrates will or not; so if we might have liberty so to exercise our function, in a freedom from civil restraints, we would willingly take and improve it. Yea, as we abhor the continued persecution against us, not so much for the wrongs we sustain by it, as for the wickedness thereof; so we detest the extending of it against any for religion or conscience sake, or the offering violence to any man's conscience, and in a safe sense could allow that principle, which he would make the world believe to be his, who now seeks to withdraw all consciences from the true and only rule of it, that it ought not to be violated, or (as it is said in the English declaration) 'forced in matters of mere religion; or that invincible necessity ought not to be used against any man on the account of his persuasion.' If his constant encroachments upon our lives, laws, and liberties, and all our interests as men and Christians, besides *the known bloody tenets of papists* did not manifest the impudence of this lying pretence, and if it were not notorious that even since this pretended liberty, many have been banished, imprisoned, and pursued, merely for conscience sake. And it must be great blindness not to see, and great boldness willingly to wink at, that double faced equivocation, in matters of mere religion, or using invincible necessity; by which he can elude when he pleases all these flattering promises of tenderness, by excepting at the most necessary and indispensable duties, if either they be such, wherein any other interest is concerned, besides mere religion; or if the troubles sustained thereupon be not altogether invincible necessities. Hence the plain falsehood and doubleness of his assertions, as to what is past, may give ground to conclude his intended perfidy in promises of what is future. But to accept of a liberty clogged with encroachments upon the liberties of Christ's free kingdom, or either formally or interpretatively, directly or indirectly, to give way to a toleration of false idolatries or false ways of worship, is odious to all that know the rule of conscience. Though conscience is not to be forced either to religion or irreligion; and religion is not to be propagated by force; yet the open efforts and overt-acts, and propagation of irreligion, atheism, idolatry, blasphemy, &c. ought to be restrained by force, and every person pretending to conscience, constrained to give outward respect to the lawgiver and rule of conscience. And what liberty is either intended, or does natively tend to tolerate what is dishonourable to God, or destructive to conscience, cannot be embraced by any who are tender in keeping a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

"These things premittid: we come in the next place to declare our testimony against the toleration. And this we shall do, both as it is simply and complexly considered.

“*First*, Considering it simply, we cannot but testify against it.

“1. In regard that it doth palpably cross and contradict the will of God, revealed in the scriptures of truth.

“2. The commissioners of the general assembly did plainly and fully witness against the toleration that was in the bud, anno 1649. And the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster, have in the Larger Catechism, in the exposition of the second commandment, reckoned the toleration of false religion amongst the sins forbidden therein. And in the Confession of Faith, chap. xx. § 4. asserted that such opinions or practices as are contrary to the light of nature, or the known principles of Christianity, or destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church, they may be proceeded against, by the censures of the church, and by the power of the civil magistrate. And chap. xxiii. § 3. That it is the magistrates’ duty to take care, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemy and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed.

“3. In regard that a toleration is utterly repugnant unto, and inconsistent with, the indispensable oath of God in the national covenant very expressly condemning it, and more particularly the solemn league and covenant: it is not the way to maintain (nay cannot consist with maintaining) reformation, to carry on a uniformity to extirpate heresy, superstition, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness; to free our souls from the guilt of other men’s sins, to make the Lord one, and his name one; all which we are engaged and sworn unto in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intent to perform the same, as we shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

“4. In regard of the sad and sinful effects that it produceth, such as the growth and increase of heresy, superstition, and error, the profaning the Lord’s day, the contempt and casting loose of church discipline, the subversion of souls, the offence of the godly and faithful: instead of reformation, deformation; instead of the power of godliness, vain jangling; instead of love, bitter heart burnings and jealousies; instead of union, schism and division; instead of peace, contention and strife; and instead of government and order, anarchy and confusion, as it is elegantly held forth and evidenced by the ministers of Perth and Fife in their testimony. The General Assembly of our church, in their declaration and exhortation to their brethern in England, say, what is liberty of conscience, but liberty of error, scandal, schism, heresy, dishonour of God, opposing the truth, hindering reformation, and seducing others. And the ministers of the county Palatine of Lancaster in their harmonious testimony against toleration, subscribed by them March 7th, 1647, do fitly add, that a toleration is the putting a sword into a mad man’s hand, a cup of poison into the hand of a child, a letting loose of mad men with fire-brands in their hands, an appointing a city of refuge in men’s consciences for the devil to flee to, a laying of the stumbling-block before the blind, a proclaiming liberty

to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon his lambs, a toleration of soul-murder (the greatest murder of all other) and for the establishing whereof, condemned souls in hell would accurse men on earth. Could it be to provide for tender consciences, to take away all conscience : if evil be suffered, it will not suffer good : if error be not kept under, it will be superior. In fine, let any read Mr. Durham in his excellent treatise of scandal, particularly Part III. chap. ii. pp. 146, 147, and they will see how he holdeth forth the toleration and suffering of error, to be a thing most hateful in itself, most hurtful in its consequences, and most displeasing to Christ : for if error (saith he) be an evil that thwarteth, both with God's holiness and truth : and hazardeth so many souls, (for never a plague hath so destroyed the face of the visible church, nor carried so many souls to hell, as error hath done) then the suffering of it cannot but be hateful to him who loveth his church. There is no way whereby the devil reproacheth ordinances, and the word, more than by this, by turning them to the quite contrary end, as if he would outshoot the Lord in his own bow, (which is abominable to mention) and invert his own means, and turn his own weapons upon him, and suffering of this is a conniving at his design. There is no way by which the devil may so get in on Christ's servants to seduce them, as by this, as in the epistle to Thyatira is clear. And can there danger come so nigh Christ, and he be not displeased with what strengtheneth their snares. This do equal, yea, in some respect, prefer the devil to him, so far as in us lieth, and so cannot but provoke his jealousy : for so the devil hath liberty to vent his lies with truth equally : and there being many lies, though there be but one truth, he hath by this more doors opened to him than the gospel hath. This doth make even the truth, ordinances, and religion itself, to be thought light of : when all these have toleration, it is on the matter a proclaiming an indifferency to be in these things ; than which, nothing can more reflect on the jealous God, who in his word putteth such a difference, and showeth such detestation at indifferency. This bringeth huge confusions on the church : for, if these errors and corrupt teachers prevail, they carry souls after them and destroy them ; and ought that to be thought light of ? If they prevail not, yet they cross, afflict, and offend them ; and so prove a snare and burden to them of whom the Lord is tender. Toleration doth either account little of error, as being no hurtful thing, and so there can be no esteem of truth ; or it doth account little of the destruction of souls ; both which must be abominable. Error doth not only break God's law, but doth teach others to do so ; and suffering thereof must be a maintaining of teachers to transgression and rebellion against the Lord.

“Next we witness against this present toleration complexly considered. In respect of the granter, considered either as to morals, or religion, or relation. He is to all considering men, a person of that character, whose dainties are not to be desired ; and that when he speaketh is not to be believed : for there are seven abominations in his heart, Prov. xxvi. 25. His plots and practices in his known accession to the burning of London, 1666 ; in the popish plot, discovered 1678 : in the murder of the Earl of Essex, do give some specimen of his for-

mer craft and cruelty, and of what further he may be suspected to intend as meritorious to atone for such villanies, to wit, the extirpation of the Protestant religion ; *than which, in the esteem of Papists, nothing can be more meritorious*: and for which he hath deserved to forfeit all trust with men of knowledge and conscience. He is known of all to be an excommunicate Papist, and a sworn votary and vassal of Antichrist, and enrolled in the society of Jesuits ; and, therefore, being in his principles professedly treacherous, yea, obliged to be both treacherous and truculent, by that religion, he cannot be trusted in the least concerns, let be those of such momentous consequence, without a stupid abandoning of conscience, reason, and experience. When both that known principle, *that no faith is to be kept to heretics*, espoused by all Papists, does to them justify all their lying dissimulations, equivocations and treacheries imaginable ; and that Lateran canon, that enjoins kings *to destroy and extirpate heretics under the pain of excommunication*, does oblige him to be cruel to Protestants, by him esteemed to be such. Besides that in his relation he cannot be looked upon as a rightful or righteous magistrate, by any that understands and considers the institution, constitution, characters, and boundaries of that sacred ordinance, and knows by what dreadful and detestable means he usurped that place, who can say a confederacy unto, make transaction with, or take any security from such a granter, that expects the benefit of the Lord's sanctuary, Isa. viii. 12, 13. If it was the Shechemites' sin and shame to strengthen naughty Abimelech, and strengthen themselves under the shadow of his protection, Judges ix. 9. much more must it be to take protection for religion, as well as peace, from a man of cruelty and treachery.

“ In respect of its design : which he himself expresseth to be to unite the hearts of his subjects to him in loyalty, and to their neighbours in love : which is to incline and induce them by flattery, to lawless loyalty, and a stupid contented slavery, and make them actively co-operate, in setting up, and settling his tyranny in the undisturbed possession of all his usurpation : and to incorporate them with Babylon : for, who are the neighbours he would have them unite with in love, but the Papists, against whom all the lovers of Christ must profess irreconcilable enmity. But in the sense and sentiments of all sound and zealous Protestants, the design of the work and worker is to get unto himself an acknowledgment of all his blasphemous absoluteness, and to advance it over all laws, in a way which will be best acquiesced in by the people, till he be so strengthened in it, that he fears no control ; to get all the acceptors, one way or other, to operate with him in his popish and bloody ends : to get our penal laws against the subjects and promoters of Antichrist's kingdom, with the less contradiction, stopped and disabled, which by this esteemed gracious grant, and grateful acceptance of it, he hath already effectuated. And now, by the same measures, he is encouraged to achieve the total rescinding and repealing of them. In the meantime his drift is very visible, and palpable to increase differences, divisions and animosities amongst Protestants ; to hire these Presbyterians, whom he calleth moderate, to commend his clemency, while he is exercising it in pillaging,

plundering, hunting, apprehending, stigmatizing, banishing, and killing other conscientious nonconformists; to stop the mouths of Protestants with this morsel of liberty while he is filling all the places of power and trust, with men devoted to his way, by taking off the penal laws, disabling them, and then when all power is in the hands of bloody Papists, none shall dare to mutter against the setting up of the public masses. And finally, he designs to infatuate the body of the land, and lull them asleep, by this intoxicating opium; or at least to lay them by from all opposition, till he undermine and overturn the Protestant religion, and establish popery and slavery, which he intends either to accomplish by these smooth flatteries, by peace to overturn truth, and by getting the laws against the popish repealed, to make way for rescinding these for the Protestant religion; or rendering them secure, as the Zidonians who dwelt carelessly, to make his bloody massacring attempts upon the whole body; and what he intends to do with the whole, if they come not to the full length of compliance, may be seen in his outrageous beginnings with the west of Scotland, the old butt of his malice, which as sometimes he hath expressed his desire, so now it seems he designs to make a hunting field. We may see through the tragical history of former ages, what wicked and hellish design the men of his character have had, in their protestations and proclamations of pretended favour. It is known how Julian the apostate, amongst other devices he used to root out Christianity, gave a toleration to all the different professions that were among Christians, whereof there were many heretical in those days; and he commenced this cursed contrivance, by calling home the orthodox bishops, whom Constantius banished, that the church might be embroiled by a civil war of contention among themselves, as Sozomen observes, lib. 5. And in the meantime conniving at, and encouraging the lawless outrages of barbarous heathens against them, which they thought they were well enough authorized, in knowing it would please the emperor. So the massacre of Paris was carried on with the king's marrying his sister to the king of Navarre, a famous Protestant prince, and with many public and solemn protestations of favour to the Protestant church, while in the meantime they were plotting how to massacre them, whereunto he was instigated by Jezebel his wife, though he was forward enough himself, his genius leading him that way, and which was carried on by the duke of Guise, as the main leader of these murderers, who still cried out, (which was all the law and reason he used, for instigating these bloody ruffians to that hellish outrage,) 'courage, my fellows, this is the king's command; it is his express will and pleasure.' And after butchering the famous Coligni, they went through the streets (at the tolling of the royal bell, which was the sign of that horrid perpetration) killing all Protestants, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, so that in the space of two hours, or thereabout, ten thousand were cruelly put to death in that city. The like villany was committed through the rest of France, and the carrying on of the present and almost unparalleled persecution there, with the tyranny and treachery of that bigot arbitrary, after so many laws and edicts seemingly securing the Protestants against all fears,

may let us see what may be expected of those princes who devote themselves to the lust and rage of popish orders. We have also a recent instance of the cruelty and treachery of the fiery duke of Savoy, against some of the relicts of the old Waldenses in the valley of Piedmont; who promised them the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, if they would lay down their arms; but after he had got them spoiled of their outward defence, caught many thousands of them, and killed them in prison with hunger and cold. And as the duke of York doth affect much the absoluteness of the French monarch, so we may expect no better of him who can do, and undo, by virtue of his declared prerogative, being as absolute over promises as over laws, than that he shall trace the steps of his falsehood, treachery, cruelty, Romish zeal; that so we may have an instance of Babylon's deceit and rage acted in Britain and Ireland, which may make other instances not to be remembered. They are blind who do not see, and stupid who have not the sense of the dreadfulness of these designs of this tolerator, which he thinks to accomplish by this toleration, unto which it is very subservient, and which cannot be counteracted, but very much strengthened by this acceptance of it.

“In respect of the fountain, from whence it flows, and is given forth, it is a despotical and arbitrary domination, outvying, and surmounting the height of Ottoman tyranny. It proceeds from, and is refounded on the leviathan of sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all are to obey with reserve. A lawless power, making all laws void, needless and useless, and tyrannical,—claiming a power to tyrannize when he pleases; a power destructive of the people's liberties, under which the people cannot be secured in the possession of any thing they have in the world; a power invading the incommunicable prerogative of the Universal King, who only is absolute, whose glory is to have his will for the rule of his power, a power expressly condemned as tyranny in scripture, which, in a word, cannot be better named, nor represented under a better notion, than that which the famous and faithful Mr. Melvin calls it, the bloody gullie of absolute power, as he inveighs against it, in the assembly, 1582. This is the fountain and foundation of this toleration, by which, indeed, the name and common profession of the Protestant religion may be for a time suffered precariously, until his pleasure shall be to command the establishment of Popery, which then he will expect must be complied with without control. But all avouched adherence to old Protestant and Presbyterian principles is here interdicted; so all the tenure that Protestants have for their religion, is only the arbitrary word of an absolute dominator, whose principles oblige him to break it, and his absoluteness to disdain to be a slave to it. Howbeit, it cannot be denied, that the acceptance of this grant, declaredly proceeding from such a power, and professedly requiring the acknowledgment of it, in the acceptance does imply the recognizance of this power that the granter claims in granting it.

“In respect of its conveyance, and that is through the conduit of the most apparent means of establishing popery, and subverting protestantism, by stopping and disabling all these penal laws and statutes

enacted against Papists, and leaving in force, all laws made against honest Presbyterians, the most true and faithful Protestants, and stopping none of the most cruel of them, but emitting more and more barbarous edicts against them. What mean can be more effectual to destroy our reformation, than to suspend all laws against any that shall attempt the utter subversion of it, and ratify all wicked acts against such as would most avowedly assert, or own the obligation of all sacred bonds to preserve it? Hence, as he hath presumed by absolute power, to suspend all laws, made for the protection of our religion, so by the same, when he will, he may repeal all laws for its establishment. And these who approve the one, by such an acceptance, cannot disallow the other: and so by accepting this lawless and law subverting liberty, they make themselves guilty of the palpable breach of the national covenant, where the laws are contained, which this toleration suspends, and dreadfully accessory to all the sad effects of this undermining all the legal bulwarks of our religion.

“ In respect of the nature and extent of it. It is toleration, which is always of evil, for that which is good cannot be tolerated, under the notion of good, but countenanced and encouraged as good. Therefore it reflects upon our religion, when a toleration is accepted, which implies such a reproach; seeing it is not ratified as a right, nor encouraged as a religion, but tolerated under the notion of an evil to be suffered. And such a toleration as makes the professors of Christ partners in the same bargain with Antichrist's vassals, and sets up the ark in the place, and under the same place with Dagon; and the devil's threshold by the Lord's threshold; and whereby a sluice is opened to let the enemy come in like a flood, none lifting up a standard against them. Since it is a toleration not only of archbishops, bishops, and curates, but of all quakers and papists, reaching all idolatry, blasphemy, heresy; which to accept, is contrary to scripture, our Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, as was showed above; and clearly inconsistent with the principles of the Church of Scotland, with the Covenants, National and Solemn League, where we are bound ‘to extirpate popery, &c. preserve the reformation, defend our liberties, and so never to accept of a toleration, in its nature and tendency, subversive of all these precious interests we are sworn to maintain.’

“ In respect of its conditions, limitations, and restrictions, by which all the kinds of power that Christ hath seated in his church, is invaded, invalidated, and evacuated. As, *first*, The dogmatic power whereby ministers are to judge of truth and error, in point of doctrine, according to the word of God only: this key is extorted out of their hands, for according to the foresaid proclamations, nothing may be taught by the moderate Presbyterian ministers, in their tolerated meetings, that can be interpreted by the court to have any tendency to alienate the hearts of the people, from this incontrollable tyrant or his government. Now, by virtue of this condition, that they may not doctrinally discover unto people the affronted wickedness of this unparalleled prerogative; they may not show the iniquity of the laws, nor warn of the evil thereof; they may not testify against the introduction of popery, nor these means that give an inlet unto it; they may not once mention any

wicked design, in all this course of a cursed toleration; they may not teach the obligations of the covenants, neither witness against the breaches thereof expressly, nor reprove the public sins of the time, nor warn of the dangers thereof, nor exhort them against compliances in particular with any course established by law: for all this may be interpreted by court expositors, to have a direct tendency to alienate people's hearts from the man, and his government. Accordingly Mr. Hardy is apprehended, imprisoned, and proceeded against, for giving conscional testimony against the taking off the penal laws and statutes, which would be thought could not have offended any protestant. *Second*, The dictatic power, whereby the courts of Christ are to discern the circumstances of the worship of God, as time, place, &c. for order, decency, and edification, according to the general rules of the word: this power is invaded, for now the places of worship are determined in the royal proclamations, which must be made known to some of the court patrons on whose warrant they are to depend. What may be the hidden design of this intimation we know not; we heartily wish and pray, it may not be to do with them, as Jehu with the priests of Baal. In the meantime, field meetings for the worship of God, which have been signally countenanced of the Lord, are severely interdicted; whereby the word of the Lord is bound and bounded; and by the accepters' consent to such a model, the bloody laws against preaching in the open fields, where people have freest access with convenience and safety, are justified. The manner of meeting is also restricted to be in such a way, as the peace and security of the government may not be endangered; and they that be peaceably and publicly held: yea, it is expressly required in the proclamation, Oct. 5th, that all who shall preach, by virtue of this royal grant, at any time, or in any place, make intimation of their preaching, as to time and place, to some one or more of the next privy council lords, which shall be sufficient for them, during their abode only: whereby they not only are engaged to keep the peace with antichrist, or his lieutenant, in all their meetings, and not only to give accession to all his clandestine censures, to observe how they keep their instructions; but formally must mancipate their ministry, and the freedom of its exercise, to a dependance upon the license of his trustees: which is not only a formal bargaining with the enemies of truth and godliness, but a becoming their servants; and so a forfeiting the honour of being esteemed, while they continue so enslaved, the faithful and free servants of Christ: especially considering how as to the matter of their preaching also, they involve themselves in such inconveniences, that either they must forbear some part of the counsel of God, and decline the testimony of this day, or else expose themselves as a prey to the lust of enemies, who hereby have brought them into a hose net. *Third*, The critic or corrective power, which the courts of Christ have to censure delinquents, and absolve the penitents, according to the word of God, is also invaded and made void; for not only doth this toleration rob the ministers tolerated, and the accepters, consent to be robbed of that power of impartial censuring those scandals that are tolerated thereby, and all that make themselves guilty of complying with the same, or have been involved in sinful scandalous compliances

with wicked courses formerly, such as taking of sinful oaths, subscribing of sinful bonds, paying of sinful exactions, and other scandalous breaches of covenant; nor dare these that are free of them censure or remove from among them their guilty brethren, and so remove the clean from the unclean: but also invades and usurps this power, formally, in investing the tolerator with authority to inhibit, and discharge some ministers the exercise of their office, whom the standing laws of this church do authorize, and to allow others whom the word of God and constitutions of our church, require to be laid aside, and suspended from that function. *Fourth*, Finally, the exousiastic power of trying, sending and authorizing office-bearers in the church, is made useless and void by this tolerator; however an allowance is pretended to keep assemblies, and send out ministers to answer the people's call, neither are these assemblies lawfully constitute of, nor free for all that have right to sit there: nor is their mission of ministers, nor the people's call, of any significancy or value, except intimation be made to this exotic power, of their names that are to officiate under this toleration, and they be found such as please the court patrons, which is the worst of patronages that ever burdened this church. Hence, if a minister were never so lawfully ordained, never so blameless in his personal deportment, never so formally appropriate to a particular flock, he cannot exercise his function, in any place unless the next privy counsellor, sheriff, &c. give their allowance. They will, forsooth, have the judging whether he be so qualified or not; and if he have not the new *conditio sine qua non*, that only qualification of them that are to be tolerate, *moderation*, in the court sense, which is nothing but loathsome luke-warmness in the things of Christ, and court loyalty to a vassal of antichrist; which is disloyalty to Christ; he can have no liberty to exercise his office.

“ In respect of the manifest and manifold scandal of it, we cannot but witness against the acceptance thereof, so offensive to the generation of the righteous, so dishonourable to God, disgraceful to the protestant religion, and prejudicial to the interest thereof. As we would not be accounted unfaithful to Christ, yea, betrayers of our native country, and compliers with the design of antichrist, who hath always mischief in his heart, and intends this as a preparative, for inducing and enforcing all that are hereby lulled asleep, either to take on this mark, or bear the mark of his fury hereafter.

“ Next, as we must testify against the accepters of this toleration, who must be interpreted to take it as it is given, with consent to the sinful impositions with which it is tendered; against which there is no access for a protestation, consistent with the improvement of it, being granted and accepted on these very terms, that there shall be no protestation: for if there be, that will be found ‘an alienating of the hearts of the subjects from the government,’ which by that proclamation would be reflected upon. So in a particular manner we must testify against the addressers for it, who have formally said a confederacy, and congratulated the tolerator for this toleration, and all the mischiefs he is machinating and effecting thereby; especially, seeing they have presumptuously taken upon them to send their addresses ‘in the name of

all presbyterian ministers,' we think it concerns all honest men, zealous Christians, and faithful ministers of that persuasion and denomination, in honour and conscience, to declare to the world, by some public testimony, that they are not consenters to that sinful, shameful, and scandalous conspiracy, with which all will be interpreted consenters, that are not contradicters, and charged with the guilt of it, that doth not make the resentment of it notorious. We cannot express with what horror and sorrow our hearts were filled, to see an address in the name of all the presbyterian ministers in Scotland, and another from the inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh and Canongate, who call themselves of the presbyterian persuasion, we say, we are filled with wonder, that they should assume to themselves the name of presbyterian ministers, and give out their addresses in the name of all, and that it was at their desire; when as the contents of it are clearly contrary to presbyterian principles, by justifying an antichristian usurper, in undermining religion and approving the abrogation of the national covenant, confirming the laws now disabled, by thanking the tolerator for opening a door to introduce popery, which we are sworn to extirpate, by consenting to limitations and restrictions upon the exercise of their ministry, by accepting of a bounded toleration, wherein idolaters and heretics have the greatest share, contrary to our Confession of Faith, therefore we testify against these addressers, 1. Because of the ground for which they address. What can they allege for this? It is either for the liberty granted to the exercise of their ministry, or else the toleration complexly considered. If the former, then suppose they had got a full and free liberty, it would have been but what was due; and to thank a man for giving what is not his own, seemeth to insinuate a recognizing a power to him to withhold it: but now their liberty is loaded and clogged with sinful and scandalous conditions, which is little ground of thanks. If the latter be said, then they give their consent to set up Popery and Quakerism, for these are also tolerated. Also, it is not to be passed, that there is nothing in all the proclamations concerning this toleration in the least protested against by the addressers; so we cannot see how they can free themselves of congratulating their clement benefactor, for all the woful evils in the foresaid proclamations that respect their imaginary favour, 'more valuable to them (as they say) than all earthly comforts.' 2. Because of the sinful and shameful deficiency of the addresses, they speak not a word against the openly designed introduction of popery; no resentment of the eversion of civil and religious liberties; no representation of the wrongs sustained under the grassation of the two brothers; no protestation against the invasion made upon the power that Christ hath seated in the course of his church, and, consequently, upon his own incommunicable Headship: not a word of the covenants; but they are passed over in silence, as if they were ashamed of them: they say nothing of the reformation whereunto we once attained, and were solemnly engaged. 3. Because of their lawless and illimited loyalty. This is professed by the foresaid ministers, 'To his excellent, to his gracious, and to his sacred majesty: loyalty not to be questioned, an entire loyalty in doctrine,' which is in effect disloyalty to Christ, in not observing their instruc-

tions received from him, but keeping silent at the wrongs done to him, and not declaring against the invasion of his open enemies : ' a resolved loyalty in practice,' whereof also the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Canongate will have him assured. This is no less than betraying religion and liberty, in lying by from any active testimony and opposition to the open destroyers of both. ' A fervent loyalty in prayers,' which we shall not now insist upon, being to speak of them afterward. This loyalty of theirs is not a Christian loyalty, or profession of subjection for conscience sake to a minister of God for good, who is a terror to evil doers ; nor a Presbyterian loyalty to a king as it is qualified in the National and Solemn League and Covenants ; but a stupid subjection, and absolute allegiance, to a minister of Antichrist, who gives liberty to all evil men and seducers ; a loyalty to a tyrant in his overturning religion, laws, and liberties, and protecting and encouraging all iniquity.' 4. Because of their foulsome flattery : we need not instance how the ministers in their address say, ' From the deep sense they have of his majesty's gracious and surprising favour, finding themselves bound in duty to offer their most humble and hearty thanks to his sacred majesty, the favour being to them valuable above all earthly comforts : ' and how the inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh and Canongate express themselves, ' we cannot find suitable expressions to evidence our most grateful acknowledgments of your majesty's late gracious declaration. The matter were less, if they did not speak a lie ; for they say they are allowed the free and peaceable public exercise of their religion. Peaceable and public it is, they know not how long ; free it is not, for their ministers are bounded with sinful restrictions, as is shown above. And again they add, ' Could we open our hearts, your majesty would undoubtedly see, what deep sense and true zeal for your service, so surprising and signal a favour hath imprinted upon our spirit,' &c. This is worse than flattery. We say we need not adduce particular instances of their adulation, for their whole strain is a rhapsody of flatteries more becoming sycophants and court parasites, than ministers and professors, that give out themselves to be of the Presbyterian persuasion. 5. If the addresses were only stuffed with flatteries it were less ; but we cannot conceal our horror and astonishment at some expressions, which are equivocations inconsistent with ingenuity : the ministers ' bless the great God, who hath put this in his royal heart : ' which must either be understood in that sense, where it is said, Rev. xvii. 17. ' God hath put it in their hearts to give their kingdom unto the beast ; ' which they durst not express to him whom they address, neither durst they bless the Lord for it with application to him : and to say this with such a reserved meaning, were odious to Protestants, and all honest men. Or, if they be ingenuous, then they bless God for putting it in his heart to project all this wickedness, discovered in the design, tendency, and nature of this popish toleration ; which is not far from blasphemy, to make the Holy One the Author of that which he hath declared his detestation of in his word. They further express their resolution, ' by the help of God, so to demean themselves, as his Majesty may find cause rather to enlarge than to diminish his favours towards them : '

which upon the matter is either a double equivocation, or else it must be understood, they resolve to demean themselves so, as that a zealous Papist shall find cause to enlarge his favours to them, and shall not find any cause of displeasure at them. They know what he maketh criminal against others, to wit, their teaching the obligation of our covenants, the lawfulness of defensive arms, their testifying against the encroachments made upon the kingly power of Christ, and against the taking off the penal statutes that concern Papists, and the like pieces of faithfulness: and, consequently, they resolve they shall be as unfaithful and silent ministers as ever pleased a Papist; for if they be faithful, they may be assured, he will find cause to diminish his favours towards them: now to purpose this by the help of God, comes very near blasphemy. The citizens of Edinburgh and Canongate, do engage 'to continue still in their prayers, for blessing his person and government;' and show by what argument they plead for it, to wit, that 'by the God of heaven, kings reign, and princes decree justice.' Which with application to the person whom they address is absolutely impertinent, otherwise to bring it forth as adulatory equivocation, with a reserve that they intend only to offer that general proposition in these, without application to him; in the meantime, making him believe they assert the divine approbation of his government: or else it hath the appearance of blasphemy, to extend that proposition to him, which they cannot do, except they turn it thus, 'by the Lord tyrants reign, and usurpers decree justice;' which to say, according to the Lord's will, as that scripture must be understood, were a blasphemous indignity to the Holy One, with whom such a throne of iniquity can have no fellowship, whereof the possessors are set up, but not by him, and he disowneth them. Because the ministers in their address, disown these who avouch an adherence to the covenanted reformation, and avow an opposition to Antichristian usurpers (which they call promoting disloyal principles and practices) humbly beseeching the tolerator not to look upon such as any of their confederacy. They needed not have been so solicitous upon this head, for all that abide in the principles and practices of the church of Scotland, would count it a sin and a scandal, laying them obnoxious to the displeasure of the holy and jealous God, and a shameful reproach, exposing them to the contempt of all of whom they might expect sympathy, to be reckoned of their association, who have thus betrayed the cause and the country.

2. HIS TESTIMONY THE DAY BEFORE HIS SUFFERING.

"My dear friends in Christ, it hath pleased the Lord to deliver me into the hands of men; and I think fit to send you this salutation, which I expect will be the last. When I open my heart upon it, before God, I dare not desire to have escaped this lot; for no less could have been for his glory and the vindication of his cause on my behalf: and as I am free before him of the profanity, which some, either naughty, wicked, or strangers to me, have reported, that I have been sometimes guilty of; so he hath kept me from the womb, free of the ordinary pollutions of children, as these that have been acquainted with me through the tract of my life, do know. And now

my blood shall either more silence reproaches, or more ripen them for judgment: but I hope, it shall make some more sparing to speak of those who shall come after me; and so I am the more willing to pay this cost for their instruction, and my succeeders' ease. Since I came to prison, the Lord has been wonderfully kind to me, he hath made his word to give me light, life, joy, courage, and strength; yea, it hath dropped with sweet smelling myrrh unto me, particularly these passages and promises, Gen. xxii. 12. latter part of the verse, 'For now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son.' Neh. viii. 10. latter part of the verse, 'Neither be you sorry, for the joy of the Lord is your strength.' Job iii. 17. 'There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest.' Ver. 18. 'There the prisoners rest together, they hear not the voice of the oppressor.' Job xxiii. 10. 'But he knoweth the way that I take: when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold.' Ver. 11. 'My foot hath held his steps, his way have I kept, and not declined.' Ver. 12. 'Neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips, I have esteemed the words of his mouth, more than my necessary food.' Ver. 13. 'But he is in one mind, and who can turn him? and what his soul desireth, even that he doth.' Ver. 14. 'For he performeth the thing that is appointed for me: and many such things are with him.' Psal. cv. 19. 'The word of the Lord tried him.' Luke xxi. 12. 'But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons being brought before kings for my name's sake.' Ver. 13. 'And it shall turn to you for a testimony.' Ver. 19. 'In your patience possess ye your souls.' Heb. xii. 23. 'To the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.' James i. 12. 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.' 1 Pet. v. 7. 'Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you.' Ver. 8. 'Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour.' Rev. iii. 8. 'I know thy works: behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it; for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.' Ver. 10. 'Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.' Ver. 11. 'Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.' Ver. 12. 'Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; and I will write upon him my new name.' Rev. xix. 20. 'And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.' Ver. 21. 'And the remnant

were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceedeth out of his mouth : and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.' And many other scriptures.

" O what can I say to the Lord's praise ! It was but little that I knew of him before I came to prison ; I have found sensibly much of his divine strength, much of the joy of his Spirit, and much assurance from his word and Spirit concerning my salvation ; my sufferings are stated upon the matters of my doctrine, for there was found with me the sum of my last two sermons at Braid's-craigs, which I wrote after I preached them ; the former whereof was upon Psal. lxvi. 10. ' Be still and know that I am God ; I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.' And the latter upon Heb. x. 38. ' Now the just shall live by faith : but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.' And so I was examined upon the application made therein unto the sins of the time : all which I owned once and again, as it is to be seen in my indictment : and I being tried, and an assize set, I adhered to my former confession explicitly ; so my sentence of death was drawn forth, upon these heads :

" *First*, Because I could not own James VII. to be my lawful sovereign.

" *Secondly*, Because I taught the unlawfulness of paying the cess, expressly exacted for the suppressing the faithful and free preaching of the gospel.

" *Thirdly*, Because that I taught that it was the people's duty to carry arms at the preaching of the gospel, now when it is persecuted, for defending themselves, and resisting of unjust violence.

" I think such a testimony is worth many lives, and I praise the Lord, for his enabling me to be plain and positive in all my confessions : for therein I found peace, joy, strength, and boldness. I have met with many assaults in prison, some from the indulged party, and others from some of the prelatic ; but by the strength of God, I was enabled to stand, that they could neither bow me, nor break me. I was also assaulted by some of the popish party, (I suppose they were some of the ecclesiastic creatures,) but they found none of their own stuff in me. I told them, after sundry debates, that I had lived, and should die an enemy to their way. However, some that knew me not, reproached me with Jesuitism. I was pressed by sundry to seek a reprieve, and my answer was always, that I adhered to my former confession, and if they pleased to let that appointed time of my death stand, let it stand ; and if they pleased to protract it, let them protract it ; for I was ready and willing both to live and die ; howbeit there came a reprieve for eight days, but I had no hand in it. They still urged, would I but say, that I desired time for conference with some persons anent my principles : I answered, that my time was in the Lord's hand, and I was in no hesitation, or doubt about my principles myself ; I would not be so rude as to decline conference with any, so far as it might not be inconvenient for me in my present circumstances, but I will seek it with none. I have no more to say on this head, but my heart doth not smite me for any thing in the matters of my God, since I came to prison. And I can further say to his praise, with

consciousness of integrity, that I have walked in his way, and kept his charge though with much weakness, and many infirmities, whereof ye have been witnesses.

“ Now, my dear friends in precious Christ, I think I need not tell you, that as I have lived, so I die in the same persuasion with the true reformed and covenanted, presbyterian church of Scotland ; that I adhere to the testimony of the day, as it is held forth in our Informatory Vindication, and in the Testimony against the present toleration ; and that I own, and seal with my blood all the precious truths, even the controverted truths, that I have taught. So I would exhort every one of you, to make sure your personal reconciliation with God in Christ : for I fear many of you have that yet to do ; and when ye come where I am, to look pale death in the face, ye will not be a little shaken and terrified, if ye have not laid hold on eternal life. I would exhort you to much diligence in the use of means, to be careful in keeping up your societies, to be frequent and fervent in secret prayer, to read much the written word of God, and to examine yourselves by it. Do not weary to maintain, in your places and stations, the present testimony ; for when Christ goes forth to defeat antichrist, with that name written on his thigh and on his vesture, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS, he will make it glorious in the earth : and if ye can but transmit it to the posterity, ye may count it a great generation-work. But beware of the ministers, that have accepted of this toleration, and all others that bend that way ; and follow them not, for the sun hath gone down upon them. Do not fear, that the Lord will cast off Scotland ; for he will certainly return again, and show himself glorious in our land. But watch and pray, for he is bringing on a sad overthrowing stroke, which shall make many say, That they have easily got through, that have got a scaffold for Christ ; and do not regard the present sufferings of this world, for ‘ they are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed.’

“ I may say to his praise, that I have found his cross sweet and lovely unto me, for I have had many joyful hours, and not a fearful thought since I came to prison ; he has strengthened me to brave man, and face death, and I am now longing for the joyful hour of my dissolution ; and there is nothing in the world that I am sorry to leave but you : but I go to better company, and so I must take my leave of you all. Farewell beloved sufferers, and followers of the Lamb ; farewell Christian intimates : farewell Christian and comfortable mother and sisters : farewell sweet societies ; farewell desirable general meetings ; farewell night-wanderings in cold and weariness for Christ ; farewell sweet Bible, and preaching of the gospel ; farewell sun, moon, and stars, and all sublunary things ; farewell conflicts with a body of sin and death. Welcome scaffold for precious Christ ; welcome heavenly Jerusalem ; welcome innumerable company of angels ; welcome general assembly, and church of the first-born ; welcome crown of glory, white robes, and songs of Moses and the Lamb ; and above all, welcome, O thou blessed Trinity, and one God ! O eternal One ! I commit my soul into thy eternal rest.

Sic sub.—JAMES RENWICK.”

3. HIS LETTER TO HIS CHRISTIAN FRIENDS.

“ My dear friends in Christ, I see now what hath been the language of my reprieve, it hath been, that I might be further tempted and tried ; and I praise the Lord, he hath assisted me to give further proofs of stedfastness ; I have been often assaulted by some popish priests ; but the last time they came, I told them, I would debate no more with such as they were, and that I had lived and would die a protestant, and testify against the idolatries, heresies, superstitions, and errors of that antichristian way. But yesterday I was cast into a deep exercise, and made to dwell under an impression of the dreadfulfulness of every thing that might grieve the Spirit of God. I found sin to be more bitter than death, and one hour’s hiding of God’s face, more insupportable. And then at night, I was called before a part of the council, and the chancellor produced the Informatory Vindication, and asked if I knew it : I answered, I know it. And being interrogated, I confessed that I had a great hand in writing of it : they pressed me to tell my assistants : I told them, they were those whom they persecuted ; but would satisfy them no further. They also urged me upon pain of torture, to tell, where our societies were ? who kept our general correspondencies ? and where they were kept ? I answered, though they should torture me, which was contrary to all law, after sentence of death, I would give them no further notice than the books gave. I was moreover threatened to tell my haunts and quarters, but I refused to make known to them any such thing : so I was returned to prison. Such exercise as I had was very needful for such a trial ; and I would rather endure what they could do unto me, than have dishonoured Christ, offended you, and brought you unto trouble.—But I hope, within less than three days, to be without the reach of all temptations. Now I have no more to say : farewell again in our blessed Lord Jesus.”

4. HIS LAST WORDS UPON THE SCAFFOLD.

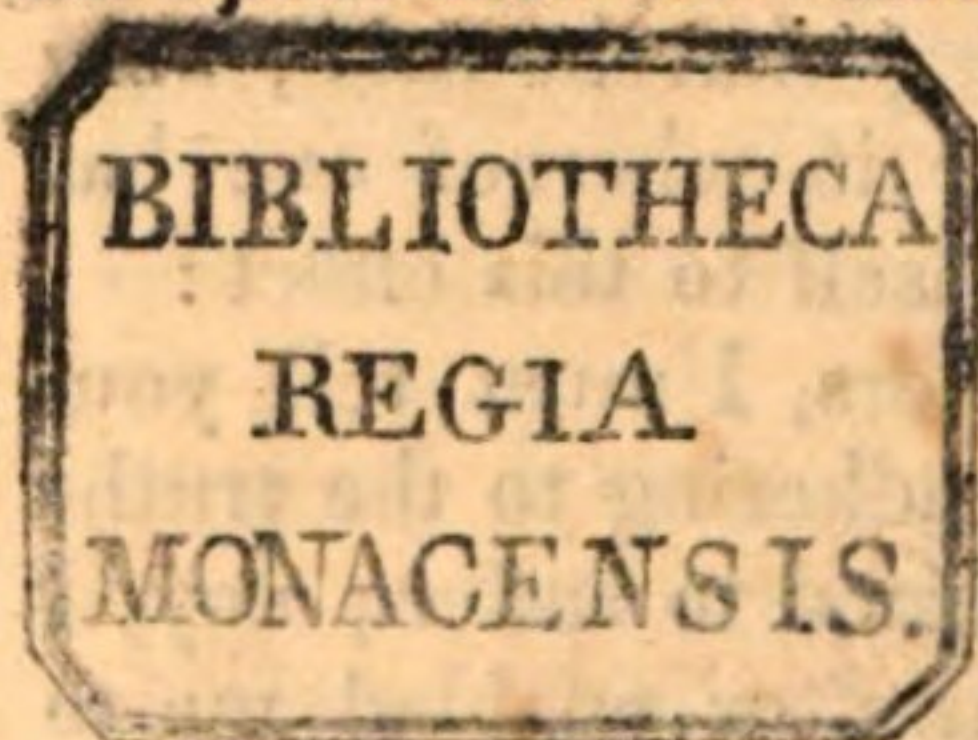
Before he went out of the tolbooth, he was at dinner with his mother and sisters, and some Christian friends, when the drum beat the first warning to his execution ; which so soon as he heard, he leapt up in ravishment of heavenly joy, saying, ‘ Let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come : ’ and I can say in some measure, ‘ The bride, the Lamb’s wife, hath made herself ready.’ And till dinner was over, he enlarged upon the parallel of a marriage, and invited all of them to come to the wedding, meaning his execution. When he was come to the scaffold, the drums being beat all the while, none of the distant spectators could hear any thing that he said ; only some very few, that were close by him did hear it, whereof one has collected the following account : he delivered himself to this effect :

“ Spectators, or (if there be any of you) auditors, I must tell you, I am come here this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truths of Christ, for which I am neither afraid nor ashamed to suffer ; nay, I bless the Lord, that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to suffer any thing for him ; and I desire to praise his grace, that he hath not only kept me free from the gross pollutions of the time, but also from

many ordinary pollutions of children ; and such as I have been stained with he hath washed me from them in his own blood. I am this day to lay down my life for these three things. 1. For disowning the usurpations and tyranny of James duke of York. 2. For preaching, that it was unlawful to pay the cess, expressly exacted for bearing down the gospel. 3. For preaching, that it was lawful for people to carry arms, for defending themselves in their meetings for the persecuted gospel-ordinances. I think a testimony for these is worth many lives, and if I had ten hundred, I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the same.

“ Dear friends, spectators, and (if any of you be) auditors I must tell you, that I die a presbyterian protestant. I own the Word of God as the rule of faith and manners. I own the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship, &c. Covenants, National and Solemn League, acts of general assemblies, and all the faithful contendings that have been for the work of reformation. I leave my testimony approving the preaching of the gospel in the fields, and the defending of the same by arms. I adjoin my testimony to all that hath been sealed by blood, shed either on scaffolds, fields or seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against popery, prelacy, Erastianism, &c. Against all profanity, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine ; particularly against all usurpations made on Christ’s right, who is the PRINCE OF THE KINGS OF THE EARTH, who alone must bear the glory of ruling his own kingdom, the church : and in particular, against the absolute power usurped by this usurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of JEHOVAH ; and against this toleration flowing from that absolute power.”

Upon this, he was bid have done. He answered, “ I have near done.” Then he said, “ Ye that are the people of God, do not weary in maintaining the testimony of the day, in your stations and places ; and whatever ye do, make sure an interest in Christ ; for there is a storm coming that shall try your foundations. Scotland must be rid of Scotland, before the delivery come. And you that are strangers to God, break off your sins by repentance, else I will be a witness against you in the day of the Lord.” Here they caused him desist. Upon the scaffold he sung a part of the ciii. Psalm from the beginning, and read the xix. chap. of the Revelation. And having thus finished his course, served his generation, and witnessed a good confession for his Lord and Master, before many witnesses, by the will of God, he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God who gave it.



THE END



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